

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

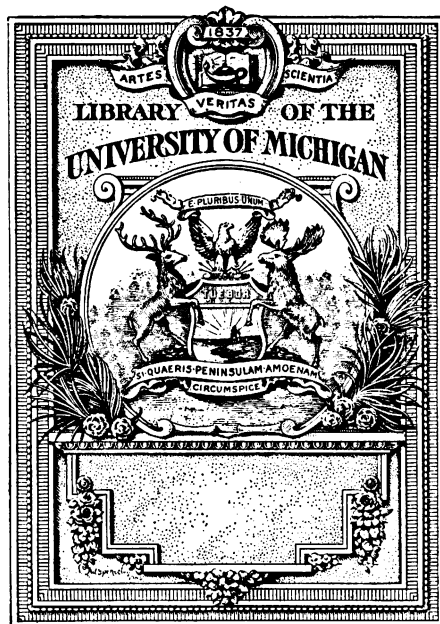
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



35

THE
CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW

FOR

OCTOBER 1887 : JANUARY 1888

VOLUME XXV.

LONDON
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY
SPOTTISWOODE & CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE, E.C.
1888

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
LAY BAPTISM	I
SCEPTICAL CHRISTIANITY	28
SHELLEY AND THE SHELLEY SOCIETY	51
IS RESERVATION LAWFUL?	77
J. A. DE THOU	90
SERMONS	107
THE NATIONAL SYNOD	119
RELIGION IN IRELAND: PAST AND PRESENT	138
FIFTY YEARS OF ENGLISH ART	161
FIFTY YEARS OF DOCUMENTARY DISCOVERIES IN CHURCH HISTORY	182
CHRISTIANITY AND THE SERVICE OF MAN	257
DEACONS AND SECULAR EMPLOYMENTS	286
THE FIRST CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHERS	318
PAPAL INFALLIBILITY AND GALILEO	338
THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RE- ACTION	362
THE CULTURE OF THE HORRIBLE: MR. HAGGARD'S STORIES.	389
TWO MORE TRANSLATIONS OF THE DIVINA COMMEDIA	412
THE CODEx AMIATINUS, WHEN AND WHERE WRITTEN	435
OWEN'S DOGMATIC THEOLOGY	448
INGRAM'S HISTORY OF THE UNION	464
IN MEMORIAM A. J. B. BERESFORD-HOPE	492
SHORT NOTICES	203, 494
INDEX	517

THE
CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

N^o XLIX. OCTOBER 1887.

ART. I.—LAY BAPTISM.

1. *Lay Baptism Invalid: to which is added Dissenters' Baptism Null and Void.* By R. LAURENCE, M.A. Reprinted from the Fourth Edition, 1723. With Additions and Illustrations, arranged and edited by WILLIAM SCOTT, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Christ Church, Hoxton. (London, 1841.)
2. *Letters on Lay Baptism.* By the Rev. DANIEL WATERLAND, D.D., and the Rev. E. KELSALL. Vol. vi. of *The Works of Waterland*, Edited by WILLIAM VAN MILDERT, D.D., Lord Bishop of Llandaff. (London, 1843.)
3. *A Scholastical History of the Practice of the Church in reference to the Administration of Baptism by Laymen.* By the Rev. JOSEPH BINGHAM, M.A. Vol. viii. of *The Works of Bingham*. (London, 1844.)
4. *A Matter of Life and Death: A Letter to all who profess and call themselves Christians.* By EDWARD C. BALDWIN, M.A. (London, 1879.)

IT is often assumed that all baptism with water in the Name of the Blessed Trinity is valid, by whomsoever administered. This is to place Holy Baptism in a peculiar position among the Sacraments in this respect, that it treats the ordination of the minister as not essential to its validity. How entirely this is taken for granted may be illustrated from the writings of two great modern divines. The late Bishop Forbes of Brechin says, without any qualification :—

‘In case of necessity anyone, having the use of reason, who baptizes with water in the Name of the Holy Trinity is accepted—priest, deacon, layman, male, female, heretic, or excommunicate. Persons are not to be re-baptized who are baptized with the proper

form and words by heretics, even by Calvinists who deny that baptism remits sin, unless there be a doubt of the sufficiency of the administration.’¹

And, more recently, Canon Liddon has said :—

‘If the non-episcopal bodies have no true orders, they have unquestionably a true baptism, supposing the matter and words of that Sacrament to be duly administered ; since lay baptism is of undoubted validity.’²

When such expressions fall from men who are as eminent for their loyalty to the doctrine of the apostolic ministry as for their theological learning, it cannot be wondered at that the certain validity of lay baptism is constantly asserted, as though it were a question which had been decided by the consentient voice of Christendom. A book like Mr. Baldwin’s, which openly challenges this position, and argues the subject on its own merits, is not only rare, but is in danger of receiving scant attention from those who imagine that the popular view is endorsed by the authority of the Church. But, as a matter of fact, no general council has ever decreed the validity of baptism by any except the Church’s ordained ministers, and at no period has the laxer view been universally received.

There can be no proper dispute as to who originally received the authority to baptize, for it was explicitly given to the Apostles. Indeed, it seemed to be reserved exclusively to their ministry by the terms of the commission. For our Lord said to the eleven, ‘All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. . . . And, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.’³ As man, Christ had received ‘power,’ or authority (*ἐξουσία*), and ‘therefore’ they were to go forth and baptize—that is, because His delegated authority was communicated to them by ordination. And so Laurence argues :—

‘Christ does not here say, Lo, I am with baptizing ; lo, I am with teaching, alway, &c., but *Go ye*, baptizing, teaching, and *lo, I am*

¹ Forbes, *Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 495. But in another place he does not speak so decisively ; and only concludes, after briefly mentioning the arguments for and against the validity of lay baptism, that ‘in all cases where immediate death is apprehended before a lawful minister can be called, it is the safer side for any sufficiently informed person to administer it.’—*Short Explanation of the Nicene Creed*, p. 300.

² Liddon, *A Father in Christ*, 3rd edit. p. xxxix.

³ St. Matt. xxviii. 16, 18–20.

with you. The promise of His presence and concurrence is to be with *them*; not with the acts separate from them, but with *them* performing and doing those acts; and because it is to be with them baptizing *always even unto the end of the world*, and because their particular persons were not to continue here so long, therefore *they* are necessarily *to be* in some respect *always*, &c. And this can be no otherwise than by succession; and then the succession must be such as that it may be justly called *them*. . . . If he who baptizes be not one of the *you*, an apostle or sent of Christ, in a higher or lower degree, to whom the promise was made, his act can claim no right to the promise, and therefore will be a contradiction to this sacred institution. So that it must necessarily follow that this institution requires baptism always to be administered by one vested with apostolic authority, either in whole or in part, to the end of the world.¹

It is urged, on the other side, that the command to baptize is of greater obligation than the command that baptism should be conferred by a duly ordained minister, and that the ordinary rule must therefore give way in cases of urgency. But this does not follow. If God has tied baptism to a particular channel, justice, as much as mercy, requires that its necessity should be limited by the opportunity of receiving it. To extend this principle to those who die unbaptized for lack of a proper minister seems more consistent than to infringe the law of ordination. And so many have contended. Laurence says:—

‘However He may dispense with the want of a sacrament, yet He has nowhere promised to give efficacy to those administrations which are in any respect contrary to the essentials of His own institutions, and to me it seems a mere foolhardiness and presumption to expect it.’²

The terms of the baptismal commission, therefore, seem to give no opening for lay baptism. This is not enough, however, of itself. It must be seen how that commission has been interpreted in the life of the Church. And first, of course, it must be considered whether other passages of Holy Scripture modify the apparent restriction.

It has been urged, as by Bancroft at the Hampton Court Conference, that 3,000 persons could not have been baptized on the day of Pentecost by the twelve Apostles without assistance, and that therefore laymen must have been employed to baptize under their direction.³ Neither Bishop Taylor nor Laurence admitted any difficulty in one man baptizing 250

¹ *Lay Baptism Invalid*, pp. 17, 18; comp. Baldwin, pp. 24–26.

² *Ibid.* p. cvii. ³ Acts ii. 41; Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 175.

persons in a single day.¹ St. Francis Xavier is reported to have said of himself, that he had baptized 10,000 Indians, with his own hand, in one month, and even greater numbers are sometimes attributed to him.² But if there is any difficulty in the matter, it does not follow that lay baptism was resorted to, for the 'seventy'—to say nothing of the 'hundred and twenty'—were not properly laymen, and might have helped the Apostles without breaking the law of orders.³

The next instance is that of St. Philip the deacon.⁴ Bingham uses the leave granted to deacons as a step towards his proof of the validity of lay baptism, because deacons have not received the commission of priests.⁵ But they are ordained clergy who hold a real commission, so far as it goes. 'A measure of the grace of the priesthood,' says Canon Carter, 'extends to the diaconate.' When he baptizes 'the deacon so far acts as a priest.'⁶ In the Church of England they certainly baptize not simply as laymen, but as ordained ministers.⁷ Maskell, who goes into the matter with great care, is of opinion that when they have been permitted to baptize, it has always been by virtue of their office, and not by express delegation apart from their orders.⁸ The question of lay baptism must not, therefore, be prejudiced by reference to the license granted to deacons, and this may be dismissed from further inquiry as not relevant to the discussion.

Next, the baptism of St. Paul by Ananias is brought forward as an instance of lay baptism.⁹ But, whether Ananias was a layman or not, the express commission by Divine vocation takes it out of the category of ordinary precedents. Again, St. Peter commanded Cornelius and his family to be baptized, apparently by 'the brethren from Joppa.'¹⁰ The Pseudo-Ambrose, supposed to be Hilary the Deacon, took this as an illustration of an assertion, which he does not otherwise support, that at first all Christians indiscriminately were allowed to baptize.¹¹ But Forbes thought the words need only mean that St. Peter ordered water to be brought to himself, with which he might administer the baptism;¹² and he

¹ Taylor, *Clerus Domini*, iv. 11; Laurence, *Dissenters' Baptism*, p. 197.

² Alban Butler, *Lives of the Saints* (Dublin, 1866), vol. xii. p. 30; Forbes, *Instructiones Historico-Theologicae*, X. xiii. 13.

³ St. Luke x. 1; Forbes, *ibid.*; Acts i. 15; Bennet, *Rights of the Clergy*, p. 233.

⁴ Acts viii. 12, 38.

⁵ Bingham, pp. 20-28.

⁶ Carter, *Doctrine of the Priesthood*, 3rd ed. p. 31.

⁷ *Book of Common Prayer*, 'Office for making of Deacons.'

⁸ Marshall, *Holy Baptism*, 2nd ed. pp. 177-189.

⁹ Acts ix. 18.

¹⁰ Acts x. 23, 48.

¹¹ *Comm.* in 1 Cor. i. 17, and Eph. iv. 11, 12.

¹² Forbes, X. xiii. 15.

and others, with greater probability, suggest that some of the brethren from Joppa were likely to have been clergy.¹ Therefore, this, like the other passages in the Acts, proves nothing at all decisively.

Passing from the Bible to ecclesiastical history, we find that the early Church laid stress upon the fact that the administration of baptism belonged by right to the episcopate alone. So strictly was the office sometimes reserved to the bishop, that the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, in 451, record a letter from the people of Edessa to their bishop, begging him to return from the council before Easter, that he might attend to the teaching and baptizing of the catechumens; but this, of course, concerned adult baptism.² In the same century, in the diocese of Milan, many are said to have died without baptism, because the bishop had been absent for several years; and, most of his suffragans having died, there was no one to administer it.³

The teaching of the Fathers, and the decrees of councils, were in accord with the spirit of these limitations. 'It is not lawful,' writes St. Ignatius, 'to baptize without the bishop.'⁴ 'The chief priest, who is the bishop,' says Tertullian, 'has the right of giving it: then presbyters and deacons, yet not without the authority of the bishop, for the honour of the Church.'⁵ 'Without the command of the bishop,' says St. Jerome, 'neither priest nor deacon has the right to baptize.'⁶ There is a continuous and consentient voice as to this, from the early days down to the present time, when the Church of England restricts the administration of sacraments to those who are 'lawfully called and sent to execute the same.'⁷ The apostolic commission extends only to those to whom it is delegated by the Apostles, through their successors.

For lay baptism itself there is no positive evidence for nearly two centuries. Tertullian, about the year 200, is the first writer who speaks of it. He accepted its validity. After asserting, as above, that the right to give baptism belongs to the bishop and his clergy, he continues by saying that it is lawful for the laity also to bestow it in cases of necessity.⁸

¹ Forbes, X. xiii. 15; Taylor, *Clerus Domini*, iv. 9; Bennet, *Rights of the Clergy*, p. 235; Waterland, p. 182.

² *Dict. Christ. Ant.* 'Baptism,' § 78.

³ Martene, I. i. 3.

⁴ Ign. *Ad Smyrn.* viii.

⁵ Tert. *De Bapt.* xvii.; comp. *Const. Apost.* III. i. 11.

⁶ Jer. *Dial. adv. Lucif.* iv.

⁷ Article 23; comp. *Preface to Ordinal*. See *Lay Baptism In valid* p. 32, and *Dissenters' Baptism*, p. 179.

⁸ Tert. *De Bapt.* xvii.

But he apparently altogether excludes women from this permission; ¹ and he regarded baptism by heretics, by whom he means Gnostics, as entirely void.² The baptism which he recognized was, therefore, that by laymen in communion with the Church.

Tertullian seems to have fairly represented the mind of the early Church as to the invalidity of heretical baptism; and, although this is not necessarily at all the same thing as lay baptism, the two have become so inextricably involved in later controversies, that it is impossible to discuss one without following the history of the other. The *Apostolical Constitutions*, which indicate the discipline of about the third century, say that those who are baptized by heretics are not initiated, but polluted; ³ and the *Apostolical Canons* lay down that a bishop or priest is to be deposed if he fails to baptize again those who have received heretical baptism.⁴ St. Clement of Alexandria also rejects it.⁵ A council at Iconium, in Phrygia, in about the year 231, did the same; and Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea, who records the decree, says that this view had come down by tradition from Christ and the Apostles. Firmilian himself, while admitting the difference between the great heresies and the schisms of lapsed priests, thought that the baptism of both should be repeated.⁶ Another Phrygian council, at Synnada, in the first half of the century,⁷ and an African council, under Agrippinus, at Carthage, in about 215,⁸ also decided against heretical baptism. Africa, however, had not been so uniformly strict in the matter as the East. Both Firmilian and Cyprian imply that heretics had sometimes been received by the African Church without re-baptism. But this was a lax custom, apparently unsanctioned by any recognized canon.⁹

Heretical baptism was first formally received as valid, at Rome, under the pontificate of Stephen, in the middle of the third century. Stephen appears to have attempted to dictate to some Asiatic bishops that they were not to re-baptize those who had been baptized by heretics; but they rejected his

¹ Tert. *De Bapt.* xvii.; comp. *De Virg. Vel.* ix.

² *Ibid.* xv.; comp. *De Præscript. adv. Hæc.* xii. See Burton, *Lect. on Ecc. Hist.* vol. ii. pp. 265, 266.

³ *Const. Apost.* VI. iii. 15.

⁴ *Can. Apost.* 46, 47, 68.

⁵ Clem. Alex. *Stromata*, I. xix.

⁶ Firm. ap. Cyprian, Ep. lxxv. 7, 19, 22.

⁷ Dion. Alex. ap. Euseb. vii. He speaks of the decrees of 'many other' councils to the same effect.

⁸ Cyprian, Ep. lxxi. 4; lxxiii. 3.

⁹ Ep. lxxv. 19; lxxiii. 19; comp. Aug. *De Bapt.* III. v. 7; V. i. 1.

advice.¹ Soon after, in 254, some Numidian bishops, and Quintus, a bishop in Mauritania, consulted St. Cyprian on the subject. He laid it before a small council then sitting at Carthage, and they decided that heretical baptism was invalid.² A second Carthaginian council passed a similar decree in 256, and Cyprian sent a report of it to Stephen,³ who immediately broke off communion with the African Church. Thereupon Cyprian wrote on the matter to some of the Eastern bishops, and Firmilian replied entirely in accord with the Carthaginian doctrine,⁴ which was further endorsed by a larger council at Carthage in September of the same year.⁵ Stephen died soon after, and Dionysius of Alexandria had some amicable correspondence on the question with Pope Xystus, his successor,⁶ but nothing seems to have come of it. St. Jerome says that the African bishops afterwards rescinded their decrees; but, as Dr. Pusey points out, this is evidently a mistake, for St. Augustine would certainly have known of the change if it had occurred, and would have mentioned it, if he could, in support of his own contentions.⁷

The argument of St. Cyprian and his colleagues was briefly this. There is but one baptism, and that baptism is in the one faith. This one faith is to be found only in the Church, and therefore there only is the one baptism. Heresy cannot generate sons of God; the unclean cannot cleanse; the enemies of God cannot be entrusted with the administration of His grace. To allow baptism to be usurped by those who are not of the apostolic ministry would logically be followed by allowing the same as to other sacraments. Heretical baptism is therefore no baptism at all; and those who have received it must be, not re-baptized, but baptized, on coming over to the Church. Cyprian says that thousands were so baptized in Africa. He admitted that God might extend His indulgence to those who wrongly imagined themselves to have been duly baptized, but this gave no warrant to the Church to recognize heretical baptism. At the same time, in spite of his own very strong opinion, backed as it was by the general agreement of the African and Eastern bishops, he allowed the possibility of others arriving at a different conclusion.⁸

¹ Cyprian, Ep. lxxiv. 1; lxxv.; Euseb. vii. 3.

² Ep. lxx. lxxi.

³ Ep. lxxii.

⁴ Ep. lxxv.

⁵ Aug. *De Bapt.* III. iii.-ix.; VI.; VII. He records briefly the arguments of the several bishops, and replies to them *seriatim*.

⁶ Euseb. vii. 5, 9.

⁷ Jerome, *Adv. Lucif.* 23; Pusey, *Note on Tertullian*, Lib. of Fathers, p. 294.

⁸ See Epp. lxxi.-lxxv. lxxix. lxxx.

The reasoning of St. Cyprian might be applied in a measure to lay and dissenting baptism. But the heresies of the time were either led by bishops and priests who had lapsed, or else were almost heathen heresies outside the Church altogether. They were in no case parallel to modern dissent, and lay baptism, as such, did not come into the dispute at all. St. Basil, Firmilian's successor in the bishopric of Cæsarea, does indeed say that both he and Cyprian argued that those who separated from the Church lost the power to baptize, because they had 'become laymen.'¹ But, since neither bishop makes such a statement in any of the several epistles which are extant, it must be doubted whether St. Basil rightly expresses their views.² St. Cyprian in one place says that lapsed priests ought only to be received back to lay communion;³ but this is a very different thing from saying that they became laymen when they fell away. The real contention of the Eastern and African bishops was that the acts of heretics were null and void, because heresy put them entirely without the Church. Stephen's position can only be gathered imperfectly from the letters of his opponents; but he was probably at issue with them simply on the question of the effect of heresy. His point most likely was that it did not sever completely from Church communion, and therefore could not invalidate the ministrations of heretical priests. Firmilian, no doubt, represents him as holding that all baptism, in due form, was of avail by virtue of the invocation of the Name of the Blessed Trinity.⁴ But, as the dispute was entirely about baptism by clergy who had fallen into heresy, it is unlikely that when he wrote this he was seriously contemplating lay baptism. The controversy throughout turned upon heresy and not upon orders. Its bearing upon lay baptism is, therefore, strongest in its silence; for, if lay baptism had been practised in those days, it is incredible that neither side should have illustrated their arguments by reference to it.

At the Council of Arles, in 314, heretical baptism was discussed, and was decided to be valid, against the opinion of the Carthaginian Councils. On the other hand, the Council of Nicæa, in 325, decreed that the Paulianists and Samosatians were to be re-baptized, in confirmation of an earlier decree, supposed to be the 46th Apostolical Canon. St. Augustine and Pope Innocent say that these heretics did not baptize in

¹ Basil, *Ep. ad Amphiloc.* i.

² Bingham, p. 42; Kelsall in *Waterland*, p. 115.

³ *Ep.* lxxii. 2.

⁴ Ap. Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxv. 9, 18; comp. *Ep.* lxxiv. 1.

the Name of the Trinity,¹ while St. Athanasius distinctly asserts that they did ;² and, though the former seems most probable, the discrepancy of testimony leaves the motives which guided the council too uncertain for the canon to be used as any proof of the views of the council upon an irregular minister of baptism. But, anyhow, neither here nor at Arles was lay baptism under consideration, unless on the theory that heresy annulled orders, which Bingham persistently maintained, but never succeeded in proving.

So far as is known, then, Tertullian had been the solitary champion of lay baptism up to the beginning of the fourth century. A second definite acknowledgment of it is found in the canons of a Council at Elvira, in Spain, in 305,³ which decreed that a layman who was in full communion with the Church might baptize in cases of necessity.

To about the same period belongs the story of the young Athanasius baptizing his comrades at Alexandria, while playing at religious ceremonies on the seashore. The bishop, Alexander, is said to have taken counsel with his clergy, and then, having found that the proper form had been used, to have decided that the boys were validly baptized. The circumstance is narrated by Ruffinus, and is repeated from him by Sozomen.⁴ But Ruffinus, who was himself an inaccurate and credulous historian, only says that Alexander was 'reported' to have so determined the matter ; and Socrates, who relates the mimic games of the children, omits all mention whatever of the baptism.⁵ Moreover, the decision attributed to the bishop runs counter to the general tone of the discipline of the time, and it is not easy to make a very youthful age of Athanasius synchronize at all with the episcopate of Alexander. So much of the story as supports lay baptism is probably apocryphal.

Baptism controversies were rife in the later half of the fourth century, but they followed a somewhat different course in East and West, and the history from this point is best traced separately.

In the East the main question was about the baptism of heretics. St. Athanasius regarded baptism as 'unprofitable,' when the Divine Name was repeated without a right intention and salutary faith. St. Cyril of Jerusalem says, more clearly,

¹ Aug. *De Hæres.* xlv. ; Inn. Ep. xxii. *Ad Episc. Maced.* 5. Comp. Conc. Arelat. II. can. 17.

² Ath. *Orat. adv. Arian.* ii. 43.

³ The date given on some manuscripts of the Acts themselves, viz. A.D. 324, is rejected as erroneous by Hefele and Dale.

⁴ Ruff. *Hist.* I. xiv. ; Soz. *Hist.* II. xvii.

⁵ Soc. *Hist.* I. xv.

that heretics must be re-baptized, because their first baptism was no true baptism at all.¹ St. Basil, in an epistle which is of exceptional importance, since it was accepted as canonical by the Council in Trullo, goes carefully into the subject. He absolutely rejects baptism by heretics, such as the Manichees, Valentinians, &c. ; would himself reject that by schismatics, such as the Cathari and the Encratites, although willing to surrender his own judgment here to the custom of many Asiatic Churches ; but decides in favour of the validity of baptism by priests who were under temporary excommunication.² St. Chrysostom restricts baptism to the priesthood, in terms which seem to preclude exceptions.³ St. Epiphanius protests against the re-baptism of Arians, simply because their separation from the Church had not been decreed by a general council. He mentions baptism by women as an error of Marcion and other heretics.⁴ The question of lay baptism is not dealt with by any of these Eastern writers ; and the only one who even incidentally alludes to it is St. Basil, when he endorses the opinion which he fastens upon St. Cyprian, that heresy reduced priests to the rank of laymen, and therefore rendered their baptism invalid.

The Eastern councils of the same period passed canons about heretical baptism, but it is very difficult to be certain as to the grounds of their decisions. The Council of Laodicea, in or about 375, decreed that the baptism of Novatians, Photinians, and Quartodecimans was to be accepted, but the Phrygians or Montanists were to be re-baptized.⁵ This is sufficiently explained by the fact that the Montanists changed the words of administration ;⁶ but it is also to be observed that they alone of the heretics mentioned did not rise in episcopacy, and so never had true orders. The second general council at Constantinople, in 381, decreed that the baptism of Arians, Macedonians, Sabbatians, Novatians, Quartodecimans, and Apollinarians was to be accepted, but not that of the Eunomians, Montanists, and Sabellians. Of these, all the first started in episcopacy, and none of the second, except the Eunomians ; and the supposition that orders influenced the decision is favoured by the fact that the council gives a special reason for rejecting their baptism, that they used only

¹ Cyr. Hieros. *Catech.* i.

² Basil, *Ep. ad Amphiloc.* i. ; Conc. Trull. can. 2.

³ Chrys. *De Sac.* III. v. 187. See Forbes, X. xiv. 8 ; Bingham, p. 41.

⁴ Epiph. *Adv. Hæres.* I. iii. ; xxii. ; II. xxix. ; III. lix.

⁵ Conc. Laod. can. 7, 8.

⁶ Basil, *Ep.* clxxxviii. ; Theophylact. *In Luc.* xxiv. 45-53.

one immersion, which apparently carried with it a change of the formula. After a long interval, the Council in Trullo, held at Constantinople at the end of the seventh century, added the Nestorians, an episcopal sect, to the list of those whose baptism was to be accepted, and the Paulianists, Manichees, Valentinians, and Marcionites to those who were to be re-baptized. Of these last, the Paulianists alone originated in episcopacy; but, as we have seen, their baptism had already been rejected at Nicæa, either for reasons of heresy or on account of a change in the form of administration. Bingham thought that these conciliar decisions were entirely based on the baptismal formula used.¹ Brett as positively held that all the early decrees on the subject rested simply on the question of the orders of the minister.² When read together with the writings of the Greek Fathers, the probability seems to be on Bingham's side rather than on Brett's; but, if the point of orders weighed in the determination, it serves to explain at once why some heretical baptisms were accepted and others not, which it is not easy to do by any comparison between the tenets of the several heresies themselves.

The question of lay baptism, at any rate apart from heresy, did not come before any of these councils, nor did it arise very early in the East. Bingham could produce no definite evidence in its favour before the beginning of the ninth century, when two canons of Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, are quoted as allowing lay Christians to baptize when no priest can be obtained. They cannot be traced with certainty to any council, and it is doubtful what degree of authority they had; but Hermenopulus included them in his epitome of Greek canons in about the twelfth century.³ On the other hand, a council at Constantinople, in 1166, declared baptism by one who pretended to be a priest to be invalid;⁴ and individual writers are found against lay baptism, as Hamartolus in the ninth century, Glycas in the twelfth, Theodorus Scutariota in the thirteenth, Matthew Blastus in the fourteenth, though perhaps none of these were contemplating cases of necessity.⁵ Coming down later, Laurence appeals to the testimony of Arcudius, a Roman

¹ Bingham, pp. 63-66.

² Brett, *Enquiry into the Judgment of the Primitive Church*, p. 83.

³ See Bingham, pp. 92, 96, 340.

⁴ Conc. Const. ap. Matthew Blastus, *Syntag.* iii.

⁵ Cotelierus, *Not. in Const. Apost.* III. ix. See Bingham, pp. 93, 94, 96; Brett, *Letter to Author of Lay Baptism Invalid*, p. 5.

Catholic priest, in 1626, who says that the Easterns, as a rule, would rather let their children die unbaptized than suffer them to be baptized by a layman.¹ On the other side, Bingham quotes an article in a Greek confession of faith, printed in 1662, which allows any Christian man or woman to baptize in emergency.² Dr. Neale says that the Copto-Jacobites, the Syro-Jacobites, and some others still reject lay baptism absolutely, and that the Russian Church has only admitted it in comparatively recent times.³ The Constantinople rule now allows lay baptism by any orthodox person, male or female—that is, by anyone in full communion with the Eastern Church; and *The Duty of Parish Priests*, a manual issued by authority, directs the clergy to instruct their people how to administer the rite validly in circumstances of necessity.⁴ As regards others, Dr. Pusey says the Greek Church still accepts schismatical and rejects heretical baptism;⁵ but the dissenting sects of Russia are probably regarded as heretics and not as schismatics. Converts from the English or Roman branches of the Church are, we believe, always re-baptized unconditionally, for the Eastern Church has no conditional form. Therefore practically, in the East, every member of the orthodox Church receives baptism from the hands of an orthodox priest, except, to a limited extent, in the emergency of sudden death.

In the West, lay baptism came under consideration more definitely than in the East. St. Pacian, in the latter half of the fourth century, restricts the office of baptizing to the ministry, but he is not referring to cases of necessity;⁶ and his contemporary, St. Optatus, allows the validity of any baptism given in the due form, saying that the minister is not of equal importance with the Name of the Trinity and the faith of the receiver.⁷ That lax views on the matter were growing common is probable from a decree of the Council of Carthage, in 398, forbidding women to baptize,⁸ which could

¹ Arcudius, *De Bapt.* x. See Laurence, *Supplement to Lay Baptism Invalid* (London, 1714), §32; Brett, *Further Enquiry*, &c. p. 5.

² Bingham, p. 98, from Smith, *Account of Greek Church* (London, 1680), pp. 109, 118. Comp. *Second Part of Lay Baptism Invalid*, p. 239.

³ Neale, *History of Eastern Church*, Part I. p. 949.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 948.

⁵ Pusey, *Tertullian*, p. 281.

⁶ Pacian, *Ad. Sempr.* Ep. i. See Waterland, p. 184.

⁷ Opt. *Cont. Parm.* v.

⁸ 'Mulier baptizare non præsumat,' Conc. Carth. can. 100. Gratian (*De Consecr.* iv.) and Peter Lombard (*Sent.* iv. 6) add the words 'nisi cogente necessitate'; but this was a deliberate gloss to pervert the strict meaning of the words. See Bingham, p. 48; Forbes, X. xiii. 23.

scarcely have otherwise been necessary ; and the absence of any similar prohibition as to lay men may perhaps imply that it did not extend to them.

With regard to heretics, the decision of the Council of Arles was generally followed. Thus, a council at Carthage, in 348, while dealing with the Donatists, decided against re-baptizing any who had been baptized with water in the Name of the Trinity.¹ So also Arian and Novatian baptisms were accepted by Pope Siricius at the end of the fourth, and by Pope Innocent at the beginning of the fifth century.² On the other hand, St. Ambrose was disposed to reject all heretical baptism.³ The Luciferians, an episcopal sect, which rose in the later half of the fourth century, allowed the validity of Arian baptism, although they rejected the Arians altogether from the Christian Church.⁴ St. Jerome, in opposing them, maintained that this was illogical ; that baptism and holy orders rest on the same footing, and must stand or fall together. It might be concluded from this that St. Jerome held ordination to be a necessary qualification in the minister of baptism, if it were not that he incidentally remarks that laymen are frequently allowed to baptize in cases of necessity.⁵ This shows that lay baptism had some degree of acceptance in his day.

St. Augustine, who has influenced Western theology more than any man since the days of the Apostles, added the weight of his judgment on the side of its validity. The Donatists, regarding themselves as the only true Church, re-baptized converts from the Catholic faith, and claimed for their support the authority of St. Cyprian. Augustine wrote against them, and, with many expressions of unfeigned admiration for the great martyr bishop, yet maintained that he was mistaken in rejecting heretical baptism, and that his opinion had been overruled by a general council.⁶ Replying to the Donatists, on their own grounds, he lays down that schism does not wholly sever from the Church ;⁷ that the grace of orders

¹ Conc. Carth. can. 1. See *Dict. Christ. Ant.* vol. i. p. 38.

² Siric. Ep. i. *Ad Himerium Tarracaon.* i. Inn. Ep. xviii. *Ad. Alex. Ant.* iii. See Bingham, p. 71.

³ Amb. *De Init.* iv.

⁴ Jerome, *Adv. Lucif.* v. ; Athanasius, *Ep. ad Antioch.* i.

⁵ *Adv. Lucif.* iv. v.

⁶ Aug. *De Bapt.* I. vii. 9 ; xviii. 28 ; II. vii. 12 ; ix. 14 ; III. x. 14 ; IV. vi. 8. He nowhere mentions the name of the council, but it is generally agreed that he must mean the Council of Arles, which was not, however, a general council, and therefore its authority would be less than St. Augustine attributed to it. See Pusey, *Tertullian*, p. 294.

⁷ *De Bapt.* I. viii. 10 ; VII. li. 99.

remains with priests who depart from its unity, and that they can therefore baptize.¹ When they do, it is not their particular heresy which generates sons in baptism, but the Church which generates children of God by their hands.² To support this view, he argues that, since Christ is the real Baptizer, the ministerial agent cannot interfere with the efficacy of the baptism by his own sin.³ At the same time, he distinguishes between the validity and the efficacy of the sacrament, and regards the grace of baptism by heretical and schismatical priests as in abeyance until the person whom they have baptized is reconciled to the Church.⁴ With less certainty, showing that lay baptism was still an open question, he gives it as his own, professedly immature, opinion that 'those persons possess baptism who have received it anywhere whatsoever, and from any persons whatsoever, if it were administered in the words of the Gospel, without hypocrisy, and were received with some degree of faith.'⁵ But he somewhat qualifies this broad liberty by refusing to give any opinion as to whether it would be valid if administered by one who was not himself baptized; or in jest, as in a play; or received, apart from any thought of the communion of the Church, in insincerity or mockery.⁶

From this time the laxer view prevailed in the West almost without exception. As regards heretical baptism by priests, the second Council of Arles, in 452, re-affirmed the Nicene canon for the re-baptism of the Paulianists; but it allowed that of the Bonosiani, another episcopal sect, because they used the valid form, which implies that the Paulianists had tampered with it, and that the formula was the crucial test of validity.⁷ So also St. Leo and Gennadius in the fifth century, Gregory I. at the end of the sixth, and Gregory II. at the beginning of the eighth, all decide the question simply

¹ *De Bapt.* I. i. 2; x. 14. Comp. Ep. xxiii. 2.

² *Ibid.* I. x. 14; xii. 19; xv. 23.

³ *Ibid.* III. iv. 6; *Cont. Pet.* I. v. 6; II. ii. 5; cviii. 247. St. Augustine would seem only to be applying this to the case of priests, where it is a legitimate argument, because of ordination. In Blunt's *Dict. of Doct. and Hist. Theol.* pp. 405, 406, it is applied, under St. Augustine's name, to the case of lay and dissenting baptism, which is wholly different, since here there is no ministerial qualification. If true, the argument, as used here, would destroy the whole need of any ordained ministry at all. See Baldwin, p. 43.

⁴ *De Bapt.* III. x. 13; xiii. 18; IV. xiv.-xvii.; *In Joan.* vi. 8-26.

⁵ *Ibid.* VII. liii. 102.

⁶ *Ibid.* See also *Cont. Parm.* II. xiii. xxix.; and Aug. ap. Gratian, *De Consecr.* IV. xxi. xxxvi.

⁷ Conc. Arelat. II. can. 17.

on the ground of the form used.¹ As regards baptism by Christian laymen, it was allowed in necessity, among others, by Pope Gelasius at the end of the fifth century, by Isidore, bishop of Seville, at the beginning of the seventh, by St. Bernard in the twelfth;² and the Council of Arles, in 1260, directed curates to teach their people how to baptize in due form,³ as also did councils at Ravenna in 1311 and 1314,⁴ and at Salzburg in 1420.⁵ Indeed no opposite opinion seems to have been expressed. There is not quite the same unanimity as to baptism by women; for, though Urban II. at the end of the eleventh century is represented, in the canon law, as allowing it,⁶ Hugo of St. Victor, in the twelfth, speaks of it as still a disputed point.⁷ Grave doubts were felt as to pagan baptism. Gregory II. directed that it was not to be accounted valid, and so did his successor, Gregory III.⁸ But Nicolas I., in the ninth century, says that baptism by a Jew should not be repeated, if conferred in the Name of the Trinity;⁹ and, as time went on, all hesitation disappeared. St. Thomas Aquinas, in the thirteenth century, examines each case of irregular baptism, and successively allows its validity, when administered by a deacon, a Christian layman, a woman, and by one who is himself unbaptized, a Jew, or a pagan, if it be done with the Church's intention.¹⁰ John of Ragusa maintained the same doctrine before the Council of Basle, in 1433.¹¹ Scotus also took this view;¹² and it was authoritatively decreed by Pope Eugenius in the Council of Florence in 1439.¹³ The Council of Trent, in the sixteenth century, followed in the wake of the Council of Florence, still, however, requiring the intention of the Church.¹⁴ The canon law, compiled under Gregory XIII., at the end of this century, decreed the same extensive validity in every case;¹⁵ and so does the Roman Ritual,¹⁶ with the further qualifying clause,

¹ Leo, Ep. xcii. *Ad Rustic.* 18; xxxvi. *Ad Leon. Raven.* 2; lxxvii. *Ad Nicet.* 7. Gennadius, *De Eccles. Dogmat.* lii. Greg. I. Ep. lxi. *Quirino Episc.* Greg. II. Ep. xiv. *Ad Bonif.* 8.

² Gelas. Ep. ix. *Ad Episc. Lucan.* 8. Isid. *De Offic. Eccles.* II. xxiv. Bern. Ep. ccccliii. *Ad Henric. Archidiacon.*

³ Conc. Arel. can. 2.

⁴ See Kelsall in Waterland, p. 83 note.

⁵ Conc. Salz. can. 28.

⁶ *Decret.* II. xxx. 3.

⁷ *Dict. Christ. Ant.* 'Baptism,' § 81.

⁸ Greg. II. Ep. xiv. *Ad Bonif.* 23; Greg. III. Ep. i. *Ad Bonif.* 1.

⁹ Nicolas, *Resp. ad Consulta Bulgor.* 104, ap. *Decret.* III. iv. 24.

¹⁰ Aquinas, *Summa*, III. lxvii. 1, 3, 4, 5.

¹¹ See Martene, I. i. 3.

¹² Scotus, *Sent.* IV. vi. 1.

¹³ Eugen. *Decret. ad Armenos.*

¹⁴ Conc. Trid. Sess. vii. *De Bapt.* iv

¹⁵ *Decret.* III. iv. 20, 21, 23, 28, 32, 36.

¹⁶ *Rit. Rom. Tit. de Min. Bapt.*

'unless for a reasonable cause it seems otherwise to the bishop.'¹

Thus, in the Roman Church, the principle of lay baptism is carried theoretically to an extreme form; but the reservation of intention, and the discretion given to the bishop, leave great room for elasticity in applying the theory to practice. As a matter of fact, her clergy guard the validity of baptism with a most rigid scrupulosity; and, like the Easterns, re-baptize, though in a conditional form, all converts from other parts of Christendom, even when there can be no question whatever as to the matter and words having been duly used. The Roman acceptance of an irregular minister, although it seems so emphatic, practically scarcely exists except on paper. In reality, probably every living member of her communion has, at some time or other, been baptized by a Roman priest.

In England lay baptism had established itself early. Archbishop Theodore, in the seventh century, while decreeing a sentence of excommunication on any layman who baptized unnecessarily, says: 'It is allowed to all the faithful to baptize, compelled by necessity, when by chance they have found that dying persons have not been baptized.' And, in 'the greatest necessity,' he allowed that women also might administer the sacrament.² The *Excerptions* of Ecgbriht, Archbishop of York, in about 740, repeat almost the same words.³ The Sarum and York Manuals give the same liberty; and Lanfranc, in the eleventh century, bears witness to the general permission.⁴ In the thirteenth century, for some reason, canons on the subject abound, and are all to the same effect, often directing the clergy to teach their people how to baptize. Maskell quotes from Hostiensis, Lyndwood, and the *Pupilla Oculi*, as summing up the opinion of canonists in the same sense.⁵ The question of baptism by those outside the Church does not appear in the English canons; but so far as baptism by Churchmen in cases of necessity is concerned, their voice was absolutely unanimous.

In the disordered times of the Reformation opinions were divided upon this, as upon every other subject. Abroad the Lutherans accepted lay baptism.⁶ So did Zuinglius, allowing

¹ *Rit. Rom.* Rubric on Bapt. of Adults. See Pusey, *Tertullian*, p. 295.

² Theod. *Panit.* xliii. 3; xlviii. 21.

³ Ecgb. Can. 95; Johnson, *Eng. Can. Ang. Cath. Lib.* vol. i. p. 235.

⁴ See Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 361.

⁵ Host. *Summa*, III. xlii. 3; Lynd. *Provinciale*, I. 7; III. 24; *Pup. Oc.* II. ii. See Maskell, pp. 211-215.

⁶ Bingham, p. 100.

it by women in necessity,¹ though afterwards the Helvetic Confession in 1566 forbade any but men to administer it.² Calvin, in a letter dated Nov. 13, 1561, allows baptism by men and rejects that by women; but in the *Institutes* he inclines to reject lay baptism altogether,³ and his followers adopted this stricter view.⁴

Whatever doubts were felt by individuals, the compilers of the first English Prayer-Books showed no disposition to interfere with the prevailing custom. In 1549, 1552, and 1559 the direction as to private baptism, 'when the need shall compel,' ran thus :

'Let them that be present call upon God for His grace and say the Lord's Prayer, if the time will suffer. And then one of them shall name the child and dip him in the water, or pour water upon him, saying these words, *N. I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.* And let them not doubt but that the child so baptized is lawfully and sufficiently baptized, and ought not to be baptized again in the church.'

There would seem to be no room for doubt that by 'one of them' a layman is contemplated, at any rate inclusively with a priest, especially as both the Sarum Office and the *Consultation* of Hermann, which were the two chief sources of the English service, expressly provide for lay baptism.⁵

To what extent laymen actually baptized in post-Reformation times it is difficult to determine. It certainly remained the custom, under the English Prayer-Book, to administer an oath to midwives, by which they pledged themselves to baptize in the due form. Baptism by women was at any rate common enough for Sandys, Archbishop of York, to think it necessary to urge that the Queen should take measures to put a stop to it.⁶ If it had been unusual, the Protestant reformers would scarcely have made it such a frequent topic of complaint as they did.⁷ Whitgift, at that time Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, published in 1574 his celebrated *Defence of the Answer to the Admonition*, in which he replied categorically to sundry objections by Cartwright, and defended lay baptism

¹ Zuing. *De Bapt.* ii. See Bingham, p. 103, and Whitgift, *Defence of Answer to the Admonition*, Parker Soc. vol. ii. pp. 511, 526.

² Conf. Helv. Art. 20.

³ Calv. *Inst.* IV. xv. 20-22.

⁴ See Bingham, p. 105.

⁵ See Proctor, *History of Book of Common Prayer*, 9th ed. pp. 387, 390, notes.

⁶ Sandys, *Works*, Parker Soc. p. 433; see also his will, p. 448.

⁷ See *Zurich Letters*, Parker Soc. vol. i. pp. 164, 178; vol. ii. pp. 130, 149, 356, 357, 361; Bullinger, *Decades*, vol. v. p. 370.

VOL. XXV.—NO. XLIX.

in cases of necessity.¹ He held his judgment somewhat in suspense as to the lawfulness of its administration by women, thinking the rubric in the Prayer-Book meant 'that private baptism is rather to be ministered by some minister (which in time of necessity may soonest be come by) than by any woman.'² But, whether lawful or not, he maintained that all baptism with water and the right words was valid, by whomsoever administered, and that the most learned men in the Church had always been of this opinion.³

The subject came prominently before Convocation in 1575; and, among the articles passed by the two houses in that year, the twelfth decreed that—

'Private baptism, in case of necessity, is only to be ministered by a lawful minister or deacon, called to be present for that purpose, and by none other.'⁴

It is doubtful whether this article was ever promulgated.⁵ At any rate, it did not close the controversy. The Puritans were still actively protesting against baptism by women ten years later,⁶ while better Churchmen as a rule opposed their objections. Thus, Hooker, in 1594, in his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, warmly defended lay baptism, including that by women.⁷ His argument is defective in some points, but it has no doubt largely influenced later English opinion, by the weight of his name. Others followed on the same side. Abbott, afterwards Archbishop, in his Oxford lectures in 1597, accepted its validity, though strong as to its irregularity.⁸ The University of Oxford, in their answer to the Millenary Petition in 1603, also affirmed its validity, even 'if perchance' it were administered by women, contrary to the spirit of the Prayer-Book.⁹ The Vice-Chancellor, and heads of houses at Cambridge, endorsed this answer with their approval in a formal letter to the Oxonians, dated October 7, 1603.¹⁰

The matter received much attention at the Hampton

¹ Whitgift, vol. ii. pp. 519–540.

² *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 493. Comp. vol. ii. p. 540.

³ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 528; Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, vol. iii. p. 139.

⁴ *Remains of Grindal*, Parker Soc., p. 188.

⁵ See Scott, Preface to *Lay Baptism Invalid*, p. xxxvi.

⁶ Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, vol. i. p. 386.

⁷ *Ecccl. Pol.* V. lxi. lxii.

⁸ Abbott, *De Bapt.* Prælect. ii. (Oxon. 1597) pp. 70, 99. See Bingham, pp. III, 115.

⁹ *Answer of University of Oxford to the Petition of Ministers of the Church of England desiring Reformation of Ceremonies* (Oxford, 1603), p. II.

¹⁰ See *Answer to Exceptions against the Bishop of Oxford's Charge by Mr. L. and Dr. B.* (London, 1713), p. 122.

Court Conference in 1604. In the result, the bishops agreed to certain alterations, whereby the Prayer-Book gave explicit authorization only to baptism by a 'lawful minister.' The title of the office for private baptism was expanded by adding the words, 'by the minister of the parish, or any other lawful minister that can be procured.' In the rubrics, for 'baptize not their children at home,' there were substituted the words, 'procure not their children to be baptized at home;' and the phrase, 'them that be present,' was replaced by 'the minister that be present;' and 'one of them shall name the child and dip him in water,' by 'the child being named by some one of them that is present, the said lawful minister shall dip it in the water;' together with one or two other slight alterations of the same kind.¹ And thus the rubrics were left in 1661, except for a few trifling amendments, the chief of which was the omission of the restrictive words from the heading of the office.

It cannot be seriously doubted, although it has been questioned,² that a 'lawful minister' here means one in holy orders. But it does not follow from this that the Church of England in 1604 repudiated the validity of lay baptism. The Roman office, exactly in the same way, speaks of the minister only as 'sacerdos,' and yet allows a layman to baptize in emergency. The restriction affects the regularity, but not necessarily the validity, of a lay administration.

One of the inquiries by which the sufficiency of a private baptism is to be tested is, 'By whom was this child baptized?' It has been argued that this question would be unnecessary, unless it were material to the validity that the baptizer should have been a 'lawful minister.'³ But the same question stood in precisely the same position in the original offices of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, which certainly allowed lay baptism. The object of the inquiry, therefore, can only be to elicit such information as may enable the clergyman to judge whether all is likely to have been done in due order, which can be the only intention of the corresponding question, 'Who was present when this child was baptized?' Indeed, this is put almost beyond doubt by the insertion, in 1604, of the clause as to 'some things essential to this sacrament,' not before

¹ Cardwell, *Conferences*, pp. 139, 172, 174-176, 219.

² Maskell, *Holy Baptism*, p. 233; Phillimore, *Book of Church Law*, p. 43.

³ Scott, Preface to *Lay Baptism Invalid*, p. xlvii.; Blunt, *Dissenters' Baptism and Church Burials* (Exeter, 1840), p. 103; Burgess, *Reflections on the Judgment of Sir H. Nicholl*, p. 29. It was also urged by counsel in the case of *Mastin v. Escott*.

these inquiries, but after them, and before those as to the 'matter' and 'words.' At the same date was added the rubric which orders conditional baptism simply 'if they which bring the infant to the church do make such uncertain answers to the priest's questions as that it cannot appear that the child was baptized with water, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost (which are essential parts of baptism).'¹ And when, in 1661, the office for baptizing adults was drawn up, the reason assigned for its need was simply the growth of Anabaptism, whereby many had grown up unbaptized. If the revisers had considered lay baptism invalid, they would certainly, as Maskell says, have given as a further reason the growth of irregular ministrations, whereby many had already in those days grown up without baptism by a 'lawful minister.'² It is difficult to arrive at any other conclusion than that the intention was to discourage, but not to condemn, lay baptism.

Various opinions, however, were still held by divines of note. Jeremy Taylor was strongly against lay baptism, and believed that the omission of its sanction in the Prayer-Book was tantamount to its rejection.³ Dean Comber was also opposed to it.⁴ On the other hand, Thorndike fully accepted its validity when administered by a Christian.⁵ So also did Sparrow and Bramhall.⁶

Somewhat later than these came the pamphlet controversy which Roger Laurence either initiated or fomented. He is described as a 'book-keeper,' or merchant's clerk, in London,⁷ who, having received dissenters' baptism in his infancy, was, at his own special request, baptized hypothetically by the curate of Christ Church on March 31, 1708.⁸ In 1710 he published the first edition of *Lay Baptism Invalid*. The most original part of the book is written with a pedantic affectation of mathematical accuracy, in propositions, with definitions, axioms, demonstrations, and corollaries, after the manner of

¹ Maskell, pp. 235, 236; Sir H. Jenner, *Report of Case of Mastin v. Escott*, by W. C. Curteis (London, 1841), p. 282.

² Maskell, p. 245; Sir J. Nicholl, *Kemp v. Wickes*, p. 31.

³ Taylor, *Ductor Dubitantium*, III. iv. 15, § 2.

⁴ Comber, *Comp. to Temple*, ed. 1701, p. 602.

⁵ Thorndike, *Rights of the Church*, iii. 23; *Covenant of Grace*, xix. 12; *Laws of the Church*, viii. 11.

⁶ Sparrow, *Rationale*, ed. 1839, p. 242; Bramhall, *Works*, Ang. Cath. Lib. vol. ii. pp. 81, 618.

⁷ Bishop White Kennet, *The Wisdom of looking Backward, &c* (London, 1715), pp. 88, 221.

⁸ *Lay Baptism Invalid*, p. lxxii. and Scott's Preface, p. vii.

Euclid, which make it tedious to read. But there is force in its arguments, and it attracted attention. It apparently led Bishop Burnet to preach in support of lay baptism at Salisbury, on November 5 and 7 of the same year; Bishop Fleetwood wrote a formal reply to it in 1711;¹ and Bishop Talbot in his Charge at Oxford also defended lay baptism. Laurence, who was always ready to rush into print, published separate answers to each of the three bishops,² and in 1712 brought out a third and enlarged edition of *Lay Baptism Invalid*. A more formidable opponent than his episcopal adversaries came on the field in the same year in the person of Bingham, who thought the controversy of sufficient importance to make him suspend his work upon the *Antiquities* while he wrote the first part of his *Scholastical History of Lay Baptism*, with a special appendix against Laurence's book.

Meantime the subject had come before the Convocation of Canterbury in 1712, in connexion with some utterances of Dodwell, Camden Professor at Oxford, who was for re-baptizing dissenters. Archbishop Tenison, with some of the bishops, drew up a resolution against this opinion; but, owing to the fear of Archbishop Sharp, of York, that it might encourage irregular baptism, it was not brought before the northern Convocation. In the southern province it was passed by the Upper House, with some dissentients. It was sent down to the Lower House on May 14, but the majority there were opposed to considering it, and thus Convocation was saved from committing itself rashly to a decision; and no attempt has since been made to obtain a synodical declaration on the subject. The controversialists, however, were too excited in the dispute to suspend their judgment, like Convocation, and carried on the controversy for some years.

The discussion was indirectly revived, in the present century, by two cases in the law courts. The first was an action brought against the Rev. J. W. Wickes, rector of Wardley-cum-Belton, for refusing to bury a child who had been baptized by a Calvinistic Independent preacher.³ It was tried in the Arches Court, and Sir John Nicholl, the official principal, gave judgment on December 11, 1809, against the defendant.

¹ *The Judgment of the Church of England in the Case of Lay Baptism and of Dissenters' Baptism*, published anonymously.

² Against Burnet: *Sacerdotal Powers*, 1711, with an appendix containing a *Letter* from Dr. Brett. Against Fleetwood: *Dissenters' and other unauthorised Baptisms null and void by the Articles, Canons, and Rubrics of the Church of England*, 1712, 2nd ed. 1713. Against Talbot: *The Bishop of Oxford's Charge considered*, 1712.

³ *Judgment in Kemp v. Wickes*, pp. 5, 6.

The judgment was not particularly able. It discussed the question of lay baptism; but Nicholl's investigation of the subject was incomplete, and, from his point of view, it was not of much importance, since he maintained that a dissenting minister was more than a layman, under the State Toleration Acts,¹ and that 'unbaptized' in the Burial Service Rubric meant unbaptized by anyone whatsoever. A similar suit was tried in 1841, when the Rev. T. S. Escott, vicar of Gedney, in Lincolnshire, was prosecuted in the Arches Court, by Mr. Mastin, a farmer and Wesleyan class teacher, for refusing to bury a child who had been baptized by a Wesleyan minister. No stress was laid by the counsel on any supposed clerical claims of the minister;² and, therefore, the question turned almost entirely on the validity of lay baptism. Sir Herbert Jenner (afterwards Jenner-Fust) delivered judgment on May 8, 1841, against Escott, chiefly on the ground that lay baptism was admittedly acknowledged in the Church of England up to 1604, and that the later rubrics had not formally rescinded its acceptance. An appeal was made to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and Lord Brougham gave judgment on July 2, 1842, sustaining the decision of the Arches Court; but the subject was not one upon which he had any original knowledge, and he did not contribute anything of value to its elucidation.

Thus, the question stands at present to some extent an open one in the Church of England. Practically, however, while less bound to allow lay baptism than the Roman Church, or perhaps even the modern Greek Church, her clergy are far more ready to accept the validity of irregular baptism than the clergy of any other part of Christendom. For, whereas these always find an excuse for re-baptizing their converts, even from other Catholic communions, the English clergy, with rare exceptions, seem to admit almost any schismatical baptism without demur, and almost without inquiry even as to the due use of the essential matter and words.

It is singular that a subject of such vast importance, discussed in some form or other, at intervals, through nearly the whole course of Church history, should still be open to dispute. It is impossible, on the one hand, to ignore the grave questions of principle involved in accepting the validity of lay baptism; but it is equally impossible, on the other hand, to disregard the constant, if hesitating, tendency of the Church to allow it, especially in the later days of the West. A final

¹ *Judgment in Kemp v. Wickes*, p. 36.

² Curteis, *A full Report of the Case of Mastin v. Escott*, &c. p. 11.

judgment upon such a serious and debated point can only now be given by a general council.

All that can be attempted, then, in conclusion, is to suggest the practical bearing of the inquiry upon the treatment of baptism by irregular ministers. These may all be classed under one or another of five heads: 1. Heathen, Jews, and unbaptized persons. 2. Heretical and schismatical priests. 3. Lay Churchmen. 4. Women. 5. Dissenters.

1. To allow baptism by heathen or the unbaptized is no doubt a logical deduction from confining the essentials absolutely to the matter and words. But it must be remembered that the earlier decrees which recognize lay baptism usually qualify the recognition by the condition that the baptizer should himself be a Christian; and there is something so anomalous in the idea that one who is outside the divine covenant can admit others into it, that it does certainly seem as if the liberty must here be extended too far.¹

2. The early Eastern and African Churches were clearly against accepting the ministrations of heretical or schismatical priests under formal excommunication. The maturer mind of the Church has been in the direction of such a full recognition of the indelible character of orders, that the general view now is that their acts must permanently carry the force of their sacramental commission. Therefore it would seem that those who are baptized in an episcopal schism, like that of Bishop Colenso or Bishop Beccles, need nothing more than reconciliation with the Church, though, until such reconciliation, it may be maintained, with St. Augustine, that the grace of their baptism is in abeyance.

3. Baptism by lay Churchmen presents greater difficulties. For, whatever be the sanction of custom, there is the crucial objection that baptism belongs to the bishops as successors of the Apostles, and the laity have received no ministerial authority as the priesthood have. Kelsall dealt with the question as though it were only a matter of discipline, in which the bishops could give leave to the laity if they wished.² But sacraments require more than a disciplinary permission for their administration. As Waterland pointed out in his reply, and as Laurence and others maintained, the only apostolic way of giving a commission to minister sacraments is by ordination, and this makes a man a clergyman in perpetuity,

¹ Lyndwood, however, does not hesitate to extend the validity of lay baptism even to this extreme case: 'et idem dico,' he says, 'de non baptizato baptizante' (lib. i. tit. 7, p. 41, Oxford ed. 1679).

² Kelsall in Waterland, p. 97.

and takes him out of the category of laymen.¹ Tertullian felt this so strongly that he was obliged to rest his plea for lay baptism on the doctrine of the lay priesthood.² But there is a clear distinction between the priesthood of the laity and that of the clergy. The former are priests 'unto God,' 'to offer up spiritual sacrifices,' upwards;³ while the clergy are in addition priests unto men, to act as channels of God's grace downwards.⁴ Baptism distinctly belongs to the second kind of priesthood, and therefore not to the priesthood of the laity. Nevertheless, in the face of the long and wide acceptance of lay baptism, it is the clear duty of a lay Churchman, in a case of necessity, to lay aside whatever scruples he may feel, and reverently to baptize the dying person. In the event, however, of recovery, it is surely best to take measures to supply whatever may be lacking through the irregularity of the administration.

4. It has never been given to women to exercise the office of a ministerial priest, and, therefore, greater hesitation has always been felt in allowing them to baptize. Still, seeing that their baptism is accepted in theory in the Roman Church, and in some parts at least of the Greek, and that it was at one time formally sanctioned in the English Church, and has been defended by some of her great theologians since, it is certainly the duty of a Church woman, in the absence of a Church man, to baptize in urgent necessity. But whatever doubts hang round lay baptism are stronger in this case than in the other; and, therefore, there is a proportionately greater need to supply its possible defects if there is an occasion for doing so.

5. No Church layman in these days is likely to baptize without real necessity, and the cases will therefore be comparatively rare. But it is not so with dissenters' baptism. Their so-called ministers baptize constantly, without any necessity, and with far less right than a layman in communion with the Church. Mr. Baldwin sums up the special objections to it clearly. While admitting that God may possibly, and perhaps probably, accept baptism as valid when it is administered 'in case of extreme danger of death,' by a layman 'in communion with the ministry of the Church,' 'acting under the protection of the bishop, and as the lawful minister's deputy,' he says:

'The case is wholly and radically different when a "minister" of a religious sect presumes to "baptize." He is *not* in communion with

¹ Waterland, pp. 144, 145.

² Tert. *Exhort. ad Cast.* vii.

³ Rev. i. 6; 1 Pet. ii. 5.

⁴ St. Matt. xxviii. 18, 19; St. John xx. 21; 2 Cor. v. 20; vi. 1.

the ministry of the Church ; he is *not* acting under the protection of the bishop, but rather in opposition to the bishop ; he does *not* act as the deputy of the lawful minister ; neither does he baptize because of extreme danger of death. He takes upon himself the office of baptizing, simply and solely because for some reason or other he imagines himself, or is imagined by other people, to have a kind of ministerial power about him.¹

Some of these objections may perhaps be fairly met. The restriction of lay baptism to cases of necessity is a regulation of order, and probably the contempt of this regulation would not affect the validity of the act, although it must add to the responsibility of the officiant. Again, although the dissenter certainly does not baptize as a deputy of the lawful minister, he so far acts for him as that he no doubt means to do what Christ intended to be done, which meets any reasonable doctrine of intention. The want of episcopal authority is made much of by all opponents of dissenters' baptism. But no one has proper authority to administer a sacrament except by ordination. If a lay Churchman, who has never been 'sent' to baptize, nevertheless may baptize, it is but a small step further, judged merely by the authority of commission, to allow that some one else who has equally not been sent may also do the same. For all baptized persons are in some sense members of the Church, and dissenters may be supposed to have inherited from the mother whom they have forsaken such powers of baptizing as belong to the laity of the Church, and to be handing them on with an increased irregularity, but still with a remote kind of validity. But this can only be true on the assumption that lay baptism is valid. Dissenters' baptism certainly rests on a precarious foundation ; and it is obvious that a lay communicant is a far safer person to administer the sacrament than a dissenting preacher, who at best is an excommunicate layman.

It is popularly supposed that the defects of lay or dissenting baptism are supplied by confirmation ;² but this is not accurate. The ancient decrees about the reception of persons baptized by heretics and schismatics do certainly, in many instances, order either the imposition of hands or, in the East, anointing with oil.³ The latter, no doubt, means confirmation, generally speaking ; but the former was a usual ceremony in reconciling penitents, and probably reconcilia-

¹ Baldwin, p. 26.

² Scott, *Laurence*, p. xlviii. from Nathaniel Marshall ; Bingham, pp. 72-80 ; Hook, *Church Dict.* p. 433.

³ See Morinus, *De Pæn.* IX. ix. x. ; *Parochial Missions*, edited by mission priests of St. John Evan. pp. 134-141, from Morinus.

tion and not confirmation is the intention of many of the canons. Morinus, however, who goes into the subject at length, was disposed to consider that confirmation was meant in all the cases. But, if this is correct, such confirmation was not used as a remedy for the defects of an irregular baptism, but merely in the same way as any baptized person requires it. Confirmation presupposes valid baptism, and the very fact of ordering it would amount to an express recognition of the irregular baptism. If lay or dissenting baptism is not valid in itself, it certainly is not made valid by confirmation or any other supplementary rite.

The difficulty which many feel in even considering the possibility of doubt as to the validity of irregular baptism is that they think it involves consequences of too serious a kind to be consistent with the security of the Church's constitution. They urge that, if lay baptism is condemned, vast numbers of professing Christians must in fact be unbaptized, while living in the communion of the Church and partaking of her sacraments; that their salvation would thus be imperilled, unconsciously to themselves; that many such have received the ordination of priests, and some the consecration of bishops; that their own ordination would then be invalid, and thus all their ministrations to others would be invalid also, and so invalid baptisms, confirmations, absolutions, eucharists, and ordinations would be multiplied in the Church, until no one could be certain of the validity of any sacramental rite whatever.¹ Laurence, Brett, and Waterland sought to escape from this dilemma by maintaining that an unbaptized person might hold a true commission by ordination, and therefore could validly administer sacraments which he had never received himself.² They propounded this theory with hesitation, and it was received with little favour. But there is no need to resort to such a solution of the difficulty. A rejection of dissenters' baptism must be qualified by common sense. If the proper ministration has failed through ignorance, there may be the most implicit belief that God will supply the defect. Even St. Cyprian, the stern advocate for baptismal discipline, allowed this, and so did the strictest of the eighteenth-century controversialists.³ It would be an intolerable doctrine that where irregular baptism has been

¹ Abbott, *De Bapt.* ii. Comp. Whitgift, vol. ii. p. 527.

² *Lay Baptism Invalid*, pp. 90-103; Brett, *Enquiry*, p. 111; Waterland, pp. 79, 215-226.

³ Cyprian, Ep. lxxiii. 23; *Lay Baptism Invalid*, p. 64; Hickes, *Letter to the Author*, 3rd ed. of *Lay Baptism Invalid*, p. xxxviii.

administered and received in all good faith, it should be rendered absolutely nugatory by an error of which neither administrator nor recipient were conscious. No uneasiness need be felt about the consequences of those lay and schismatical baptisms which have thus been given, and for which no remedy can be applied ; but this does not render it any the less necessary to do whatever can be done to put a baptism beyond the reach of doubt when there is the means and the opportunity for doing so.

Such a means certainly exists in the conditional formula provided in the Prayer-Book. This completely secures that a person shall be validly baptized, without running any risk of the sacrilege of re-baptization. Maskell thought that clergy had no right to fall back on such an easy expedient.¹ No doubt the earlier ages endeavoured to fix the validity or invalidity of particular classes of irregular baptism, and did not leave them open to a conditional remedy. But no conditional form existed in those days. It was suggested by the exigencies of circumstances, and is only first found in the statutes of St. Boniface, Archbishop of Mayence, in the eighth century.² Such a formula is still unknown in the East. Now that we have it, there is no reason why it should not be used in any case of reasonable doubt. The Scotch Church in 1838 decided that the hypothetical form might be used for anyone who should have scruples as to the validity of his own schismatical baptism.³ Dr. Pusey recommended its adoption in all uncertain cases, and, indeed, assumed that it would be used for those baptized by dissenters. He says :

‘The practice now adopted by the Scotch Church and in our own with regard to persons baptized by such as are not only in schism, but never received any commission to baptize (a case to which there is no parallel in the early Church), unites the advantages of the Latin and Greek practice : of the Latin in that it avoids the risk of real re-baptizing, which the ancients regarded as a profanation of the sacred Names ; of the Greek in that it does what in us lies to provide that none of the blessings and grace of baptism be lost through our omission, and is an act of piety towards God, desiring that whatever may have hitherto been lacking be supplied.’⁴

The late Bishop Wordsworth was of the same mind, for he wrote to Mr. Baldwin, March 4, 1874 :

‘The Church has not condemned baptism administered by laymen ; but I have no hesitation in saying that if I had been baptized

¹ Maskell, *Holy Baptism*, p. 220. Comp. p. 388.

² Martene, *De Rit. Ant. Ecc.*

³ Synod, 1838, can. 17 ; Pusey, *Tertullian*, p. 295.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 297.

by a person whose commission to baptize was doubtful, I should desire to be baptized with the hypothetical form by a duly ordained minister.'

The use of the hypothetical form avoids presumptuous dogmatism on a debatable point, which the Church has not yet decided with authority ; and it is absolutely free from any danger of the sacrilege of iterating baptism, supposing the previous ceremony was really and completely valid. At the same time, conditional baptism satisfies the obligations of the clergy, who have inherited the charge, 'Go ye, baptizing them,' and who are therefore bound not to acquiesce in the usurpation of their office by those who have received no such commission ; it satisfies the needs of the person, who thereby secures the full grace of the sacrament with a certainty which cannot be disputed ; and it is perfectly loyal to both letter and spirit of the formularies of the English Church, which, if she abstains from condemning irregular baptism, at least gives it no explicit sanction, and thus puts it upon a very different footing from regular baptism administered by the Church's ordained and lawful ministers.

ART. II.—SCEPTICAL CHRISTIANITY.

1. *Christ and Christianity.* 2. *The Story of the Four.* 3. *The Picture of Jesus.* 4. *The Picture of Paul.* 5. *The Conquering Cross.* By the Rev. H. R. HAWEIS, M.A., Incumbent of St. James's, Marylebone. (London, 1886-1887.)

THESE pretty volumes present the outward appearance of a series of novels. They are bound in the correct shade of red, traversed at the proper angle by a bar in black, and bear their titles in a mixture of Greek characters with English which may be art, but are not letters as ordinary mortals of either race have used them.

They are not novels, however. But the distinction does not lie in their dealing with facts ; multitudes of historical romances have been written with less wresting of facts than Mr. Haweis uses. The distinction seems rather to consist in this, that if Mr. Haweis had been composing a novel he would have been required to be far more definite in his presentation

of the story which he laid before his readers, and far more careful to gather up the threads of the narrative. He writes with considerable vivacity, and many a passage of imaginative interest has reconciled us to go on reading when we were almost provoked by his levity and arrogance to throw his book aside. But pretty passages do not, we know, make even a good novel if there be glaring faults of construction, and if we do not find ourselves transported into the scenes which are supposed to be presented to us. Now Mr. Haweis does not possess the intellectual industry to construct any account of any part of Christianity completely. It is no trouble to him to pass by objections and to lay down doubtful or exploded views as the only true and honest statement of the facts. He calls his volumes pictures, as if they were to set before us the personages of the New Testament, and is so desperately graphic that whenever he catches sight of anything which will make a picture, he is at it with pencil and brush, whether it is connected with his subject or not. Thus in vol. v. he gives us twenty or thirty pages of pictures from the life of Nero, *à propos* of the subject of the conquering Cross. And, indeed, as for these pictures, all we get from them is but a few flashes of colour, a kind of fireworks which illuminate the person of the exhibitor better than any other object. We are never allowed to forget the author himself nor the contempt which he affects towards his opponents in this nineteenth century. The only person of whom we obtain a definite picture is Mr. Haweis.

No one can complain that he labours to hide his own personality. Indeed some of his self-revelations are involuntary, and force upon us the doubt whether he quite possesses the qualities requisite for the task of restating the doctrines of Christianity in a better form than that in which St. Paul left them. We are not impressed by the attainments of a gentleman who can write, 'the "amare aliquid" lay in the Gnostic denying to Jesus anything but a phantom existence,'¹ or who thinks that the price at which a horse or a chariot could be exported from Egypt in Solomon's time is the 'cab and horse fare' into that country, and proves therefore how readily the descent into Egypt might be made.² A hundred and twelve pounds would have been rather dear for humble people. He also conceives that the word 'phenomenon' refers only to extraordinary or unusual facts, for he thinks it necessary to inform us that 'personally he believes in a phenomenal ele-

¹ *The Story of the Four*, 109.

² *The Picture of Jesus*, 18.

ment running through all history ;' ¹ and that 'no phenomena—no practices, gifts, privileges, can elude these questions ;' and that 'Paul's ministry is characteristically more saturated with the phenomenal at Ephesus than elsewhere.' ² We find a specimen (among many) of his good taste as well as of his scholarship in this illustration of the Lord's injunction, 'Swear not at all':—'The adjuration, "My eye and Betty Martin," for instance, was simply the old Catholic swearing by a popular saint—"O mihi beate Martine" ("O blessed St. Martin hear me").' ³ Mr. Haveis is of opinion that 'expressions such as "seeing through a glass darkly" are very suggestive (the glass being the dim horn windows of the period)' ⁴—a condemned interpretation, as his favourite authority, Dean Stanley, will tell him *in loc.* He finds it recorded, apparently in his private copy of the Acts, that 'Barnabas, the son of Consolation, was chosen to fill Judas Iscariot's place.' ⁵ His Roman history likewise tells him that Corinth was destroyed by 'Consul Memmius.' ⁶ Perhaps we need hardly mention such peculiarities of spelling as *hailed* before the Sanhedrim, and *elogium*. ⁷ But when Mr. Haveis ⁸ assumes that in the larger gospels of Matthew and Luke, parables on the model, and sayings in the spirit, of Jesus' teaching may find a not inappropriate place, and quotes in illustration of this principle, 'there was in Him what theologians term a communication of idioms,' we really cannot help concluding that he believes the term *communicatio idiomatum*, by which theologians express the mutual influence of the two natures in Christ, to mean the imparting of idiomatic terms of speech by the Lord to His disciples !

Mr. Haveis is not only sometimes at variance with common knowledge, but even with himself. Thus we find ourselves ⁹ informed that St. Luke, 'as a medical student, might have known Paul about A.D. 52 ; then in A.D. 94 he would be only about sixty. We cannot place the date of his Gospel much before or much after A.D. 94.' While if we proceed forward about sixty pages, 'we conjecture in A.D. 90, when the evangelist and doctor may have been about sixty-seven, he issues his Gospel, following that up in about A.D. 94 with his Acts.' It would be of no great importance were we not dealing with a writer who professes to give us such dogmatic information that St. Mark wrote his Gospel 'probably about

¹ *The Picture of Jesus*, 57.

² *The Picture of Jesus*, 90.

³ *Ibid.* 59. ⁶ *Ibid.* 121.

⁸ *The Story of the Four*, 60.

² *The Picture of Paul*, 146, 147.

⁴ *The Picture of Paul*, 91.

⁷ *Ibid.* 193, 234.

⁹ *Ibid.* 71.

A.D. 70 to A.D. 74 ;¹ while, again, the earliest Gospel is 'by St. Mark, A.D. 75.'² But we are somewhat staggered when again³ we learn that about A.D. 70, Mark, the companion and amanuensis of Peter, probably at Rome, worked up some of the floating traditions which he may have had by him for twenty years or more. We read⁴ that it is of little consequence whether the Sermon on the Mount in St. Matthew is the same as that recorded in Luke vi., or only one like it. Jesus no doubt often repeated the same things ; if He had not, they would never have remembered, recorded, and handed them down to us. He used repetitions, but not vain repetitions. But a few pages further on⁵ we are informed in respect of the Lord's Prayer, that 'Matthew says it was given in the midst of a *crowd* while Jesus was *preaching*. Luke says it was given in *solitude* to His disciples when Jesus was *praying*. The fragment stands much the same in both documents ; but the setting, the editing, or the placing of it is only one more illustration of the way in which these evangelic fragments were combined and recombined ; set, or, as we should say, *edited*, according to the taste or information of the special scribe, collector, or evangelist.' Why may similar phenomena be explained as examples of repetition on the Lord's part in one case, and furnish instances of editing on the evangelist's part in another ?

Mr. Haweis propounds the theory of irreconcilable difference between St. Paul and the Twelve in a form more exaggerated than we suppose any writer of the Tübingen school. No assurances on the part of the parties concerned will suffice to convince him that there was no such difference.⁶ He knows better. Accordingly he represents St. Luke as smoothing matters and making Paul agree with Peter (in spite of his own Epistle to the contrary, Galatians). But by the time he comes to vol. v. he seems to have discovered in how little credit the Tübingen hypothesis stands, and he says 'that Peter and Paul had never any personal differences beyond those related in the Acts and by no means toned down in St. Paul's Epistles, we may doubt ; but that their disciples had we cannot doubt.'

¹ *The Story of the Four*, 129. ² *Ibid.* 24. ³ *The Picture of Jesus*, 5.

⁴ *Ibid.* 84. The same page contains a rich specimen of Mr. Haweis' expositions :—'He opened His mouth—took care to pronounce His words so as to be heard. What a lesson to all preachers ! How many of the clergy mumble the lessons and mangle the sermon !'

⁵ *Ibid.* 95.

⁶ *The Story of the Four*, 133–5, 149, 156, 167 ; *The Picture of Paul*, 170–2, 248 ; *The Conquering Cross*, 59.

These references will probably convince our readers that we have not to do with a writer whose influence on religious belief is likely to be deep. Perhaps some may even question whether we are justified in devoting further space to his work. But though we can pretend no great respect for Mr. Haweis's treatment of his subject, the subject itself is of transcendent importance. And great though his defects be, we should do very wrong to despise him. The circulation of his various works is alone sufficient to show that he must meet the wants or hit the fancy of many minds.

No doubt part of his popularity is due to the confidence with which he offers himself as a teacher who sees deeper into a millstone than the ordinary run, and flatters his readers with the notion that they must be superior persons in order to appreciate his teaching. But besides this he has the claim to popularity which results from representing in his own person and expressing with no lack of cleverness the mental condition of a multitude at this time : those, namely, who want to have the enjoyments of scepticism and Christianity at the same time. We live in a sceptical age, and our daily life is organized upon a material basis, behind which lie the great principles of natural science, with its vast pretensions and splendid triumphs, adding sanction to every claim of domination which the laws of earth assert in daily life. There is none of us who does not feel it. The most miraculous occurrence would be sceptically received by every mind of the day, and even those best prepared to accept supernatural intervention upon due proof feel themselves forced to class phenomena as natural, except upon rigorous proof that they belong to another sphere. Thus we judge of Lourdes, of Knock, of spiritualism, table-turning, and phantasms of the living. This is our habit of mind, and we have no right to be astonished that it should operate in the sphere of religion and upon the New Testament record as well as upon events which come to light to-day. Yet side by side with this naturalistic and material bent of mind there exists among us an appreciation of the moral power and spiritual value of Christianity and a yearning after its helps, such as no previous age has exceeded. The absolute freedom of the press has given to unbelievers the fullest opportunity of producing a substitute for Christianity if they can, and they have completely failed. General society takes none of their attempts at the manufacture of religion with seriousness. Christianity, so far as our public is concerned, is in sole possession of whatever moral and spiritual recommendations a credible and effective religion brings with it. And though in some eyes

these recommendations are but slight and to be the best of religions seems only to be the best of a quite useless commodity, yet such is not the feeling of the majority of society. In various degrees, but almost universally, they are persuaded that religion is a good thing, and Christianity as the best of religions comes to them with an irresistible claim. Mr. Leslie Stephen may ask, are we Christian? and return for himself the decisive answer No; but he will not find many to follow him. We quite allow that of those who refuse to follow there are a large proportion who do so merely for want of his clear-sightedness and courage. Be that as it may, the mass of men among us cling to the name of Christian.

And so we are all drawn by two systems, two influences, each of vast reach and power in its way, but of opposite character and tendency. To say that the spiritual and natural influences which bear upon us are irreconcilable in their claims would be to pronounce a sentence of despair upon human life and progress; but they are constantly in collision at some point or other. The marches are not defined by any formal treaty, and there is a constant border warfare. To multitudes, indeed, of humble Christian men and women this brings no grievous trouble. They do not live in the border land, but in the settled peaceful country. They are able both to act upon physical principles in life and to give religion its place and power without too closely examining where the claims of the one end and those of the other begin. Also it has been proved by many examples that it is possible for men who have searched as deeply and as fearlessly as any into the laws of nature to believe that they still leave room for the supernatural, and to be Christians with an ungrudging and devoted faith.

But we should naturally expect, and do in fact find, that at such a time there would be many trimmers who, either through natural tendency of mind, or education, or the influence of other people, would be drawn practically by the one influence while unwilling wholly to renounce the other. They are like the Whig statesmen of William and Mary who maintained a secret correspondence with St. Germain, or like the Jacobite lairds who took care that their eldest sons should be Hanoverians. Which is right, Religion or Science? Who can tell? Let us then keep well with both. That this kind of backstairs friendship with one of the great contending parties, while the heart really goes to the other, is possible among the friends of religion, cannot be candidly denied. We cannot refuse to recognize the presence in the Church of a great many

persons who view the progress of human knowledge with jealousy, and accept its conclusions only because they cannot help it. Men of science often assume somewhat unfairly, and yet with a degree of plausibility, that this is the universal and necessary attitude of the Church towards their favourite pursuits. And they also are prone to suspect, and very often with good reason, that this half-hearted friendship to science deprives the acceptance which of necessity is extended to it of all real claim to the scientific temper. You avail yourself of the principles of nature, say they, merely because they are in undeniable existence, and because they bring you palpable advantages. But your spirit is unscientific at the root; science bears no real rule over it. You are always watching for an opportunity of revolt.

Such accusations are frequently well grounded. But this very fact would lead us to expect that a corresponding suspicion on the other side would equally often be justified. We should expect that there would be people whose real adherence would be given to nature and the world, for whom natural causes and operations would alone possess reality, yet who would not desire to break with religion. The advantages and blessings of religion are as manifest to them as any inventions of natural science can be. Religion pervades the society in which they move. Their parents and their wives are under its dominion, and from its influence comes all that is best in them. They know not how to bring up their children without it. They recognize the beauty of its affections and of its morality, and they could not bear to appear either to others or even to themselves devoid of that unique form of feeling and of conduct of which religion is the only known source. How to pay just sufficient honour to religion, to retain this degree of friendship with it, and yet not infringe upon their primary devotion to nature: this is their problem. Any teaching will be welcome to them which helps to its solution. There is a class of writings justly suspected by scientific men which professes to reconcile Science and Religion by treating the former from the point of view of the latter: such as *Moses and Geology*, the *Testimony of the Rocks*, and so forth. Whatever amount of truth they may contain, their principle is not good. For science should have perfect liberty, and be allowed to work out its conclusions in its own sphere. Precisely similar on the other side is the class of writings which professes to give you a religion from the natural point of view: equally bad in principle and equally sure of wide popularity. For just as the one cries out, Assemble, ye men of religion, and

learn how without departing in the least from your traditional beliefs and your chosen standpoint you may have a science containing all that is necessary, nay, a better science than your irreligious neighbours ; so cries the other, Come, ye enlightened persons who know what science is, and who stand far above traditions and creeds, and learn how to profess religion without their help—a better religion, too, than any of them can boast of, more honest, more liberal, more honouring to God and more loving to man.

We see the attractiveness of the claim, and recognize how easily it may approve itself, not only to the superficial and conceited, but even to intelligent and good people. But we believe the system to be essentially bad in its nature. As science, so also religion should be left to work out its results in its own sphere, and by its own proper power. It is a positive influence, with a well-defined circle of operation, upon conscience, mind, and soul. And this operation is completely spoiled when it works under the suspicious eye of a rival power. You cannot conduct education by the power of steam : you cannot foster religion by earthly influences.

The power of steam, it is true, connects itself with education in more than one way. In its theory it is a subject of instruction, and in its practical use it whirls the pupil to school, and carries information from one part of the world to every other. And so there are points in which natural knowledge and supernatural touch hands, and in which the conclusions of the one condition the form of the other. But the central power, the motive force, the standpoint of each is different. The independence of each must be maintained, or you lose its characteristic value. Greece taken captive by the Romans had indeed its influence still. It carried with it into their possession the stores of its glorious past, and no small amount of literary and artistic talent even in its present. But the days of original production and power passed away with its independence. The conqueror might make what he could of it—and he made no small gains ; but he could not make it yield any more of the same sample as of old, and even the legacy of the past lost most of its value when it passed into the possession of spirits so different from those which had produced it. And such is the case of religion in the hands of the natural man. Its body remains, and even that is beautiful, but its spirit is gone. He may not perceive the loss ; he may vehemently deny that anything is lost. And in the first stages of his dominion much may still remain to him which belongs properly to the previous condition.

He will still use the old phrases, and with some degree of the old spirit ; but it is condemned, it is sure to perish. Only when the supernatural was a reality could it develop its true character or yield its proper fruit.

To be sure, Mr. Haweis will vigorously deny that his writings exhibit the operations of the natural man upon religion. And we should be very sorry to deny that he would be able to adduce many signs of a contrary kind. But this we believe to be the essential character of his work, and we do not intend to leave our readers without the opportunity of judging whether the description is deserved or no. Meanwhile there is no harm in saying that it is in this point of view that his volumes are interesting to us. Their learning does not claim to be extensive ; their criticism does not profess to be original ; their occasional beauties are excelled elsewhere. But they show us how a mind full of the influences of a material age in their most imaginative but still most earthly form fares in dealing with the first records of Christianity and the facts therein disclosed.

And first for the date of the records. Mr. Haweis places, as we have seen, the publication of St. Mark's Gospel at A.D. 70-74,¹ St. Matthew's at *circ.* 85 ;² St. Luke's, followed by his Acts, at about 90-94.³ St. John's Gospel he regards as due to that Apostle in respect of its material ; but it was not written by him, or even read to him after it had been written. It is a redaction by the hand of some individual disciple whose name is unrecorded, and was issued by the presbytery at Ephesus say about A.D. 120.⁴ We think Mr. Haweis far too late in his dates, and indeed we do not believe in the possibility of preciseness of date at all. But still his statement brings definitely before our minds the fact which Professor Westcott, without assigning an exact date, fully admits—that ' the whole [contents of the Gospels] remained a tradition for the first age,'⁵ and we prefer to dwell on the question how the undoubted distance, be it more or less, of the publication of the Gospels from the events which they record affects their trustworthiness.

Mr. Haweis remarks very truly that in those days oral tradition was valued far above written documents.⁶ With our facilities of record and publication it seems obvious that writing is the readiest means for either God or man to take in

¹ *The Story of the Four*, 25.

² *Ibid.* 43.

³ *Ibid.* 71-129.

⁴ *Ibid.* 103-5.

⁵ *Introduction to the Gospels*, 192.

⁶ *The Story of the Four*, 12.

conveying instruction or information to the world. Our minds pass without a break from the fact that a revelation has been made, to the fact that it has been written down: the one implies the other. We forget that printing, and that even writing itself, are mere episodes and occasional events in that history of the influence of mind upon mind which began when intelligence first existed on the earth. And as writing is but a particular and occasional means in God's great ordinance of living intercourse between mind and mind, so is Holy Scripture but a particular incidental expedient in that great general inspiration of Christian minds, and of the intercourse between them which is the primary institution of the Holy Ghost, and through which the Catholic Church exists. The Bible is to our present habits of mind the indispensable means of coming in contact with religion. Experience, both of the worth of writing and the defects of oral teaching, went far to justify the Protestant in setting up the Bible in place of the Church. But oral communication is the older and the more universal method ordained by God for the intercourse of man with man, and we are not to take it for granted that this law is superseded in all His dealings with our minds by the subsequent introduction of letters. Something, and that a most important thing in the transmission of religion, is lost, as well as something gained, when dependence on oral tradition is forsaken and recourse had to letters. For if oral teaching be wanting in accuracy, writing is no less imperfect in the conveyance of living influence. Even in respect of trustworthiness we must remember that it is a great mistake to compare oral tradition as it exists among a literary people, with oral tradition among people to whom writing is either not known or not the familiar method of record. It is a conceded fact that the human mind displays a power of retention when record depends entirely upon it, which it loses when conscious that writing will retain the deposit though memory should sleep. And this loss takes place in various proportions according to the various degrees in which the value for the word written may have made its way. We believe that we can notice the process at work even still, and that the modern multiplication of books in every one's house and at every one's hand has diminished the powers of the memory to retain passages from the classics and English literature as our grandfathers used to do.

Mr. Haweis does not fail to notice this well-known fact. Yet he uses it only to account for the absence of a written record at the beginning of the Church's history, and forgets it

in touching the question of the accuracy of the Gospel record when it did come to be written down. Writing does not in early times hold the value in comparison to memory which we assign to it. Quite true ; but this is only the case because the memory proves itself sufficiently powerful and trustworthy for the demands made on it. And this of itself would lead us to attribute greater accuracy to the Gospel records than Mr. Haweis. He habitually treats their claims to accuracy in the freest possible manner. 'Matthew,' he thinks, 'exhibits the first growth of what we may call a Gospel Haggada, or edifying gloss literature.' 'The pupils and disciples speak and think just like the Master. Once give them a clue, a method, a specimen, one or two genuine parables beginning "The kingdom of heaven is like this or that," and from such a seed a dozen parables equally forcible will spring up ; and though the Master may not have spoken them all, they are all His.' We must remark that we cannot find in any known production of any disciple of Jesus, either at that time or since, the slightest sign of power to do what Mr. Haweis absurdly treats as a simple matter, namely, to invent parables undistinguishable from the work of the Master. Nor can we find in any of them a sign of the special pleading which regards it as true to call a saying Christ's which was not His because it is the offspring of His Spirit. Pupils do paint school pictures like their master, it is true, but never like them in the highest qualities unless they be his equals in nature and power. And if you pass off a picture done by a school pupil as being the work of the master of the school on the ground that it is the offspring of his spirit, you will be held guilty of fraud in any court of law. But the point which we desire at present to notice is the gratuitous character of such a supposed origin of portions of the Gospel so long as you allow that the lapse of time before they were written is not too great to preclude their having been handed down correctly from His mouth. And it is not at all too great, as the above considerations show, even were the case one of ordinary exercise of memory on the part of individuals with assistance from their fellows upon a very interesting matter.

But this is only a very small part of the truth. For besides the ordinary inducements which men feel to preserve correctly and relate accurately matters which are interesting to them, we must recognize as one of the prominent characteristics of early Christianity the value which it attached to the sayings and doings of its Founder, and the importance which it thought to lie in knowing these correctly. St. Paul is careful

to hand on to his converts that which he also received, and exhorts Timothy to hold fast the form of sound words which he had heard of him. St. Luke writes his account of the life of Christ that Theophilus might know the certainty of those things in which he had been instructed. And if we mention the record of promises on the part of the Lord, of special assistance from Him and from the Holy Ghost in remembering and understanding what He said and did, we do so not in order to assume that the promise was performed, nor even to assume that it was made, but merely to prove the feeling of a body in which such a doctrine was prevalent as to the vital importance of a correct knowledge of all that Jesus began both to do and teach.

Lastly, it is certain that Mr. Haweis exaggerates extremely the length of time which passed before writing was resorted to for the purpose of preserving the record of the Lord's life. We do not argue with him upon the date of the Gospels, nor yet upon the general fact that it was not writing but the memories and words of living men which formed the primary organ of instruction in the Church. But these concessions can be relied on as invalidating the truth of the Gospels only on the supposition that nothing at all was written before they were written. That they are the first written documents known to us is, of course, unimportant if they embody writings which existed before them. It would be absurd to profess yourself uncertain as to the events of the reign of James II. because you know them only through Macaulay, when you know also that he compiled his history from contemporary documents. Much more is it absurd to doubt the story of four writers so much nearer than Macaulay was to the events related, including among them two actual eye-witnesses, and assisted as they were by writings previously existing. 'Still there is no written Gospel,' says Mr. Haweis of the year 63.¹ 'No trace of a written Gospel,' he repeats at the year 68.² Yet he himself afterwards tells us that there was 'a still earlier Hebrew Gospel current in Palestine ;'³ and that 'we cannot safely make up the Gospel of Matthew without reference to this Hebrew Gospel, and the Logia which passed under the name of Matthew ;'⁴ that in A.D. 57, when St. Paul writes down (1 Cor. xi. 23) the account of the institution of the Eucharist, 'the period of written tradition has arrived,' and 'we assist at the momentous meeting or coalition between the oral freshet and the written rill ;'⁵ though how he can make

¹ *The Story of the Four*, 7.

⁴ *Ibid.* 42.

² *Ibid.* 11.

⁵ *Ibid.* 19.

³ *Ibid.* 41.

it out to be the first written tradition, and not merely the first written tradition which happens to become known to us, we cannot perceive. So again he says¹ that 'both the Acts and the Gospel of St. Luke were probably coming together in the note-books of the beloved physician ever since the death of Paul (*circ.* 68), and in all likelihood some time before.' And again: 'Those four verses ("the Lord Jesus in the same night in which He was betrayed took bread," &c.) just show us what were the sort of materials out of which the Gospels came to be framed. Floating fragments of oral tradition learnt off; little written slips; bunches of sentences on parchments or "libelli" handed about with "acta" (doings) and "logia" (words) of Jesus.'² These words of Paul, he proceeds to say, were reproduced and woven into three of the Gospels; and though this origin of the Eucharistic narratives appears to us most unlikely, and we do not in the least believe it, yet the suggestion stands good to show that our Gospels may be founded to quite an unmeasured extent upon previous writings.

These considerations suffice to prove how completely unreasonable it is to talk as if the correctness of the Gospel record were left as much at the mercy of the infirmities of human memory and imagination, or the interests of doctrinal assumption, as events of the first year of Queen Victoria would be if never written down till her jubilee.

And these considerations we must beg leave to apply when we find Mr. Haweis representing St. Matthew as 'neither Jew nor Christian, insisting on separation from the law, yet clinging to the law'³—as if St. Matthew's record were his own invention; when he asks how St. John's talk about our Lord would be likely to come out when translated into the scholastic dialect of the eager young Greeks by whom he was surrounded;⁴ or when he imagines the same Apostle correcting a number of mistakes as to Jewish customs and geography made by the redactor who after the Apostle's death wrote the Gospel which passes by his name⁵ (none of them being cases in which there is any probability of mistake at all); or when he attributes to us a power to sift and condense the Gospel narrative by separating in it according to our good pleasure the transitory from the historical.⁶

But, after all, we shall be reminded, there are such differences in the Gospel records of the same events and sayings

¹ *The Story of the Four*, 128.

² *The Picture of Jesus*, 212.

³ *The Story of the Four*, 61.

⁴ *Ibid.* 97.

⁵ *Ibid.* 99. (See Canon Westcott's commentary in locc.)

⁶ *The Picture of Jesus*, 3.

that we cannot believe the memories which retained them or the process by which they were recorded to have been completely secured from error. There are, as Mr. Haweis reminds us with his usual moderation, 'various readings, discrepancies, inaccuracies, fragmentary utterances, or even contradiction to be found in the four Gospels, which not even a rabid orthodoxy can altogether reconcile or ignore.'¹ The statement is itself somewhat rabid, but in substance we accept it. We are not adherents of the theory of verbal inspiration any more than Mr. Haweis himself. It is impossible to ascribe accuracy to two varying statements of the same thing. And when this character has been clearly observed in cases where we possess a double record of the same thing, we are bound to apply it also to cases where but one narrative exists, and to acknowledge that there also we are precluded from assuming perfect accuracy. And how far the inaccuracy extends we confess ourselves unable exactly to say. But the facts of the case compel us to deny that it extends to the general character of the narratives or touches any essential point of the faith. That is what we should expect from the considerations which we have laid down as to the preservation of the record, and that is what we find when we compare narrative with narrative. The inscription on the Cross, and the words of the institution of the Eucharist, are variously recorded; but the essential meaning is the same. And there is no article of the Catholic Creed which depends on the acceptance of one sacred writer's testimony in opposition to that of another, or of the same in another passage.

For instance, we find nothing in the facts of the case to justify Mr. Haweis's treatment of the narrative of our Lord's birth. According to him the genealogies in St. Matthew and St. Luke 'record the early stage of opinion—*i.e.* the view that Christ was the Son of Joseph.' And they 'both announce the later stage of opinion as well—*i.e.* that Jesus was of divine parentage by the Holy Ghost, in which case, of course, Joseph and his genealogy become alike meaningless.'² He thinks that the doctrine of the divine parentage established itself just in proportion as Christianity became through Paul's ascendancy the religion of the (polytheistic) heathen.³

We entirely differ from him as to the relevancy of the genealogy of Joseph, upon supposition of the miraculous conception. Such an event plainly disturbs the usual course and meaning of a genealogical tree, and that under such circum-

¹ *The Picture of Jesus*, 49. (See *ibid.* 7.) ² *Ibid.* 51.
³ *The Story of the Four*, 11.

stances the genealogy of the man who was husband of the woman of whom this holy Being was born, and from whom, as was supposed, He descended, is not as relevant as the genealogy of the mother herself, is an assumption on Mr. Haweis's part from which, with great reason, the evangelists dissent. But apart from this futile and idle talk about an earlier stage of opinion being marked in the genealogies, we would beg our readers to recall what we have said and what they know from their Bibles about the apostolic Church, and say whether it seems to them to have been a body so unfixed in doctrine and so indifferent to historic truth that an 'opinion' upon such a point as the Incarnation was likely to be developed without original facts on which to found itself, and that this opinion could manufacture for itself a foundation in the life of our Lord and procure acceptance for these imaginary incidents at the hands of the Church at large. It may, indeed, seem strange to us that the miraculous birth should be related by only two of the evangelists. But for one thing, our surprise at omissions in the Gospel record is only the result of our incurable habit of assuming that the knowledge of the early Christian depended upon the written word and not upon the living voice of the Church. And, moreover, a much more astonishing thing than this omission would be the fact that the other New Testament writers, not knowing of the miracle, should not record something inconsistent with it. There is, as we all know, an intense desire to know something of the parentage and early life of great men, and if those writers of the New Testament who do not record the Lord's birth had supposed it to have been as that of other men, what could have been more natural than that some of them should have given an account of His family or of some events in His childhood or after life, or of some doctrine connected with His relations to mankind, which should have been in contradiction to the fact that He had no earthly father? This is so far from being the case that the wondrous fact forms the appropriate expression and explanation of their whole doctrine concerning His person and relations to man. For they teach with one voice a union of the divine nature with the human in the person of the Lord. Mr. Haweis lays down with the most perfect truth that 'a post-natal transfusion of God into human nature is no whit less miraculous than the pre-natal transfusion.'¹ Indeed, the post-natal transfusion would seem to us far the more wonderful of the two: for it is the union of God with a human being who has

¹ *The Picture of Jesus*, 13.

already commenced a life in unassisted humanity instead of a human life united in its first spring and commencement to God. Mr. Haweis, however, leaves us to choose between the two transfusions. But if we prefer the post-natal, what proofs, what facts, does he give us on which to build our belief in any such transfusion? None whatever. A human life begins as all human lives do; and we are to think that at some point after birth this life becomes a perfect representation (to use Mr. Haweis's meaningless phraseology) of the human side of God. What is the point at which this mighty change takes place, and what is the fact on which we can depend to mark and prove the change? There is none. When we consider the utter vagueness of belief in which, we do not say Mr. Haweis, but any one in thorough earnest about belief and its expression, would be landed by such a theory, we come to conceive the use, if we may not say the absolute necessity, of the miraculous birth to the doctrine of the Incarnation. It is a fact which brings the great doctrine before the mind and a tangible phenomenal basis on which to rest it. Instead of being an additional difficulty, it is something which, on the supposition of the transfusion of God into man, is required in order to reveal this transfusion to us. And if miraculous birth has been imagined by men in the case of the supposed incarnations of heathen religions, perhaps we see in that only the proof of a sense on the part of mankind of what is needed to enable it to receive such a doctrine.

Mr. Haweis, with very little knowledge of the use of the Greek article, reproaches the translators of St. Mark with fearing to render the anarthrous *υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ* in the first verse of St. Mark by *a* Son, instead of *the* Son, of God. Even if he were right, the correction would have no significance when *Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς μου* stands in verse eleven of the same chapter. We, on the other hand, are convinced that although these opening words of St. Mark, and St. John's 'The Word was made flesh,' and St. Paul's 'made of a woman' be of themselves incapable of proving to us the doctrine of the miraculous birth, yet to the writers, and to the Church amidst which they were first read, they expressed the great miracle which formed part of the Church's deposit and creed.

This subject naturally leads us on to the question, How, in the view of Mr. Haweis, is God revealed in Christ? The following passages may serve to answer this question:—

'What is that necessity which changes not, even as He changes not? It is the belief in a God of love; it is a conviction that He has revealed Himself through human nature; it is the belief in a

God-communion. . . . The world's heart was grown cold and heaven silent. Christ filled both. He made men feel that in the immense unknown something there was which cared for man and palpitated for him. . . . He professed Himself as so filled with this incarnate side of God's love to usward as to stand in our presence as the God-man—the chosen and divine instrument of exhibiting to man what God was, what God meant, as far as was possible for us to lay hold effectively of Him and to conceive of His human side at all.¹

'The certainty that in the divine and human mind *σοφία* wisdom, *λόγος* divine utterance and manifestation—in other words, that goodness, truth, justice, mercy—meant the same thing in heaven as on earth, that there was a common language, a common sympathy between God the Creator and man the created, is further emphasized in the words "I and my Father are one;" "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father." The absolute moral unity of divine and moral ideas is here for ever proclaimed and impersonated.'²

'Whether, with Mark, you know nothing of the miraculous conception, and simply believe the Divine Nature of Jesus to have been a spiritual influence transfusing His humanity; or whether you hold with Luke that the Divine Nature of Jesus was due to a miraculous operation at the time of conception; yet with Jewish and Gentile Christians of the first century—with Mark and Luke, with Peter and Paul—you equally hold that in Jesus and through Mary, God was "manifest in the flesh." That is the spiritual and permanent element in the doctrine of the Incarnation. You ask me to define further: I will not define. . . . You ask me to explain as far as I can what I mean by the Divinity of Christ. . . . I believe that in Jesus a special use was made of human nature for the purpose of revealing to man as much as could be revealed of God under the limitations of humanity. Whether the theory of *prenatal* transfusion by the Deity, as we are at liberty to infer from Mark and Luke, or the theory of *postnatal* transfusion of Deity to which Mark inclines, be accepted as the method of the Incarnation, seems to me a matter of comparative unimportance. The *postnatal* theory will perhaps commend itself to some as the more reverent of the two; but the same style of theology which has for centuries perceived nothing inhuman or derogatory to the Divine Being in the doctrine of everlasting punishment, has also found nothing degrading to the Deity in the *prenatal* transfusion theory. To me all spiritual inhabitation, however accomplished, is in the highest degree mystic and miraculous, and I, who believe that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, hold that the *postnatal* transfusion of Himself into human nature is no whit less miraculous than the *prenatal* transfusion, and to some, I repeat, the *postnatal* theory may seem the more reverent belief of the two. . . . One side of God, the only side intelligible to man—His humanity—that which had moral and spiritual as well as fleshly affinity with us, came forth and was *bonâ fide* expressed in the Person of Jesus. You ask me whether all God was in Jesus. I say, No; Jesus says, No.

¹ *The Story of the Four* 88, 89.

² *Ibid.* 112, 113.

Sides of the Almighty, of the Invisible, the Eternal—aspects inconceivable to man—never could be revealed through man's nature. God overlaps Jesus. "My Father," he says, "is greater than I."¹

'I call your attention to the way in which our Lord spoke of and described His own Divinity. So very different is it, I think, from the language of the Nicene or Athanasian Creeds. . . . Take Christ's words simply without preconceived definitions, and they explain themselves; nay, they need no explanation. He is in the Father: yes, as representing man before God. The Father is in Him: yes, when He reveals God to man.'²

"Christ and Him crucified," that was to be the beginning and the end; or, in other words, Paul's text was the life and death of One outwardly humiliated (crucified), yet who towered into Deity by the force of righteousness and the majesty of love! That was to be a parable for all time. There was to be found an *imperium in imperio*—the Christian Church; its life the open secret of the cross, "Victory by the life within." Yes, evermore this and only this—Jesus Christ and Him crucified.'³

'The Buddha had touched his highest spiritual level when he abolished sacrifice, and taught that remission of sin was without shedding of blood. It was a point reached in moments by the spiritual Jew also, but it was never adopted as a sound and orthodox doctrine. On the one side stood the Priests and Levites, and the ceremonial law with its bloody sacrifices by which they lived. On the other side stood the seer and singer, prophet and psalmist, David and Isaiah, before whose inspired gaze the formal sacrifices vanished away, leaving nothing but the pure Buddhist doctrine behind them. "Sacrifice and burnt offering and offering for sin hast thou not required; then said I, Lo, I come to do Thy Will, O God." It was a glimpse, like most of our inspired moments, no sooner reached than lost.'

'He who came to lift the world out of this very notion that any sacrifice but that of the heart was demanded by God, to teach men that purely spiritual conception of sacrifice, of which, first, the barbarous holocaust, and second, the blood of goats and calves, were the carnal symbols, even He has been confounded in that loving sacrifice of Himself with the vicarious victim of the carnally-minded Jewish theologian. We can now see what Paul had to contend with. We can almost sympathize with the extent to which he uses the sacrificial language of accommodation. First, there was the Substitution Theory of the carnal Jewish Christian. Secondly, there was the theory of the enlightened Gentile Christian—Paul's own; and, lastly, there is the Appropriation Theory, also grandly emphasized by St. Paul, and quite indispensable to the effective religion of Jew and Gentile alike. The Substitution Theory is absolutely false. . . . The Representation Theory is absolutely true. It was taught by Christ when He called Himself the Son of Man—"one who stands where we stand; for as

¹ *The Picture of Jesus*, 11-14.

² *Ibid.* 179, 180.

³ *The Picture of Paul*, 131.

He is, so are we in this world." He has done for us in our human nature what each is bound to do. Even as He washed the disciples' feet "for us" as our Example, not "*instead* of us." And, lastly, there is the Appropriation Theory of Sacrifice ; absolutely true. . . . His death was as representative as His life, and both can only avail us in so far as both are absorbed, appropriated by us in act or in aspiration.'¹

We feel that we owe our readers an apology for occupying their time with quotations like these. It is not that Mr. Haweis is a formidable heretic. He seems incapable of understanding the responsibilities of intelligible speech, not to mention the obligations of his own position. If we were speaking to a man for whom the language of common men appeared to have a meaning, we should say to him : You refuse to define further. But you have defined further when you solemnly made your assent to the creeds of the Church ; and you renew that assent every time that you repeat them before your God and His congregation. The Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, which you here contrast with the teaching of Christ, you have adopted as the utterance of your belief far more solemnly and deliberately than these random, half-considered sentences which drop from you. That theory of the pre-natal union of the divine and human in Christ which you depreciate as accepted only by those who can also adopt a belief on future punishment which you regard as utterly untrue, has been solemnly accepted by yourself. There are sects and schools of thought about you which hold the theory that you prefer ; but you leave them to fight the battle of your faith alone, and class yourself among their foes when you are their friend.

¹ *Picture of Paul*, 261-66. It is hardly necessary to remind readers acquainted with Mr. McLeod Campbell's masterly book on the Atonement that Mr. Haweis's analysis of the possible views of the doctrine of sacrifice is wholly imperfect. It is possible to reject as strongly as he does the doctrine of Substitution, and yet not so to contradict all the history of religion, not to speak of the obligations of Christian belief, as to consider Buddhism, which has no sacrifice because it has no God, to be the highest expression of truth upon the point. We can believe in God's absolute power and will to forgive sins, and at the same time hold that, in order to make this forgiveness available for men, they must have that abhorrence of the evil of sin, and that strong adherence to God which shall enable Him to reverse what sin has wrought in their nature. And we can believe that the Lord Jesus furnishes for man before God what man unaided proves unable to provide for himself, namely, the hatred of sin and adherence to God, which are the essential elements of perfect repentance and make God's forgiveness available. Through union with the Son of Man sinners become partakers of this perfect repentance, which removes the impediment that bars their return to a forgiving and a loving Father. Buddhism leaves the soul without a help which it cannot dispense with so long as its feeling of sin and separation from God is more than a name.

We know what Mr. Haweis would answer to this: 'All religious reformers are obliged to act as Paul acted when he shaved his head at Cenchrea because he had a vow, or refused to eat meat offered to idols. A burden become intolerable can only be lifted by being borne patiently for a time without abatement or reserve.'¹ St. Paul, we need not say, was on these occasions doing something perfectly voluntary and entirely conscientious. But that does not hinder our perception of Mr. Haweis's intimation that he himself is bearing a burden which has become intolerable. We do not comprehend any reason why he should not shake himself free of it whenever he pleases.

If any one were to trouble himself to indict Mr. Haweis before a court for some of these utterances, we can quite well imagine his counsel pleading successfully for him that there is not one of his contradictions either of the creeds or the scriptures which is roundly stated without alternatives or verbal ambiguities, or licence given to believe if you like. But that this sort of thing should be presented to us in the name of superior truthfulness is truly grotesque. Could any mind, except that of Mr. Haweis himself, fail to notice the ambiguity of his primary statement of the nature of the revelation in the person of our Lord? In Him, it seems, the human side of God is revealed so far as we are able to grasp it, and we must not define further. Now God is revealed in His works, as speaks St. Paul: 'that which may be known of God is clearly seen, being understood by the things which are made.' Is it then as a peculiarly excellent creation of God that the Person of Christ reveals Him? For, if so, this kind of revelation furnishes no warrant for worshipping the instrument of revelation. St. Paul, a very few verses afterwards, denounces the heathen for worshipping those very creatures by which he has just said God may be known. In which of these two ways does Christ reveal God? And if we could conceive any one in genuine spiritual difficulty seeking counsel of Mr. Haweis, he would demand, but demand in vain, an answer to this primary question of the soul: Can I come in contact with Christ as a real ever-present being here and now? He says, 'Believe in God, believe also in Me. Lo, I am with you alway.' His apostles and saints and His whole Church from then till now respond by praying to Him, trusting Him, living in Him as one in whom God is revealed, not because He is God's creature, but because he is God. And when Mr. Haweis is asked whether this faith has foundation or has

¹ *The Story of the Four*, 63.

none, he answers, I refuse to define. What kind of persons can be satisfied with this species of fencing we do not know, but we are sure they will not be the persons who demand plain speaking and clear thinking either in science or life or religion.

The treatment which miracles receive from Mr. Haweis is just what we might expect. We have permission to believe in the ordinary view which Christian people hold—that we have in them examples of the exercise of the will of God not more direct nor yet more powerful than those which meet us in His constant work in the world, but to our eyes of a different outward character from the ordinary, and therefore leading us more directly to Him. ‘If you are satisfied with the divine fiat theory,’ remarks Mr. Haweis, ‘I have nothing to say.’¹ But in every particular miracle which he mentions we are furnished with a natural explanation, which we are pretty clearly invited to adopt. In the narrative of Luke iii. 3–23 ‘the student of history sees nothing unusual or necessarily unhistorical. Even the shining dove and the heavenly voice need not disturb us, since most persons gifted with common sense, following St. Jerome and Theodoret, explain that we need suppose nothing more than a light—probably a sunbeam—through a cloud, which to the spiritual eye was the holy dove, and a peal of thunder from the cloud, which to the spiritual ear was the heavenly voice.’² Therefore we clearly understand that if there had been a literally miraculous appearance, the incident would have been ‘necessarily unhistorical.’ Of the turning of the water into wine a natural explanation is suggested, this to wit, that in our Lord’s command, ‘Fill the water-pots with water,’ we have only to leave out the words *with water*, and understand that He filled them with wine, which with a loving thoughtfulness He had brought and kept outside.³ The feeble body of the palsied man may have been mesmerically restored by the ‘virtue,’ as Jesus called it—perchance magnetic emanations, which at times Jesus said He felt streaming out of Him. And so in like manner of the casting out of devils—such cases are familiar to all students of mesmerism and spiritualism.⁴ It was natural that the dear people who took Saul into their

¹ *The Picture of Jesus*, 56.

² *Ibid.* 30. What St. Jerome and Theodoret say is really something quite different, viz. that the vision of the dove was granted to St. John’s spiritual sight, like the visions of the prophets.—Meyer, *Kommentar*, vol. i. p. 106.

³ *Ibid.* 59.

⁴ *Ibid.* 67, 68.

houses should speak to him of sending for Ananias : is it wonderful that upon their doing so he should dream that Ananias came in? It was natural, on the other hand, that Christians should speak to Ananias about Saul, and that he in turn should have his vision marking out Saul as the next person on whom he was to exercise his beneficent mesmeric, magnetic power.¹ Both Elymas and Paul were what we should call temperamentally mediumistic.² In the night of St. Paul's imprisonment at Philippi, 'one of those volcanic upheavals which during the first and second centuries visited the bed of the Mediterranean, shook the prison where Paul and Silas sang, and burst open the prison doors. In the confusion, chains, stocks, cells, furniture, prisoners, everything seems to have got mixed and shaken up. . . . Paul behaves with the exact balance and propriety of a perfect gentleman.'³ 'That principle of order, "proportion of faith," striking good sense, arrangement of "gifts" and "graces," that control over the "Prince of the Power of the Air," is just what separated Paul from those who were physically mediumistic like himself, akin to him temperamentally, but far as the Poles (*sic*) apart from him spiritually.'⁴ And so on and so on.

But the most painful example of Mr. Haweis's treatment of the miraculous is found in the Resurrection. We are told that there are ten discrepancies—irreconcilable statements—in the accounts of the Lord's reappearance, an assertion which certainly would not have been made if we had been intended to receive literally the proposition which follows, namely, that the fact of His reappearance is certain. Accordingly we speedily find the question raised—what does that certainty amount to? The answer is, 'Why may he not have "reappeared" in accordance with some occult law of human nature, as a Son of Man, even as others are said upon evidence at least as strong to have reappeared?'

'No one who has even a rudimentary acquaintance with the annals of the Catholic Church in the past, or with what is called psychical research in the present, can fail to have noticed that the evidence for the reappearances of some who have been passed away is logically as strong, perhaps stronger, than the evidence attainable for any of the New Testament miracles, including the reappearance of the Saviour.'⁵

We confess that we, at all events, have failed to notice it. When we take into account the number of witnesses, the

¹ *The Picture of Paul*, 46.

² *Ibid.* 103.

³ *Ibid.* 73.

⁴ *Ibid.* 145.

⁵ *The Picture of Jesus*, 264-70.

change of life and thought which they built upon the fact to which they testified, and the persecutions which they endured for their faith in it, there is no 'reappearance,' there is scarcely even any historical fact of any kind the evidence of which is as strong as that which we have for the resurrection of the Lord Jesus.

But the reader is now in a position to judge whether we were wrong in representing Mr. Haweis's book as a crude and careless attempt to teach both naturalism and supernaturalism at the same time—to satisfy himself and others that they can possess the inheritance of the Lord, and at the same time serve the gods of the heathen that are round about them. It cannot be done. You cannot eat your cake and have your cake—deny supernaturalism in every particular case, but assert it in general. That which Mr. Haweis regards as a reconciliation of religion with science and thought is really an expulsion of religion from all influence in life. It is impossible that any constraining influence in morality should proceed from a system which demands no faith and no obedience, but yields, and that with an apology, to any pressure from the earthly reason or the tendencies of human society. Mr. Haweis thinks to recommend Christianity by showing that men may take its phrases into their mouths without ever lifting their minds beyond the same natural circle within which their visible and material life is passed. But he may rely on it, the same levelling process which brings such ease of adoption, deprives religion of all its characteristic power. It is because its agencies and its methods are something more than those with which our physical nature is in contact, that it commands our consciences, comforts our souls, and uplifts our hopes, with a power which is peculiar to itself, and which the world, with whatever ornaments of sentiment you deck its materialism, can never give.

ART. III.—SHELLEY AND THE SHELLEY SOCIETY.

1. *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley.* By EDWARD DOWDEN, LL.D. (London, 1886.)
2. *Publications of the Shelley Society.* (London, 1886-87.)

IN the face of the large amount of interest which seems to be taken at the present time in the life and writings of the poet Shelley, we do not think it necessary to indulge in any apology to our readers for handling a subject which might at first sight seem to them a little out of place in the pages of the *Church Quarterly Review*.

We feel, too, that we have a duty to perform. No one who is acquainted with certain phases of modern literature can fail to observe that, mingled with the admiration of Shelley which is at present so common, there is a considerable amount of laxity on moral questions. Appreciation of his poetry is becoming more general, and this leads naturally to affection for his character and even sympathy with his principles. If, then, we can show that it is possible to admire his poetry without worshipping him as a deity; if we can enable our readers to form a just estimate of the strength and weakness of his character; above all, if we can convince any 'Shelleyist' of the absurdity of his position and keep him from adopting the cant and mannerisms of his sect, we shall feel we are doing some good work. We shall have to touch on the very gravest questions of morals and religion, and we shall have to show that literary taste is perfectly consistent with decency of behaviour—a statement which probably seems a truism to our readers, but would certainly be looked upon as a paradox by some persons who are probably not among our readers.

The continually increasing bulk of the literature about Shelley has recently been swollen from two sources. The foundation of the Shelley Society has led to the production of a large number of somewhat strange books, and the publication of Professor Dowden's new *Life* has provided an excuse for a large number of estimates of his character. We propose first of all to examine both these new sources of information.

The popularity of Shelley has been continually increasing, and at the present time is at its height. There is certainly no limit to either the size or the number of the editions of

his works which are published. But he is not, and cannot be, a popular poet. He enjoys many devoted adherents, many enthusiastic admirers, who lavish their money, time, and energies on his service; and perhaps it is this excessive enthusiasm which interferes with the true appreciation of his merits. Certainly, neither his own nor his worshippers' reputation for sanity is increased by the existence of the Shelley Society. We suppose we ought to feel some admiration for the genius and energy of a man who can style himself the founder of an unknown number of literary societies, in addition to being the champion of Sculls *versus* Oars, and who has published voluminous 'trial Forewords,' collecting all the information which no one wants to know. As founder of the Wycliffe Society, Dr. Furnival will have the merit of having taught the believers in 'the Morning Star of the Reformation' what very different opinions he held to what they do. The New Shakspeare and Spenser Societies at any rate publish works which are rare and difficult of access; but for the existence of the Browning and Shelley Societies it is really hard to find a reason. The former may injure the reputation of a living man, but he can take care of himself, and perhaps, with his broad interest in human nature, can tolerate the insipidities of his blue-stocking admirers. At any rate, it is a harmless society, which we venture to affirm is more than can be said of the Shelley Society whose aim seems to be to advertize to the world that Shelley wrote a great deal which was extremely foolish. Like those editors of his prose-works who republish his puerile novels and rescue them from the oblivion which they deserve, by an elaborate critical apparatus which notes every variation in commas and semicolons, it feels that whatever 'bears the impress of the divine Master' must be religiously preserved and reproduced. Nothing is too small, nothing too trivial. It is without any sense of perspective. The *Essay in Vindication of Natural Diet* seems as important to it as the *Epipsychidion*, and the notes to *Queen Mab* contain the sum of his philosophy. Money is lavished on reproducing in facsimile reprint the first editions very often of his most inferior and ephemeral works, on hand-made paper (which certainly does not imitate the original), and preserving all the bad punctuation and spelling (in one case the errors of foreign printers), which we should have thought might have been dispensed with. Does not prudence, at any rate, suggest that a facsimile reprint of *Laon and Cythna* will not add to the popularity of its author? It is probable that at the end of his life he would have seen the folly of con-

stituting himself the champion of incest ; and loyalty to their eponymous hero might have suggested to his adherents that they should not publish abroad follies or crimes which demand a defence. But we really think that the very lowest depth of folly is reached when a society of educated and cultivated men announce among their publications for 1887 a facsimile reprint of the *Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson, with a Portrait of Margaret Nicholson*—poems so bad that it is uncertain whether they are meant for serious or burlesque poetry, and the portrait of an obscure maniac whose only title for distinction is that she shot at George III. and contributed a name to some of the worst of Shelley's juvenile attempts at writing verses. We think that the Shelley Society has drained the cup of silliness to the dregs. But their proudest title to fame is to have shown what a very doubtful success the *Cenci* is as a stage play, and what a very decided failure the *Hellas* can be made. They have succeeded in making the ordinary Philistine, who has at any rate the advantage of numbers, undesirous of making acquaintance with the works of a poet whose worst productions are paraded before him. After all, we do not wonder that any well-bred Englishman or decent woman shows some distaste for the poet when they see what kind of stuff his admirers are made of. Their mental calibre is what might be expected from a continued nourishment on the writings of Shelley and Swinburne and other masters of musical rhythm. Their views combine unpractical idealism with an immense superiority to all existing institutions. Their conversation rarely rises above the commonplace of literary gossip, or the repetition of the most barren freethinking formulas, but they imagine it is philosophical and intellectual. With the mind of the most ill-educated stump orator or a well-educated parrot, they imagine they are at the summit of the mental pyramid. They imitate the faults and follies of their hero, but not his virtues. They show their superiority to the world by despising its conventionalities. They ruin their health by an excessive consumption of tea and of whatever is unwholesome in vegetarian diet. If they are men, they may be known by their low turn-down collars, by their cadaverous countenance and would-be poetic aspect ; if they are women, by a style of dress which is by turns slovenly and meretricious. Luckily they are generally young, they are better than they make themselves out to be, and a few years of experience and knowledge of the world works wonderful transformations.

If we asked them to desist in the name of public opinion,

or of religion, or of decency, or of conventional morality, or common sense, it would be useless, for we should be appealing to principles which they do not recognize. But there is one appeal which they can recognize: they are genuine in their admiration of and their devotion to Shelley; one thing they feel is that his poems have not even yet attained the general popularity they deserve, and we venture to think that it is the persistency of his admirers to praise his worst qualities which causes this. What wonder if ordinary Englishmen hesitate to admire a man who is sedulously put before them as one who had the courage to follow his opinions in spite of 'faith and custom,' the joint cause of all the ills of humanity, when they hear him spoken of as a champion of something very like free-love; when they are told that he is a great philosopher, and find that his philosophy reduced all the causes of evil to the restraints of law and order; when they are asked to admire *Queen Mab*, and *Swellfoot the Tyrant*, and are shown the eight volumes of prose and poetical works half filled with writings of which even Shelley himself, when his mind was matured, was ashamed; when, above all, they find that many of the devotees at his shrine are just what they would rather not be? When they see all this they naturally feel somewhat inclined to withhold their admiration for the beauty of his poetry and of his character. The truest friends of Shelley are his most discriminating critics, and the best edition of his works would be one which contained only those poems of his which are worth reading. But enough of the Shelley Society.

We must attempt now to estimate the value of Professor Dowden's new work. The last narrator of the life of Shelley has had the advantage of succeeding to the labours of all his predecessors, and has had at his disposal a large number of unpublished documents, all the papers in the possession of the Shelley family, and a very large number in other hands: the work may in fact be considered as an authoritative Life of the poet. The author has himself spared no trouble, and neglected no source of information; he has bestowed on his book an immense—almost an excessive—amount of care. The life, not only of Shelley, but also of the various members of the circle that surrounded him, is narrated with the greatest minuteness, his money affairs are investigated with great care, and no detail is omitted of his frequent changes of residence. For our own part we should like to make a protest against the length of the book; we cannot help remembering that Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* (to take one instance) do not occupy

altogether as much space as one of the volumes before us. Plutarch's *Lives* and Catullus's poems have been light enough to float down the stream of time ; we doubt whether these somewhat weighty two volumes, and the eight-volume edition containing the collected works, will not sink to the bottom, and carry something that is valuable with them. But, after all, such criticism is somewhat captious ; most biographies now occupy, not two, but even three or four thick volumes, and both the controversies and calumnies which have surrounded Shelley's life make a minute investigation almost necessary. We have no doubt, too, that there are many who would complain that Professor Dowden has not given us in parallel columns the two forms of the diaries of Mary Shelley and Jane Clairmont, all the law papers which are in existence to illustrate the Chancery suit, and all the remnants of his accounts. We can even imagine some who would not be content without facsimile reproductions of all these documents. For our own part we thank Professor Dowden for the moderation he has shown, even though in some points he has been a trifle wearisome.

The first question we naturally ask is, Is this biography trustworthy ? Professor Dowden has given us many new documents which help to defend Shelley's character. What of those he has not given ? We must state at once that the whole work seems to us stamped with the marks of the most scrupulous truthfulness. Professor Dowden has been thoroughly conscientious in not neglecting even those letters and facts which conflict with his conclusions. As far as we are able to judge (and we have read most works bearing on Shelley's character), nothing has been concealed—so much so that in places where we do not agree with the author's conclusion (and there are several) we can generally find everything necessary to refute him in his own work. Professor Dowden has to a certain extent held a brief for a client, and had the advantage of being able to call witnesses who cannot be examined by the other side ; but he does not conceal their evidence when it is unfavourable, and we can accept his facts without drawing the same deductions from them, or arriving at the same conclusions.

The literary merits of the book it is unnecessary for us to praise ; we may state at once that all who are acquainted with the skill of the author will not be disappointed : they will find the criticisms generally good, if the narrative is sometimes heavy, and that the style is not inferior to that of his other works. Having said so much, we may make one or two

criticisms. In the first place, Professor Dowden feels embarrassed by the two different circles of readers he has to address. His book is addressed *ad mundum*, and he is perfectly aware that the world will not look upon Shelley with quite the same eyes as his admirers, and yet those admirers who think his character divine have to be satisfied as well, and hence there is sometimes a weakness in his apologetic remarks. His whole treatment of what he somewhat euphemistically calls the 'parting with Harriet' seems to us thoroughly unsatisfactory. He treats the Chancery suit with common sense, but feels it necessary to add that that tribunal is 'incapable of dealing with the finer tissues of human life.' Shelley's unfilial actions and language towards his father; his tendency, if not to falsehood, at any rate to misrepresentation, whether conscious or otherwise; his spirit of recklessness and revolt from legitimate authority, are all slurred over, while the beauties of his character are emphasized. There is too much tendency to ignore rather than to meet discordant elements—to exaggerate one side rather than to explain all the somewhat complex facts.

And in a similar spirit, though we never find that his bias prevents him from recording a fact or a testimony, it has very considerable influence in the weight which he gives to those facts. He accepts a second-hand statement which is favourable, and rejects a first-hand statement which is unfavourable. With regard to the purity of Shelley's life at Oxford, he believes (and rightly) Hogg's favourable testimony and rejects the unfavourable rumours given by Thornton Hunt. But why does he reject Hogg's evidence about Shelley cursing his father, and believe Thornton Hunt's story that Harriet first left her husband—a story opposed to all evidence? But, after all, in making out his case Professor Dowden has not exceeded the privileges of biographers.

And there is another fault, one which particularly besets modern Boswells, from which he is not altogether free. The refined literary taste of the present day does not approve of the grandiloquent and exaggerated encomiums which delighted our forefathers. It prefers to idealize, to throw a halo of mystery round even ordinary actions, to write in a language of refined exaltation. 'Himself lacking in mechanical ingenuity and feeling slight curiosity about the skill of the various handicrafts, Shelley, if his attention were so directed, could watch with vivid delight the marvels of the plastic hand' (vol. i. p. 85). Would our readers believe that this somewhat grandiloquent phrase expresses the skill of a tailor in mending a torn coat!

But enough of Professor Dowden. Let us once more express our gratitude for his honesty and industry, and our pleasure at his literary skill, and ask him to accept our criticisms as those of an admirer. We will now, with his assistance, attempt, first of all, to investigate the most notorious event in Shelley's life, and then to realize what manner of man he was. It may be convenient to remind our readers of the main events of his career.

Shelley was born on August 4, 1792, 'one of the greatest days,' as we are told, 'in English literature.' He lived as a boy at Field Place, in Sussex. After spending a short time at two preparatory schools, he was sent to Eton in 1804 and left in 1810. He matriculated at University College, Oxford, on April 10 in that year, and came into residence in the following October. On March 25, 1811, he was expelled for being the author of *The Necessity of Atheism*. The next three years were eventful. Towards the end of this summer (1811) he eloped with Harriet Westbrook, the daughter of a retired coffee-house keeper, and a school friend of his sisters. He was married in Edinburgh on August 28, just after he had completed his nineteenth year. He and Harriet lived a wandering life together for more than two years, changing their house almost twenty times. In 1814 he deserted her, and on July 28 of that year he left for the Continent with Mary Godwin, with whom he returned to England in September. Two years afterwards, in November 1816, Harriet committed suicide, and Shelley married Mary. After many vicissitudes, and much poverty and trouble, he finally left England in 1818, and the closing years of his life were spent in a somewhat nomadic fashion in Italy. He was drowned at sea whilst sailing from Leghorn to Spezzia in the summer of 1822.

We have now the somewhat dreary duty to perform of discussing the most questionable act of his life, his desertion of his first wife, Harriet; and before doing so we must attempt to get some idea of what Shelley was like at this period. And first let us remember he was very young. He was but a boy; but he was a boy full of energy, and enthusiasm, and wild impetuosity, attempting to play the part of a man. There is something perhaps very ludicrous, but there is something very pathetic, in his wild mission to Ireland in the spring of 1812. Can any one help being touched at the account of the visionary boy, very ignorant of the world, going over to Ireland and expecting to quiet the contending factions by

an appeal to principles of pure love and tolerance, or when addressing a Roman Catholic audience in favour of Emancipation, appealing to principles of religious equality, and expatiating on the duties of Catholics to Protestants? His manner of distributing pamphlets reads like an account of a schoolboy's prank. 'I should almost have shouted with laughter,' wrote Harriet, 'when he popped a pamphlet into a lady's poke.' But however much Harriet might laugh, her husband was very serious. He had the aims of a man and the execution of a schoolboy. Another instance of this occurred in Devonshire. He has developed a scheme which will reform the world. But how can this be spread abroad? A new idea seizes him. The pamphlets are inclosed in small bottles and securely sealed up. Then the fleet of bottles is launched forth on its voyage which is to be so full of benefits for mankind, and sonnets are written in its honour by the enthusiastic poet. Can any one help feeling the absurdity of a Government spy being employed to watch this schoolboy regenerator of mankind? And is not one's heart moved towards one whose whole soul was for the time absorbed in these strange schemes?

But Shelley's wild ideas and unrestrained actions were to have far graver results. Marriage was one of those customs which he included among the causes of evil; he was enabled by carrying out his theory to demonstrate the immense harm which might arise from its adoption. The simple fact that he deserted his first wife and united himself to Mary Godwin we well know; the details always have been involved in considerable obscurity. All the evidence on the subject Professor Dowden has collected together ably and honestly, he has thrown some light on the subject by new material he has employed. So far he has done his work well; but we must express our surprise at his treatment of the evidence he has collected. We have read and re-read the chapter, and can only wonder that he has been able to write what he has written. So many strange opinions have prevailed that we feel bound, however reluctantly, to enter into some detail on the subject.

He had married Harriet Westbrook in the summer of 1811. He had not been in love with her, we are told, but had been prompted by feelings of generosity and sympathy. She had appeared to him to be the victim of oppression, for she had imbibed some of his opinions, and the expression of them had not pleased those in authority over her. When she threw herself on his protection he married her, though she did not

demand it, and his opinions made it unnecessary to him. We are asked, therefore, to admire his generosity. Now we feel compelled to make one remark on this. If a man marries a woman whom he does not love, for her sake, intending to be her faithful husband through life, he makes a great mistake, but he is acting honourably and perhaps nobly. But if he does so believing the marriage tie to be only a form which he may ignore when it suits him, and never making any sacrifice to give his wife the first place in his affections, surely then there is little generosity in his conduct. Shelley's future conduct deprives his action towards Harriet of any merit it might have had, and the excuses given for him put it in a darker light.

For two years their married life appears to have been happy. Harriet was a faithful wife. She had much to bear. She was not recognized by his relations. She had to endure the discomforts of poverty and a roving life. She had a man of genius for a husband, to the ludicrousness of whose conduct her eyes were gradually opened. More than that, she never occupied more than the second place in his affections. For a time he addresses a certain Miss Hitchener as the 'sister of his soul;' Hogg, too, is 'the brother of his soul,' and when this brother of his soul made improper advances to his wife, he forgave him with surprising alacrity, and never seems to have imagined she might object to his presence. On the other side there was one real grievance—her sister Eliza, a woman of a commonplace and disagreeable character, who exercised over Harriet the tyranny of an elder sister and a mother-in-law. Shelley's sensitive nature must have been peculiarly exasperated by her only half-concealed vulgarity. She was not in any way blamable; she seems to have been very like an inferior lady's-maid—in fact, just what one would expect a coffee-tavern keeper's daughter to be. Shelley also complained that Harriet neglected the duties of a mother, and had had a trained nurse for her child. But so far as any reasonable complaints could be made, the balance was certainly in favour of the wife.

At the beginning of 1814 Miss Hitchener had been discovered to be a brown demon, and Eliza a black demon, and Shelley had found a new circle of friends in a society of half-French half-English ladies, who were full of sentiment and philosophy, and were surrounded by a circle of insipid and unrefined doctrinaires.

'At Bracknell,' says Peacock (we prefer his more refined satire to the coarse descriptions of Hogg), 'Shelley was surrounded by a

numerous society, all in a great measure of his own opinions in relation to religion and politics, and the larger portion of them in relation to vegetable diet. But they wore their rue with a difference. Every-one of them adopting some of the articles of the faith of their general church, had each nevertheless some predominant crotchet of his or her own, which left a number of open questions for earnest and not always temperate discussion. I was sometimes irreverent enough to laugh at the fervour with which opinions utterly uncondusive to any practical result were battled for as matters of the highest importance for the well-being of mankind. Harriet Shelley was always ready to laugh with me, and we thereby both lost caste with some of the more hot-headed of the party.¹

It was but too true. Harriet was 'no philosopher,' and the fact was beginning to be discovered. She had actually laughed at the follies of the blue-stocking coterie. But if we seek for any further signs or grounds of alienation, it would be difficult to discover them—the inferences which Professor Dowden draws from certain poems are very far-fetched—and, at any rate, there could be little real alienation between him and Harriet when he went through the ceremony of re-marriage on March 24, 1814, to avoid any difficulty which might arise in case the former marriage had not been valid. This was only four months before he finally deserted his wife. On April 18 Mrs. Boinville writes to Hogg, 'Shelley is again a widower; his beauteous half went to town on Thursday.'² Such language would not have been used if there had been any alienation between them. About the end of May or beginning of June, while his wife was at Bath, Shelley was in London on business, and there he met Mary Godwin, daughter of Godwin by his first wife, Mary Wollstonecraft. He fell violently in love with her, and in spite of the entreaties of Harriet, in direct opposition to the wishes of Mary's father, he left with her for the Continent secretly on July 28. We may conclude the history of Harriet here. Shelley is, we believe, freed from the accusation of having left her without means of support; so far he acted on what he imagined were principles of honour, and he did not intend entirely to desert her. With a strange ignorance both of a woman's character and of the ordinary usages of Western society, after he had inflicted upon her what was at the very least a terrible insult, he suggested that she should come and live near them—he would have even liked her to remain in his house. When she persisted in refusing this generous offer she was called 'unreasonable,' and Shelley begins to pose as the wronged person. Two years afterwards

¹ Dowden, vol. i. p. 38

² *Ibid.* p. 410.

she committed suicide. We are informed she had degraded herself by another connexion ; if so, we really fail to see that she had done more than her husband had done first. The moral indignation of those who defend him and condemn her is certainly misplaced. We are informed that Shelley was not in any way responsible for her death. We absolutely refuse to believe this. If she did fall after he deserted her, it was entirely owing to the lessons he had taught, and to the misery and loss of self-respect that his cruel desertion had caused. When he heard of her death his remorse was acute, he began to recognize the meaning of his heartless conduct.

Stated as we have stated it, Shelley's conduct was not only immoral, it was in the highest degree selfish. We will now examine the excuses which his admirers make for his conduct. In the first place, we are told that Harriet had been unfaithful to him, or, rather, that he thought she had been. The evidence for this rests on an unsupported statement of Godwin ; on a manuscript note in her diary made by Jane Clairmont recording a statement of Mary's that she had been persuaded by Shelley to flee with him, because he said that Harriet had been unfaithful ; and lastly, a doubtful allusion made by Shelley in a letter to Southey which certainly contains some untrue statements. Professor Dowden acknowledges that the charge was absolutely groundless. We really doubt whether Shelley ever believed it himself ; he certainly only did so because he wished to do so. In any case he is equally culpable whether he invented—or rather imagined—the charge, or believed it on no evidence at all. But we are told that Harriet had herself left Shelley. The only authority for this statement is Thornton Hunt. His testimony is not accepted when he says anything detrimental to Shelley's character. The statement is quite inconsistent with the evidence both of Peacock and Hogg, and it is surely incompatible with a letter written by Harriet at the beginning of July, asking anxiously after her husband because she had not heard from him for four days. Nor, again, can we give much credit to Shelley's own statement made in the Chancery suit, 'Delicacy forbids me to say more than that we were disunited by the most incurable dissensions.' In the same paper he states that *Queen Mab* was published two years before it first appeared. It is one of the many instances in which Shelley saw facts through the distorted glass of his own feelings. Neither from his letters, nor other evidence do we get any support for the statement, and we have Peacock's distinct assertion that until he met Mary Godwin there were no signs of any real discord. We

are quite willing to admit that there had been breaking of illusions on both sides, that Harriet had begun to see that Percy was sometimes ridiculous, that Percy had discovered that Harriet was without philosophy ; it is true, probably, that he had never really loved Harriet, and that he fell suddenly and violently in love with Mary ; but in none of these facts can any adequate excuse be found for his conduct.

We are sometimes told that Shelley did not believe in the sanctity of marriage, and that because he believed that only so long as two persons love one another they should live together, he is thereby justified. He merely carried out into practice the views which he had honestly (and perhaps rightly) arrived at. No one can resist the convictions of reason ; no one can be condemned for acting according to his convictions. This is a doctrine which is becoming popular, and is certainly convenient, especially when the teaching of reason and passion harmonize. We will suggest another example. Suppose a man to be as firmly convinced that over-population is the cause of certain social evils at the present day, just as Shelley thought marriage was the cause of other evils. He would certainly have good authority for holding such views. Supposing, impelled purely by such lofty notions, he was then to kill the two orphan children of his elder brother and become the possessor of a large property ; or suppose, not to take such an extreme case, he was to go down a crowded street in a poor district when the children were out of school and was to begin a wholesale murder. He would have much to say on his side, but the world would hold him to be an inhuman monster. Certainly it is very pleasant if it is sufficient to hold an immoral opinion to justify an immoral action. The fact is that Shelley had sinned, and sinned grievously ; he had broken not only the code of society, but his own ; he had not only stolen Mary from her father's house, he had also deserted Harriet. However leniently we may judge him, we must not hide this from ourselves. He had sinned, and the penalty he had to pay was the penance of a lifetime. He had to endure the loss of friends, the calumny and hatred of the world ; he was deprived of the children whom he loved by a court whose judgment was rendered necessary by his conduct and opinions. He found himself continually exposed to misrepresentation and suspicion. His poetry found few readers, his ideals no sympathy. He had cut himself off from any possibility of influencing his contemporaries. If he had sinned in heedlessness, he paid a terrible expiation.

But if on this charge we must condemn Shelley, on others

even worse which were made against him, and to which we need only refer, it is equally obvious that he was not guilty. There is not a particle of evidence of any value to support them. We learn very clearly how the suspicions arose. They were greedily devoured by a public which believed every scandal of the 'Satanic' school, but no good evidence has ever been brought forward in their favour, and the testimony of Shelley's own wife, of Trelawny, of Peacock, even of Byron, is enough to refute them. But let us pass to pleasanter subjects.

The most striking feature in the life of Shelley is the continued marks of progress that it shows. As a boy there was much that was attractive about him. He was full of eager passion to satisfy his mental appetite; there was much strong sympathy for suffering, and violent, if erratic, affectionateness. But at the root of all was an absolute refusal to submit to any sort of discipline, or to acknowledge any form of authority. We are told that he loved his father when quite young, but that love seems soon to have disappeared when obedience was demanded. Already at school he had gained the title of atheist, probably because of the habit he had learnt of cursing his father and the king. Oxford demanded that he should read Aristotle, so he resolutely persisted in devouring Plato. He himself says, in an often quoted passage:

'Yet nothing that my tyrants knew or taught,
I cared to learn.'

In this line of autobiography he certainly has given a truer account of his earlier life than is the habit of himself and other poets. Any one who attempted to restrain him he dubbed a tyrant, and he invariably refused to learn anything he was taught. No doubt part of his passion for science arose from the fact that it was forbidden at school, and hardly taught at Oxford. It was his boast that he had 'heaped knowledge from forbidden mines of lore,' and in this grandiloquent way he accurately illustrates one of the worst defects of his character.

The closing years of his life present us with an altered Shelley; there is much, indeed, of the old Adam there, much impetuosity, much violence of language, and want of restraint. But there is a great change. Experience, sufferings, the inevitable discipline of the world had begun to work; his character is beginning to form, his intellect to mature; above all, his poetical powers burst out with surprising richness.

Almost all that is really great in his poetry is the work of these years in Italy, and in all he wrote there is a continual work of progress, a progress as much the result of greater thoughtfulness as of greater poetic skill.

In the *Ode to the West Wind* in 1819 he writes:—

‘A heavy weight of hours has chained and bowed
One too like thee—tameless, and swift, and proud.’

And the melancholy verses in *Adonais* in which the poet describes himself are well known:—

‘Midst others of less note came one frail form,
A phantom among men, companionless
As the last cloud of an expiring storm
Whose thunder is its knell. He, as I guess,
Had gazed on Nature’s naked loveliness
Actæon-like; and now he fled astray
With feeble steps o’er the world’s wilderness,
And his own thoughts along that rugged way
Pursued like raging hounds their father and their prey.

‘A pard-like Spirit, beautiful and swift,—
A love in desolation masked—a Power
Girt round with weakness; it can scarce uplift
The weight of the superincumbent hour.
It is a dying lamp, a falling shower,
A breaking billow;—even whilst we speak
Is it not broken? On the withering flower
The killing sun smiles brightly; on a cheek
The life can burn in blood even while the heart may break.’

We only ask our readers to contrast such passages as these from the poems of later life with representations of the poet’s self taken from early works, such as *Alastor*. The poetry of the earlier period describes the conventional tragic poet in the language of immature genius. Not only is the work of the later period superior artistically, it is also more genuine. It does not deal in stagy melodramatic heroes; it is the real outpouring of a true character. Lyric poetry is always egotistic. It may often reflect only a passing feeling, but it must represent one that is genuine. Shelley’s later poems are softer in their tone, and the offspring of true self-knowledge—

‘Most wretched men
Are cradled into poetry by wrong,
They learn in suffering what they teach in song.’

And the beautiful side of Shelley’s character is that neither his sufferings nor his errors had taught him to be a cynic.

During these last years it was that Shelley's real genius began first to develop. Before his residence in Italy, *Queen Mab*, *Alastor*, and the *Revolt of Islam* were his only long poems, and though they may contain many passages of great beauty, they contain much that is unreadable. Strangely enough, too, the most beautiful of his early poems, *Mont Blanc* and the *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*, were also inspired by foreign influences and written when abroad. Had he remained in England the uncongenial life, the continual irritation of politics, and a climate which did not harmonize with his strange habits of life would have always checked his poetical powers. Bright, sunny skies, a free open-air life, a nature with which he could continually live in sympathy, responded to and developed all his peculiar tendencies. In one of the most beautiful of his prose passages, in the Introduction to *Prometheus*, he writes:—

‘This poem was chiefly written upon the mountainous ruins of the Baths of Caracalla, among the flowery glades and thickets of odoriferous blossoming trees, which are extending in ever-winding labyrinths upon its immense platforms and dizzy arches suspended in the air. The bright blue sky of Rome, and the effect of the vigorous awakening of spring in that divinest climate, and the new life with which it drenches the spirits even to intoxication were the inspiration of this drama.’

The character of Shelley is one of strange contrasts, and a thoughtful reader of his life will be continually swayed in his judgment. At one time all his admiration and love are aroused by an act of enthusiastic benevolence, and then we feel suddenly compelled to ask, Is this the same person—is this preacher of a lofty guiding rule of love the same man who deserted his wife; or is it some maniac who is not accountable for what he does? How is it that the poet who shuddered at the mention of anything indecent, whose poems are free from any touch of suggestiveness, could yet make himself the champion of incest, could feel attracted by the story of the Cenci, and allow his imagination to be filled with such monstrous images? In smaller things, too, there is the same contrast. His voice was shrill and piercing, but his reading was beautiful. He would often trip up and tumble about awkwardly, but there was no one whose movements could be more graceful. Sometimes he was pleasant in society, and had all the attractiveness of sincerity and naturalness, and yet again he is shy, nervous, even harsh and disagreeable. Gentle, mild, quiet, he yet in language could rise to heights of fierce and often unjust invective. Always preaching justice and

tolerance, there are few who have formed more unjust opinions and indulged in more intolerant outbursts. So gentle that he could not injure the lowest animal, he yet never shrank from wounding the feelings of any he disagreed with. His imagination was filled with beautiful ideals of a world ruled by love and full of the influence of love only, and yet he saw in the Gospel of Love only a religion of hatred.

'Swiftly gliding in,' writes Trelawny, 'blushing like a girl, a tall, thin stripling held out both his hands; and although I could hardly believe as I looked at his flushed, feminine, and artless face that it could be the poet, I returned his warm pressure. After the ordinary greetings and courtesies he sat down and listened. I was silent from astonishment. Was it possible this mild-looking beardless boy could be the veritable monster at war with all the world?'

'He came in,' says Hogg, 'like a spirit that had just descended from the sky, like a demon risen from the ground.'

A divine emanation from heaven, says one; the head of the Satanic school, says another. But all are alike certain there was something not natural in him. Good or bad, he was hardly a denizen of this world.

It is easy for a critic to understand how either of these opinions could be held; it is difficult to strike a balance between them. That a supporter of religion and morality, knowing only certain facts of the poet's life and certain doctrines that he preached, should not be able to restrain his indignation, is natural. It is equally natural that some one, starting from different premisses, allowing himself only to see those characteristics which are, and always will be, full of moral beauty, whose imagination has been attracted by the lofty aspirations of some of his poetry, should be unable to restrain his enthusiasm and should refuse to look on the other side. But we feel that neither of these alternatives will satisfy our readers. We feel that their sincere convictions will prevent them from canonizing or deifying an assailant of Christian morality and teaching; we feel that they will not refuse to admit the Christianlike beauty of much that he did, and his genuinely lofty aspirations, and will equally refrain from abusive anathemas. It is our business to assist them in forming a clearer idea and a juster estimate of his character.

And, first, let us once more insist upon his youth. He was but thirty when he died. He was nineteen when he ran away with Harriet; he was one-and-twenty when he deserted her. He had been an author (if a bad one) for years before many men in the present day have learnt to do an examination paper, or to satisfy the army examiners in spelling. It is not

reasonable to expect maturity of character or opinion from a boy, even though he cares for the future of Ireland more than for the success of the University Eight, and is more interested in the progress of mankind than in the winner of the Derby. For the last ten years of his life he was progressing in mind and character. He was still young when he died, and there is many a man who has attained the fame of a saint and become a champion of religion, whose early years would yield a more disastrous record. What if Cyprian had died as a heathen ; or St. Augustine while an obscure rhetorician, a Manichæan and a sensualist ; or Ignatius Loyola while still a dissolute soldier ; or Francis of Assisi as a ruffling gallant ? Not that we for one moment imagine Shelley would have ever been a champion of religion ; we only plead for leniency of judgment. Even that orthodox champion of conservatism, Southey, had once been praised by the reviews for his revolutionary sentiments ; and Wordsworth and Coleridge had had foolish dreams about improving the condition of their fellow-men. There is almost less difference between *Joan of Arc* and the *Vision of Judgmet* than there is between *Queen Mab* and *Hellas*, or between the wild boy who deserted Harriet and the pale-faced dreamer in the woods of Lucca.

But if there are many men whose characters and careers cannot be judged at thirty, Shelley was essentially one who required time in which to mature. We presume that there is no poet who has not been at some time in his life at variance with the world. Excess of imagination makes it impossible for him to realize and reconcile himself to his surroundings. Errors in judgment, errors in comprehension he is constantly liable to. And probably there never was any one who more truly than Shelley 'moved about in worlds not realized.' It was the lesson of his life to learn something about human beings, and to discipline himself to the restraints necessary for humanity.

His extraordinary power of idealizing and misunderstanding life often led to ludicrous instances, especially in his treatment of persons. Miss Hitchener was a schoolmistress in Sussex, of romantic disposition and advanced opinions. Shelley met her once, talked of virtue, poetry and truth, and proceeded to educate her by correspondence out of the few prejudices she still retained. When away from her he constructed on this basis an ideal of great beauty, of brilliant intellectual powers, of charming disposition. She became his *confidante* and the recipient of letters characterized by somewhat exaggerated Platonism. Of her he dreamed while he wandered on the

Cumberland hills. She was the true sister of his soul, to whom half his property was to be left when he died. From her he asked forgiveness for the unfaithfulness he had shown in marrying: 'Blame me if thou wilt, dearest friend, for still thou art dearest to me; yet pity even this error if thou blamest me.' But after this correspondence had gone on for some time, she came and stayed with him, and the illusion was broken. If we may quote Prof. Dowden:—

'The Elizabeth Hitchener of Shelley's dream world, the Roman Portia of the correspondence, had disappeared for ever, and in her place stood a mere mortal woman—tall, lean, brown-visaged, thirty years of age, glorified by no peculiar nimbus, and having parts and passions as obnoxious to comment and criticism as those of any ordinary human creature. Her opinions, theological and political, were sadly tainted by the spirit of compromise. Her temper was variable.' (Vol. i. 311.)

We soon find Shelley writing, 'She is a woman of desperate views and dreadful passions, but of cool and undeviating revenge.' And again, 'She is an artful, superficial, ugly, hermaphroditical beast of a woman, and my astonishment at my fatuity, inconsistency, and bad taste were never so great as after living four months with her as an inmate. What would Hell be were such a woman in Heaven?' And again, 'The Brown Demon, as we will call our late tormentor, and schoolmistress, must receive her stipend.' Nor was this the only instance. To the end of his life Shelley formed Platonic attachments of the most ardent and devoted character with abstractions which had sufficient unreality to satisfy the highest form of Platonic *ἔρως*, which were the creations of his own mind, but which he called by the names of real persons. Suddenly he discovers that the material object of his affections does not possess all the virtues of the spiritual, and enthusiastic admiration changes with great rapidity into violent and unrestrained dislike. So it was with Elizabeth Hitchener; so, too, with Emilia Viviani, the goddess of the *Epipsychidion*; so, too, with Harriet; so, in a less degree, even with Mary. Of Emilia he writes:—

'The *Epipsychidion* I cannot look at; the person whom it celebrates was a cloud instead of a Juno; and poor Ixion starts from the Centaur that was the offspring of his own embrace. . . . I think one is always in love with something or other. The error—and I confess it is not easy for spirits cased in flesh and blood to avoid it—consists in seeking in a mortal image the likeness of what is perhaps eternal.' (Vol. ii. 381.)

We would only ask our readers to note the great change between the disillusioned Shelley of 1812 and of 1821. He now confesses his own errors, and does not blame the object of his mistaken adoration. Justice is the one quality which Shelley was unable to exercise in his judgment of other persons, and justice is the one quality least often found in the estimations which have been formed of his character.

The same imperfect realization of the world in which he lived will partly explain and may help to justify his constant tendency to misstatement of fact. Miss Clairmont tells us that he was not able to distinguish truth from falsehood. He very often certainly made statements which were not true. He told Godwin that he had written his two novels before he was seventeen. He stated before the Court of Chancery that *Queen Mab* was published two years before it ever appeared. He imagined or invented the statement that Harriet had been unfaithful to him, and that they had been parted by incurable dissensions. Many other instances have been quoted, and many of them are undoubted; they serve to show a continuous habit (from whatever cause) of misstatement. It is useless in the face of these facts to quote statements that Shelley was always truthful, or long passages in his poems of great beauty in praise of truth. After all, was it not 'grand to hear Baby Charles laying down the guilt of dissimulation, and Steenie lecturing on the turpitude of incontinence!' We must accept the contradiction and explain it. And, in the first place, Shelley is absolutely free from any touch of untruthfulness in his opinions. No idea of self-restraint would ever make him hide his views. It is only as far as regards actual facts in the world in which we live that he shows any tendency to deception. And here he never saw things as they were; he could not see the distinction between fact and fiction, between reality and unreality. He could always believe what he wished to believe, and bring himself to see facts, not as they were, but as they ought to be. So gradually he came to believe there had been incurable dissensions between himself and Harriet. So he constantly imagined events that had never happened. Dishonesty is not the fault we can accuse him of; it is the incapacity to see things as they are—a fault quite as dangerous, and perhaps almost as culpable.

The fact is, Shelley was a poet—and a poet in whom the imagination was disproportionately developed. And to this were due all the merits and all the defects alike of his character and his poetry. He was a creature, not of reason,

not of intellect, not of moral purpose, not of passion, but of feelings and of imagination. Hence often the discrepancy between his words and his actions; hence the unreality of his philosophy; hence the unjust judgments of friends, the incorrect estimates of religion. Hence, too, the power and the limitations of his genius. In judging him we must not claim for him intellectual power which he did not possess; we must not claim for him high morality, for he was without the defence and protection of a moral nature and moral principles; his real claim for praise is that his imagination though often extravagant was never depraved—though often attracted by the horrible was never attracted by the impure; it was set on high and lofty ideals; and that in following out its commands, though constantly liable to mistakes in judgment, though constantly erring through haste and impetuosity, he was capable of great self-sacrifice and was even culpably regardless of his own interests.

Shelley had all the merits of generous aspirations and feelings, but he was singularly deficient in self-control. He refused to submit to any restraints or undergo any discipline. Just as he never allowed himself to realize the conditions of life, so he never made himself conform to them. He was undisciplined in his life and his character, undisciplined in his thoughts and poetry. His mental power was great, but it was immature, for it had never been educated. He was guided entirely by his impulses; his impulses were often high and lofty, but they had never been controlled. He was eager in his pursuit after learning, but he would only learn what would please him, and in the way he liked. He was full of generosity; he was capable of great self-sacrifice. He would give up his boots to a beggar he met on the road. He would deprive himself of many comforts in order to help his friends. Godwin alone must have received from him 7,000*l.* or 8,000*l.* But his generosity often took the form of putting his name to bills he could not meet—of incurring debts which his father had to pay. In one case certainly his failure to meet a bill ruined a man. He was full of ideals about love; his feelings were genuine, but his impetuosity and want of self-restraint led to continued acts of injustice. And so in small things. He was continually making experiments in diet; often he would refuse or neglect to eat his food until he was faint with fasting; often he would devour voraciously (in order to save time) unwholesome vegetable diet. Then when outraged Nature took her revenge, he suffered acute agonies and was obliged to have recourse to laudanum. He was

never an opium eater ; he never contracted a habit like De Quincey, but he at times almost killed himself by a reckless indulgence. And this discipline which he refused to submit to himself he believed to be absolutely injurious to others. It was not from any immoral desires that he attacked marriage. It was because it was a restraint ; it therefore checked the harmonious and natural development of mankind. It was as an attack upon what he thought an evil custom that he introduced those parts of *Laon and Cythna* which were naturally repulsive. And in harmony with this was his view of nature. The world was not to him a great ordered whole, moving according to fixed laws ; he had read much science, but he had never learnt the great lesson of science. It was a divine being, and all its parts were divine. He is not using merely the language of poetry when he addresses the skylark—

‘ Hail to thee, blithe spirit !
 Bird thou never wert,
 That from heaven, or near it,
 Pourest thy full heart
 In profuse strains of unpremeditated art.’

He looked upon the world as a great whole of spiritual beings bound together, not by law, but by love, and all the harmony of the universe was the result, not of a divine will and system, but of a perfect and harmonious agreement between the different portions. Nature represented the reign of love, not law ; and when man has substituted love for law then universal happiness will prevail. Even the moon by love will once more feel the joys of life :

‘ Green stalks burst forth, and bright flowers grow,
 And living shapes upon my bosom move :
 Music is in the sea and air,
 Winged clouds soar here and there,
 Dark with the rain new buds are dreaming of :
 ’Tis love, all love !’

We cannot exaggerate, and we feel ourselves unable to praise, the beauty of the panegyric on Love in the last act of *Prometheus*. But Shelley's own life was the best criticism on his philosophy ; if love will make all it gazes on paradise, human nature requires the discipline of law and morality to make it fit for the reign of love.

There are two men whose lives were closely mingled with that of Shelley, and whose characters present the most instructive contrasts. William Godwin professed to be a

philosopher, and certainly succeeded in showing how contemptible philosophy could be. He had written against marriage and the aristocracy, but he was particularly careful that his daughter should be married when there was some chance of her becoming a baronet's wife. He for long refused to speak to Mary; he would not bring himself to write the name of her seducer, but he never hesitated to borrow money from him. We have seldom read anything more mean and contemptible than his letters to Shelley. The more he received from his son-in-law the more his embarrassment seems to become, and the greater his ingratitude. When at length Shelley expostulates on his extravagance he describes the letter as scurrilous, and gives continual unhappiness to his daughter by venomous attacks on her husband.

'I return your cheque,' wrote Godwin, 'because no consideration can induce me to utter a cheque drawn by you and containing my name. To what purpose make a disclosure of this kind to your banker? I hope you will send a duplicate by the post which will reach me on Saturday morning. You may make it payable to Joseph Hume or James Martin, or any other name in the whole directory' (Dowden, i. 538).

We have seldom read a more insulting or pretentious letter. Shelley always considered Godwin his master in philosophy, and certainly he exhibits the results of a philosophy based on principles of pure love in a far more pleasing light.

Again, between Byron and Shelley there were many resemblances and great contrasts. Both were men with all the impediments to becoming respectable citizens that genius so often creates; both had scandalized the world by their immoral life; both found themselves half banished from their country, and looked at with at least suspicion by all they met; both were men of brilliant powers and irregular habits; but in every other way they were extraordinarily different. Byron had enjoyed all the applause and fame of a successful poet; he had the advantage of great wealth and social position, and he had become cynical, discontented, a sneerer and a scoffer. Shelley had never known popularity, he had never received anything but abuse and contempt, and had never lost faith in his fellow-men. We picture the two in their life together in Italy: Byron, self-indulgent, ostentatious, ashamed of his intellectual powers, always anxious to be thought a man of the world, surrounding himself with a mob of retainers, prodigal and mean; Shelley, equally extravagant, but extravagant in generosity, full of in-

tellectual zeal, eager and keen about the works he read, a devoted student, a quiet gentleman. Byron's illegitimate child, Allegra, was supported for years by Shelley, and banished by her father to a convent. Her mother was treated by him with the contempt a child feels for a plaything he has got tired of, and lived chiefly upon Shelley. Shelley always announced himself an atheist, and obeyed most of the Christian precepts. Byron rather prided himself on preserving some relics of the faith, but never obeyed any of its commandments. The contrast between the two poets is the best evidence of their characters. The one pure-minded, elevated in thought, simple and unconscious, if wild, irregular, impetuous in his acts; the other sensual and degraded, always attracted by the impure, full of conscious egotism and vanity, ashamed of his powers, and playing the part of a melodramatic hero. His highest merit is perhaps that he recognized and was not ashamed to confess the moral superiority of his brother poet.

Shelley was notorious in his own day as an atheist; he was never tired of asserting that he was one. There was probably no one who less represents what is implied generally by that name. We do not wish to analyse his creed more than we have done, for a philosophical abstract of the views of a poet is of little value. But if an atheist is one who refuses to recognize spiritual principles; if he is one who looks upon the world as matter and nothing but matter; if he is one whose beliefs are bounded by his senses, and his aspirations by his desire to justify them, Shelley was certainly no atheist. We will go further: we believe that the popularity of his poems among certain persons is an unconscious protest against the atheism they profess. After looking upon the world as a dark, gloomy material process; after being told that the latest dictate of science is that man may believe in force and in matter, and nothing more, they find themselves suddenly plunged by a poet, who professes like them to be an atheist, into a world of spiritual life, where love reigns and not force, where everything is spiritual, not material, where they are taught a beauty they had never seen, and are introduced to a world they had never realized. Shelley's world is as much a figment of the imagination as the materialist's is of the senses. But the imagination has its work as well as the reason; we have heard of the dangers of its misuse: we must not neglect its proper functions; it is the ally of the spiritual power. It helps man to break through the strong bonds of sense and to see beyond the narrow horizon that bounds their

vision. And this we believe is a work which the poetry of Shelley—however inadequate his philosophy may be—can do and has done.

So much for Shelley's claims to be an atheist. His attitude towards Christianity is equally instructive. In his notes to *Queen Mab*, he informed the world, in an airy and light-hearted manner, that he had found reason to believe that the Founder of Christianity was a clever impostor. Shortly afterwards he read the Gospel narrative, and from that time forward his opinion changed, and he adopted a view which has since become part of the cant of cultivated free-thought, that the character of the Founder of Christianity was beautiful and worthy of imitation, but it was not Christianity. But his hatred was then transferred to historic Christianity. It is an interesting comment upon this fact that he absolutely refused to read history, asserting that it contained only a record of the crimes and blunders of the human race—committed, of course, all by tyrants and Christians. We sincerely ask persons who are in the habit of talking about honest convictions held by the impulse of reason, the result of careful study, and so on, whether the unorthodoxy of opinion which they defend is not very often the result of a refusal to be convinced. If a man deliberately asserts that historic Christianity has been disastrous to mankind, and absolutely refuses to take the only means of testing the question, does he not at once stand condemned of a certain guiltiness in holding the opinions which he does hold? Will not this suggest that after all a man is, at any rate to a certain extent, responsible for the opinions he holds? We will not dwell more on this, but will return to the views of Shelley. There is no doubt that they entered to a certain extent into the composition of the *Prometheus*, but it is equally certain that had the *Prometheus* been written six or eight years earlier, the colourless Jupiter, who merely represents evil religion, evil laws, evil customs, would have been replaced by a very different character. But the reading of Dante and gradual acquaintance with some of the facts of history, the contrast of Christian Europe and Mohammedan Greece, began to operate, and we find a great advance in breadth of view in the *Hellas*. In referring to the well-known Chorus of that poem, we are quite aware, as the notes inform us, that it is only dramatic; but to a lyric poet of the intensely subjective character of Shelley the capacity to grasp such a dramatic standpoint implies an immense intellectual advance. It is because we believe that this Chorus represents the very highest point to which Shelley

rose alike as a poet and a thinker that we quote what must be well known to all our readers :—

‘ A power from the unknown God,
A Promethean conqueror, came ;
Like a triumphal path he trod
The thorns of death and shame.
A mortal shape to him
Was like the vapour dim
Which the orient planet animates with light ;
Hell, Sin, and Slavery came,
Like bloodhounds mild and tame,
Nor preyed until their lord had taken flight.
The moon of Mahomet
Arose, and it shall set :
While, blazoned as in heaven’s immortal moon,
The cross leads generations on.’

It has not been our purpose to criticize the poetry of Shelley ; but we venture to suggest that our view of his character is entirely supported by his writings. Let our readers compare for a short time the *Prometheus* of Æschylus and the *Prometheus* of Shelley. They will find a great deal in common ; they will find, we venture to assert, much in the more modern that equals, much even that excels, his ancient model. In power of expression, and perhaps occasionally in obscurity, it would be difficult to decide their contending merits. In power of inspiration, in magnificence of conception, in lyric beauty, the English poet is certainly not inferior. But in one point he is inferior, and that is a sense of artistic proportion. In poetry as in life, self-restraint and self-discipline are equally necessary—a fact which is certainly forgotten by a school at the present day—and the form that that must take is an adherence to the somewhat conventional rules of art. The *Prometheus* of Shelley has no real plot and no real unity ; its speeches are often wearisome by their length, and the mind is often confused by the extraordinary array of spirits that take the place of the Chorus of ocean nymphs. Full of passages of extraordinary beauty, it yet fails from being able to take its place among great poems by a complete absence of harmonious order. And so in the smaller poems. We may safely assert that the more complex the metre—that is, the more artificial restraint there is—the more beautiful they are. The most beautiful, perhaps, is the *Ode to the West Wind*. And it is written in a metre which few English poets have ever been able to master. A well-known critic has stated that it was because he was the greatest poet who has ever sung

of liberty that Shelley deserves a recognition he has not even yet attained. We believe that this criticism is based on thoroughly wrong principles, and certainly is incorrect in the present instance. It is when writing on liberty that all the poet's faults are most developed: he did not require inspiration—he required restraint, and liberty was a theme which invoked an excess of enthusiasm. The contrast of Wordsworth is instructive. The mild conservative dreamer required some external impulse to stimulate his powers, and it is just in his sonnets on liberty that he gains that stimulus. They contain his finest work, and one of the noblest literary monuments to liberty in the English language. Shelley failed just where he would most willingly have succeeded, and he failed from just that defect in his character we have noticed—a want of self-restraint.

We have attempted to delineate Shelley as we believe he really was, without exaggeration and without misrepresentation. We have attempted to point out what we believe to have been the radical defect of his character. We are far from believing he was a bad man; we certainly cannot consider him an angel or a deity. We shall consider our labours have not been in vain if we can prevent one or two unjust misconceptions, and if we can restrain one or two of his admirers from a worship which is injurious alike to themselves and the object of their adoration. One point more, and we have done. We venture to think that Shelley's life was the most complete condemnation of his theory of conduct. And to those who may be seduced by it we will put the case as strongly as we can. Here is a man who, as you hold, was a man of great moral beauty, of great benevolence, of great purity of thought, generous, high-minded, an earnest searcher after truth, and yet—you cannot deny it—he brought unhappiness on himself (no one was more unhappy than Shelley, says Trelawny) and on many others; he was guilty of constant errors, and some actions which were worse than errors; he committed acts of immorality and acts of injustice. Surely the one thing he needed was that which he most vehemently refused to submit to—an objective moral code, and an intellectual standard of truth. He read Plato eagerly, and extracted from it much that suited his theories, but never learnt the one lesson which the Greek philosopher continually impresses upon his readers—the beauty of Law and Order. To him the world is admirable just in so far as it is the embodiment of general laws, and man is admirable just in so far as his soul lives a life of harmony, and will, and restraint: the

excessive wanderings of the imagination, the undue cultivation of the passions, unrestrained emotions, disordered thoughts, are all evil. Man, in obedience to his highest intellectual principles, must live a sober, well-regulated, well-ordered, well-disciplined life ; his wild, impetuous, savage nature restrained by divine philosophy : νόμος βασιλεὺς ἄρχει ὁ νόμος.

ART. IV.—IS RESERVATION LAWFUL?

Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament for the Sick and Dying not inconsistent with the Order of the Church of England.
By the Rev. T. W. KEMPE, M.A. (London, 1887.)

THIS essay is interesting, but cannot in its present very rambling form be considered as serving any practical purpose. The careful reader soon discovers that it does not prove that which it more or less strongly asserts, that its facts are in many cases confused, weak, and irrelevant, and that Mr. Kempe must be conscious that the task of proving the correctness of even the moderate statement in his title-page is beyond his power. The title-page is composed with diplomatic modesty, but the body of the pamphlet, without cause shown, is far more dogmatic, and at length ceases to be a serious argument at all.

Mr. Kempe relies much upon, and makes the most of, the very ordinary fact that men of various shades of opinion were engaged in the revision of the existing Prayer-Book. When was it otherwise, and how could it be otherwise in such a work ? And he writes as if we are practically and chiefly concerned with the motives and opinions of an individual, or of a minority among the revisers, and as if we are free to sit as revisers upon them, and to call them to account, when our concern is simply with the outcome of their collective deliberations as legalized by Convocation. Mr. Kempe's mind is much confused on this point. The revisers of 1661 did not do all he would have had them do, and he impatiently refuses to believe that they did not. But they did well under great difficulties what the times permitted, and they were too wise to run the risk of failure in so serious a work as that with which Divine Providence had entrusted them. Alexander

Knox, stating the case of these revisers some eighty years ago, and generously recognizing their difficulties, said of their work: 'Without any change of features which could cause alarm, a new spirit was then breathed into our Communion Service.'

Certain differences of opinion among the revisers upon which Mr. Kempe lays so much stress are of no moment at all. They are things of the past altogether, and were of moment only until their work was finished. There must be, we know well, differences of opinion in a council or committee, as long as men are men, until a decision has been arrived at by a majority. No Roman Catholic would think of urging that the result arrived at by the two recent councils at Rome is at all weakened or affected because a minority of able men among the assembled bishops differed from and argued against the majority. The two dogmas were finally accepted by the bishops, present and absent, as a matter of course. The minority neither wrote pamphlets nor further urged their opinions to mitigate the force of the dogma, as, judging by this pamphlet, Mr. Kempe would have thought it to be their duty.

To accept both the letter and spirit of the Prayer-Book of 1661 with a frank loyalty, and without any such special pleading as Mr. Kempe uses, seems to us to be of the first importance, and a duty which requires no proving. Our force and usefulness as a Church depends upon our doing so. The Church of England has spoken by this book, and if we cannot submit our private views and inclinations to it, the end must inevitably be that we shall be 'made a very strife unto our neighbours, and our enemies will laugh us to scorn.'

We propose to treat this essay on the terms of its title-page—terms which are still more definitely expressed in the course of the argument. Mr. Kempe has narrowed the question of Reservation to one of consistency with the Prayer-Book; and, having raised so important a question as that, we shall not feel bound to travel beyond his lines. Holding his view to be untrue and unproven, we wish he had rather employed his ingenuity in showing cause for the restoration of Reservation, and in discovering some of the reasons for its omission by the revisers. We can well imagine some of them, and they are worthy of investigation. To do this would have been helpful, interesting, and to the point, and we think it would have better satisfied his own conscience. For in spite of very strained explanations and of laborious references to men and periods which have no connexion with the case, he

is yet so clearly conscious of failure to bring the Prayer-Book into agreement with his wishes that he is driven to suggest the cutting a knot which he is quite unable to untie. Instead of that 'calm and judicial temper' with which, as he truly says, an inquiry of this kind should always be conducted, we find the spirit of a very keen advocate. He weights himself heavily and fatally by discussing as one subject two entirely distinct questions, to the serious prejudice of that which he wishes to promote—the practice of Reservation.

Mr. Kempe has not the mind of a born general. He claims allies which are not to be depended on. The Prayer-Book is certainly not his ally, as we shall show from his own expressions, in which there is a great and too dazzling exhibition of useless learning. This, used in Mr. Kempe's manner, may be impressive to hasty, superficial, and prejudiced readers, but he cannot conceal that it is unsatisfactory to himself.

At p. 5 he writes, for instance, in words which should be carefully noted :

'The needs of the sick and dying cannot be adequately supplied by *rigidly insisting upon* (what is assumed to be) the *literal* force of the *later formularies* of the Church of England, and therefore it is respectfully submitted that the *spirit* of the Church is most *dutifully* and *intelligently* observed by following the continuous stream of Catholic tradition in making provision for the communion of the sick and dying by *reserving* the most comfortable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.'

Such a suggestion put into plain English must mean that as the existing Prayer-Book (described as 'the later formularies') *does not* (although the pamphlet in its title-page and elsewhere says that it *does*) favour the practice of Reservation, but has deliberately left out certain previous rubrics, and has made arrangements for the communion of the sick of quite another sort, it is therefore advisable to take one's own course, exercise one's own will and judgment, and disobey the Church's voice in her Prayer-Book. But, if so, we ask with some surprise, of what use is the ingenuity which we shall find that Mr. Kempe has exercised so abundantly throughout his essay to prove that the Prayer-Book allows the Reservation of the Sacrament? Such a recommendation of disobedience is only consistent with the view that his general argument is a failure, that his title-page is in error, and that Mr. Kempe holds some power of dispensation. To make confusion by thus overleaping boundaries seems to us to be inconsistent with all faith in Providence. The wrong of it is not reduced by grandiloquent language, nor, as a salve to

conscience, by hazy and unsustained assertions of a certain sort of Prayer-Book authority for Reservation in which Mr. Kempe certainly shows but a very small faith. Before Churchmen can accept advice so unprincipled the salt must have lost its savour, and the faith which should acknowledge the hand of God in things which have been lawfully arranged must be becoming extinct. In a day like this, when lawlessness is disintegrating all relationships and disturbing all duties, it is a serious thing for Churchmen to surround it with a halo and treat it as a lawful remedy.

Mr. Kempe makes a statement at p. 154 of which, as of some others, we cannot suppose that he sees the force. 'The question of Reservation for the sick,' he says, 'was *distinctly* present to the minds of the revisers in 1661.' And he adds, 'It was *not then* judged advisable to restore the rubrics which explicitly directed the practice of Reservation in the book of 1549.' As they had never been in the book of 1661, we do not see how it was possible to restore them to it. The word is an inaccurate one, and seems to be used to give an impression in favour of Mr. Kempe's view. We trust it was used accidentally. We will read 'insert' for 'restore.' But, read it as we may, it is an abandonment by Mr. Kempe of his view that Reservation is 'not inconsistent with the order of the Church of England.' He endeavours to mitigate this statement by adding that this was done 'without one word of censure respecting the traditional usage of reserving the Holy Sacrament.' We are unable to see how the deliberate omission by the revisers, of rubrics, to direct something which he says 'was distinctly present to their minds,' can be reduced in its importance by saying that it was done 'without one word of censure.'

We are unable to reconcile another statement of Mr. Kempe's with the foregoing. He says at p. 31, 'Since, *so far as we know*, the question of forbidding Reservation was not so much as raised at the last revision of the Book of Common Prayer in 1661, *we cannot resist* the conclusion that it continues to be perfectly legitimate.' Mr. Kempe seems to have small powers of resistance to that of which he is enamoured. We have to reconcile the statement that 'the question of Reservation for the sick was *distinctly* present to the minds of the revisers in 1661' with another statement, that 'the question of Reservation was not so much as raised,' the latter statement being weakly qualified with '*so far as we know*,' which means anything or nothing.

Mr. Kempe evidently does not claim any special know-

ledge as to the singular and unnatural fact that something distinctly in the minds of the Revisers was not debated by them, though he yet founds upon it a conclusion in his own favour, which he says 'we cannot resist.' 'Out of the same mouth proceeds blessing and cursing.' The 'calm and judicial temper' is with difficulty discerned in all this. Mr. Kempe's faith in his contention that Reservation is consistent with, and is recognized in, the Prayer-Book, seems quite to fail him at p. 17, where he plaintively submits to the generous consideration of the bishops the desirability of sanctioning Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament. This petition he makes immediately after admitting the 'omission' of any rubric in the Prayer-Book directing Reservation, but without any sense of how impossible it would be for such a permission to be given in the face of all the rubrics which refer to Holy Communion both in public and private. Mr. Kempe's inconsistencies and contradictions and irrelevancies are a wearisome feature in the essay. He introduces the Venerable Bede, the Middle Ages, and all known traditions, without a thought that we are concerned with a comparatively modern Prayer-Book in which he asserts that his view is to be found. The pamphlet consists of 186 pages, but by the time we have reached p. 20, in spite of much to the contrary, we are startled by a paragraph which says, 'Thus we claim to have established this point, that the Reservation of the Sacrament for the Sick is in no wise inconsistent with the rule of the Church of England.' We were not prepared at all for such a very early flourish of trumpets, but it is Mr. Kempe's way. We become aware of his triumphs too entirely, as the essay proceeds, from his own mouth. The italics in the foregoing quotations are our own.

It is the more unjustifiable in Mr. Kempe to explain away the Prayer-Book by help of any former Prayer-Books because he has conceded that the changes made in 1661 were made thoughtfully and deliberately. Many of his expressions are inconsistent with such a concession, as, for instance, his remark at p. 1, that 'this venerable usage has, from a variety of causes, fallen into disuse in England during the last three hundred years.' We are compelled to become accustomed to contradictory statements. We are yet, however, at a loss to see how a custom which, as he allows, has been deliberately considered by the Church, and has been omitted by authority, can with accuracy be spoken of as having 'fallen into disuse from a variety of causes.' It is surely better to admit manfully that it has been omitted, that it lacks authority, and can only

be restored by authority, and that not of the bishops, to whom Mr. Kempe appeals, but of the Church. The Church had the wisdom to see what was possible in regard of divine worship at the time of the last revision of the Prayer-Book, and to do it, and she committed the result in trust to us, who have been grossly negligent of it. Men fought and suffered in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to save things which Mr. Kempe and others unwisely assert to have been saved. It is truer to acknowledge that there was grave loss and grave changes in the ways of the Church of England, and that our treatment of the Prayer-Book with which we are entrusted has not been and is not such as to entitle us to look for any immediate recovery of our losses. We gain nothing by special pleading and misrepresentation. The subject is above the level of all that sort of thing. We have inherited a system in which many features are lacking, which we trust will be restored ; but it is a system which will produce very abundant results if honestly, devoutly, and dutifully accepted and consistently worked, as it has never yet been worked and used by us. On the faithful using of the talent which has been committed to us it depends, no doubt, whether more shall be added. We have lost much and have deserved to lose it, through our defects of love, faith, and reverence. One only question is of pressing importance. Are we prepared, at this eleventh hour, to use steadily and fully all that we have inherited in our present Prayer-Book?

How do we treat, for instance, those prayers, Matins and Evensong, which should be the daily training of the clergy and people for the higher services which we are endeavouring to restore to their rightful place and importance? Have they not unaccountably fallen into disuse, although the rubric which demands them is one of two to which the Church has given extreme prominence? Her words in it are, 'The order for morning and evening prayer daily to be said and used throughout the year.' It immediately precedes the 'Ornaments Rubric,' which is nowadays so much and so justly pleaded. Is it necessary for one of these two important rubrics to drive out the other? May they not co-exist? In a Churchman's mind do they not naturally co-exist? Must daily prayer be discouraged and generally omitted because we realize Holy Communion to have been unworthily treated and scantily honoured in the past? How small and weak we are! We give a recent fact. A clergyman spending a night in London went a few months since to a well-known church on the east side of Regent Street to attend Morning Prayer,

which is advertized on the notice-board for 8.30. He found a celebration of Holy Communion proceeding, at which the priest *alone* communicated. He waited at its conclusion for a quarter of an hour, and then ventured to ask a clergyman who issued from the vestry when the stated Morning Prayer Service would begin. His reply was, 'There will be no Matins this morning.' 'Oh, yes,' he added, 'I know the notice-board announces it, but they seldom say the service.' Thus we construct with one hand and pull down with the other. We expect respect and sympathy and prayers for our welfare when we go to prison for the sake of the latter, or 'Ornaments Rubric,' while we set at nought and ignore the former explicit rubric for daily prayer, to which the Prayer-Book gives an exact and equal prominence. This former rubric is, in fact, in the stronger position of the two; for it is with more definiteness again expressed in the Preface to the Prayer-Book 'Concerning the Service of the Church.' Do we think we honour the higher means of grace by omitting the use of the lower? Do we not rather run the risk of coming to Holy Communion with hearts largely unprepared for discerning spiritually the Lord's Body? Such and many more risks are, we believe, run by those persons who make light of obedience to the Church's instructions, and live an easy religious life of self-pleasing, with good intentions but small faith. Obedience to their own inclinations, rather than obedience to the Church, is the modern ordinary habit of our clergy and people. In the face of such general neglect of the Prayer-Book, of such building from above rather than below, as we see around us, we cannot yet awhile feel seriously interested in the effort Mr. Kempe is making. With the means he uses we feel no interest or sympathy; for they are not true. This question of Reservation is not at present to the front. Many others are. There is much which must come first, if we mean solid work. The question must be pressed, when we reach it, with the help of truer facts than those which Mr. Kempe uses. We have first to recover respect for authority in general, and the authority of the Prayer-Book in particular. By omission and addition and transposition are we not framing a Church for ourselves—a human rather than a divine institution, which, as it is perpetually at variance with the authority of the Prayer-Book, must at length descend to the level of a sect?

It is very difficult to convey to our readers an idea of the great versatility and, if we may call it so, the buoyancy of Mr. Kempe. When he does not find rubrics to his mind he

assumes, as at p. 156, that they are not necessary, 'and that in this respect there is a remarkable agreement between our present form and the venerable monuments of antiquity.' This is scarcely the way in which an unprejudiced mind, which knows of all the special rubrics with which our public and private Communion Offices are laden, could express itself. But then such rubrics make unfortunately *against* Reservation. It is, however, much the same to Mr. Kempe whether proofs exist or are absent. He closes or opens his eye in a way which would be amusing if the subject were one of less gravity. If he finds the Prayer-Book unsuitable for his purpose he discourses upon Bishop Sparrow's *Rationale* and other personal opinions, as we shall presently notice. His principle is one of private judgment, or each priest his own Prayer-Book. A celebration of Communion in the sick man's room (p. 15) he treats as dependent upon the opinion of the individual priest as to the fitness of the said room. He so appears to read the words of the rubric in the Communion of the Sick, 'having a convenient place in the sick man's house with all things necessary so prepared that the curate may reverently minister,' as if there were to be no communion unless, *in his opinion*, the place was 'convenient.' 'Convenient' is a relative term. The curate is entrusted with the duty of *making* a 'convenient place' to the best of his power. Such a place can always be made where there is simple reverence without exaggeration on the part of the sick man and the curate. If the curate had the option of celebrating or not celebrating in the sick man's room we fear that in Mr. Kempe's case a 'convenient place' would be generally absent. The will and the way keep close company in most things. The rubric, of course, means that the best is to be done that can be done. Where is it hinted, much less said, as Mr. Kempe puts it at p. 15, that without certain things 'the priest is not authorized by this order for the communion of the sick in celebrating the divine mysteries?' The rubric says nothing of the kind. Mr. Kempe names 'sacred vessels of precious metal' as if they were one of the essentials. It is useless to enlarge on such exaggeration as this, which we sincerely trust is an oversight.

In spite of the vast changes of the Reformation period, which ended in a breach with Rome, in spite of the reconsideration of every conceivable detail in the services and of successive revisions of the Prayer-Book, Mr. Kempe quotes, as still having full authority, pre-Reformation documents such as Archbishop Peccham's *Constitutions* of 1281, and the acts

of Bishop Tunstal. He asks at p. 63, in respect of an order for Reservation by Bishop Tunstal, as if the Revised Prayer-Book of 1662 were governed by it, 'How comes it to pass that this order for the reverent care of the Blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood has been persistently set aside in open disobedience to the law?' Mr. Kempe can, we are sure, answer his own question. It is simply because the Prayer-Book has no reference to such an order, and says very much which is adverse to it. We are not concerned nowadays with more than the mere fact of its abandonment. He leans upon the staff of this bruised reed of a previous practice, and then exclaims indignantly, as we have seen, when it goes into and pierces his hand.

Equally singular is his use of Bishop Sparrow, whose *Rationale* he delights in quoting as if it were an unquestionable authority, and not a mere private expression of opinion. At p. 14 he says, 'The bishop quotes at length the rubrics for the Communion of the Sick with the reserved sacrament from the first Liturgy of King Edward VI. ;' and Mr. Kempe immediately adds, 'It is true that the rubric was *amended* in 1661.' Should not 'amended' be written 'omitted'? Mr. Kempe has elsewhere said '*omitted*,' which is the more accurate way of expressing it, but not so suitable, perhaps, for Mr. Kempe's general purpose. We see no object in such a reference to Bishop Sparrow. At p. 155 he endeavours, by help of Bishop Sparrow, to connect our 'present order' with the Prayer-Book of 1549, to the great confusion of the subject. He relies on a private opinion of Bishop Sparrow that our present order 'seems to refer us to former directions in times past.' The word '*seems*' should be noted, as well as the vast field which the sentence opens for the exercise of each man's private judgment; and Mr. Kempe proceeds at p. 158 to refer to Bishop Sparrow as follows: 'If it had been intended to prohibit Reservation for the sick, is it reasonable to suppose that one of the revisers could have publicly maintained that in his opinion the practice of Reservation was still to be commended as being agreeable to the ancient usages of this Church and realm?' We do not see what Mr. Kempe gains by this quotation. He quotes in it only the bishop's private opinion that the practice of Reservation is still to be '*commended*.' To help Mr. Kempe the bishop should have said to be *practised*. Many who would shrink from the disobedience of practising it could and would commend it. Again he relies on the bishop's support from the words 'agreeable to the ancient usage of this Church.' Well, no

one doubts *that*. But for Mr. Kempe's purpose the bishop should have been able to say 'agreeable to' the Prayer-Book set forth by authority. Mr. Kempe is of opinion that other bishops should have remonstrated against the reissue of Sparrow's *Rationale* (a private book) in 1663; and that, as they did not remonstrate, Reservation could not really have been forbidden. Very seriously weak must a case be which relies on such singular arguments. We hear a great deal more of his private opinions than we believe that Bishop Sparrow could have approved, he being merely *one* of the revisers.

Mr. Kempe relies much on Bishop Gibson of the last century. He mentions him first at p. 6 as holding that Archbishop Peccham's *Constitutions of Canterbury*, which enjoin Reservation, 'are to this day embodied in the ecclesiastical laws of the English Church.' But having used him so far, he allows at p. 71 that Bishop Gibson is defective upon the matter of Reservation, and he says, 'With regard to the legal aspect of the question, it must in fairness be admitted that this constitution is regarded as obsolete by Bishop Gibson.' He cannot, however, consent to lose the private opinion of so distinguished a person, and he tells us that the bishop must really only mean that 'it has, in consequence of a combination of circumstances, become disused.' At p. 81 he returns to Bishop Gibson, and so quotes him as to seem again to claim him as an authority for the practice.

In connexion at this point with the above he takes it that reviving Reservation, which he cannot prove to be mentioned in the Prayer-Book, stands on the same footing as reviving the Ornaments Rubric, which *is* very distinctly and prominently mentioned in the Prayer-Book. The 'calm and judicial temper' again fails him. He relies again much on the Latin Prayer-Book of 1560, while he yet acknowledges at p. 171 that it is 'technically without ecclesiastical authorization.' As it gives him support, however, he is charitably lenient, and sets himself to account for such a 'defect;' of which defect, however, he seems at p. 179 to be forgetful. For he there says that Bright and Medd's *Liber Precum Publicarum* of 1865 lacks the *imprimatur* of authority and of synodical recognition which belongs to the *Liber Precum* of 1560.

We have followed Mr. Kempe, at the risk of being wearisome, in the maze through which he leads us, in hopes of finding that he can somehow extricate us handsomely. But he does nothing of the sort. He is jubilant, however, with a few exceptions, throughout. Expressions such as 'Thus we

claim to have established this point,' at p. 20; 'It is but reasonable to conclude,' at p. 22; 'Thus it is evident,' at p. 45; 'Hence it is manifest,' and 'Throws a flood of light,' at p. 92; with many such others, must not, however, be taken too seriously. They mean that Mr. Kempe's unjudicial and strongly biased mind is endeavouring to be satisfied.

He produces in addition what he perhaps considers as the strongest and crowning proof that the Prayer-Book sanctions the Reservation of the Eucharist. It consistently crowns an edifice built up of private judgment. He tells us at p. 100 that the practice of Reservation is at the present time 'unobtrusively but widely practised,' and with characteristic modesty he makes suggestions as to the mode of conveying the Sacrament to the sick. What better proof than such as this *can* we require of the consistency of Reservation with the Church's Prayer-Book? What better keystone to such an edifice as he has constructed? How can it be inconsistent with the Prayer-Book if Mr. Kempe practises it? He states that 'in the previous generation, as he has been credibly informed, the Eucharist was carried from the altar of Durham Cathedral for the communion of sick persons in the cathedral close.' And then, *more suo*, he adds in a note, 'The author is aware that the accuracy of this statement, which has already been made public, has been questioned.' Nothing, however, discouraged, but rather waxing bold, Mr. Kempe continues, 'Indeed, it is said that the practice of Reservation has been traditional at Durham.' Such hearsay evidence, even if it were proven, is beside the mark. It would only establish that certain persons have lawlessly exceeded the directions of the Prayer-Book, as we know that another class of Churchmen have, with equal lawlessness, come short of them. How edifying a book might be written on Mr. Kempe's principle in proof of the Athanasian Creed and daily prayers being optional or not required of Churchmen because they have been so largely and disloyally omitted!

By such means Mr. Kempe builds up what appears to us to be a house of cards; and he adds, with childlike satisfaction, 'Such, therefore, is the canonical rule of the Church of England set forth in the *Constitution* of Archbishop Peccham, and still standing unrepealed.'

In watching Mr. Kempe's wanderings among the several revisions of the Prayer-Book, we are almost disposed to doubt whether he thinks that the revisers of 1660 were seriously occupied, or merely met for their own amusement with the intention of leaving each of us to re-revise for himself the

Prayer-Book, which has yet been passed down to us by lawful authority. Indulgence in such a spirit as that in which Mr. Kempe revels must seem, we think, to men of 'calm and judicial temper' to be a revolutionary exercise of private judgment and a declaration of war against order and authority. It recalls the dialogue between Eve and the Serpent in the Garden of Eden, the earliest exercise of private judgment, and a fatal one.

A law may be amended by proper authority ; but while it exists it must be obeyed. Nothing is gained by shutting one's eyes to its existence, or by impatience or special pleading. Everything is gained by patience and obedient acquiescence in lawful authority. Wonderful words are spoken of patience and obedience for those who have ears to hear. But this hasty, restless century of religionists either disdains them or turns a deaf ear to them.

Reservation of the Eucharist for the Sick is an undeniably ancient practice of the Church, and therefore in itself to be respected. No one needs to be told this. But whether Mr. Kempe likes the fact or not, it has been withdrawn from us. And we had better rather try and understand so far as we can why it has been withdrawn than deny the fact of its withdrawal or struggle against what seems to be providential. There are difficulties connected with the restoration of Reservation of the Eucharist for the Sick which persons of Mr. Kempe's lighthearted temperament neither hint at nor consider. They are great in theory and very weak in judgment. They rush into a thing the moment they see its advantages, regardless of consequences or of lack of authority. But reverence moves more slowly. This is not an age of faith, and faith and reverence must have much to say about such a restoration, many considerations must be weighed and a lawful decision come to. An individual may not break bounds at pleasure.

Mr. Kempe revels in the indulgence of what to many of us seems a habit of exaggeration. He indulges it with small restraint. In the very beginning of his essay he gives us a picture of the present religious state of the Church of England which is more than highly coloured. Does he realize the meaning of his own words, that the 'great work of religious revival has wellnigh transformed the face of the Church in this land,' followed by an outburst of gratitude which must have an unreal and painful sound to most of us whose experience is of closed churches and a mutilated Prayer-Book ? These realities are the facts which must be gravely weighed.

Very serious is the question which he handles so lightly. He assumes the preparedness of our people, and the existence of a traditional faith which is not in them, much as one wishes that it were. We are dealing with men as they are, and with divine mysteries, with a generation of small powers of imagination, and of unsacramental ideas, whose strength is more equal to grasping things seen than things unseen. It is of no use to blind oneself to this. To supplement such feeble faith there is something helpful in the sight of the visible consecration of the Eucharist, as ordered by the Prayer-Book, in the sick man's room. It requires no explanation, and at such a moment there may well be no distracting explanation other than in the Church's own words. We can all see some of the awkwardnesses and inconveniences from which Reservation would save us if our religion was of a more spiritual and childlike kind. But while the Church slept, Puritanism and Methodism, and dissent of every conceivable kind have done their work in alienating our people from the simplicity of the faith, and we cannot move for their benefit without taking all this into account in a practical manner. The habits of people in all ranks are being increasingly fashioned upon merely secular principles to the destruction of religious faith. Things seen are those in which this generation really believes. It has less and less any habits inherited from the days when parents trained their children in religious practices and traditions, and impressed them with a knowledge of and faith in the Holy Scriptures. The foundations of faith are disappearing. It cannot be preached into people, as in this age of preaching we often assume that it can be. Faith in the parent generates faith in the child. But parents have largely abdicated, and hence the gravity of the present period. And under a public system of merely secular education, the next generation unaided by parents must in the nature of things reach a lower depth.

How does the Church meet the case of such a state of things? Can we say that the Church of England is providing the people with any steady daily opportunities for exercising or developing faith in God, for cultivating the faculty of communion in prayer with God? How few of our churches are open in the week, and how still more rare it is to find them open at hours convenient for the people who most need them! How many of the clergy, by scarcely attending such week-day services as exist, except in their own turn for duty, encourage in the laity the belief that prayer and praise are a weariness and a drudgery, rather than an intercourse with God!

But, spite of such distractions and speculations as men like Mr. Kempe provide for us, the case of our people (for whose ills and heathenism another method of communicating the sick will be no remedy) cannot be a hopeless one, while it is yet a most serious one. In the presence of such a case we may not question and explain away, as Mr. Kempe must be held to do, any kind of real authority, and least of all the Church's manner in the Prayer-Book. We must put aside all questioning of our lawful weapons or we must fail. We must honestly go to work with what we have, rather than with what we have not. For the work is a religious one, and must be true throughout. Attempts to begin where we should end are worse than a waste of time. Ingenuity and diplomacy in such matters have no promise of a blessing.

Dark and late in the day, however, though the present hour may be, we can yet endeavour if we have the mind so to redeem the time as to be able to render a not altogether unworthy account of the talents which this Church of England has received in trust from her Lord, and may have hopes that those further talents for which we work and pray may be added.

We cannot at all acknowledge, as having yet taken place, the religious transformations of which Mr. Kempe writes. We cannot see our way to follow him in the jubilant strain which he adopts about it. There will, perhaps, ever be those sanguine and superficial temperaments which are disposed to exclaim, 'We are rich and increased with goods.' But coupled with such language there is the warning voice which whispers, 'Thou knowest not that thou art blind.'

ART. V.—J. A. DE THOU.

1. *Thuanus, Jac. Aug. Historiarum sui Temporis Libri xxxviii, ab anno 1543 ad annum 1607. Accedunt ejusdem de Vitâ suâ Commentariorum Libri sex et Nic. Rigaltii Contin.* Seven vols. folio. (Lond. 1733.)
2. *Life of Thuanus, with some Account of his Writings.* By the Rev. J. COLLINSON. 8vo. (London, 1807.)
3. *Mémoires de la Vie de Jacques Auguste de Thou.* (Amsterdam, 1714.)

THE earlier part of the seventeenth century was confessedly the most learned period of modern European history. The

Scaligers, the Casaubons, Heinsius, Grotius, Sarpi, Bellarmine, Blondel, were all of them giants in varied erudition—scholars in the truest sense of the word—not men of one book or of one subject, but endowed with an encyclopædic knowledge of books and things. Nor were the English far behind the great Continental scholars. Camden, Usher, Andrewes, Bacon, Selden, Savile, Wootton may rank in the same high class of literary attainment ;¹ while King James, if not himself profound and exact, had learning enough, and enough love for learning, to appreciate and encourage learned men. The learning possessed by these men was essentially a knowledge of books. Natural science, then almost unborn, did not attract them to the paths of experiment and investigation. They read and stored up all the abstruse and varied speculations that human brains had evolved before their time. Classical writers, Christian fathers, mediæval schoolmen, the writers on both sides in the Reformation controversy, were all familiar to them, and the result in many of them, as far as religion went, was a sort of eclectic latitudinarianism, such as may be seen at its best in Grotius and Isaac Casaubon. But assuredly no proof could be supplied of the learned character of the period in question stronger than that which is furnished by the conception, completion, and general estimation of the French history of James Augustus de Thou. That age was not one devoted merely to literary trifles, in which a leading public man could conceive the idea of writing in Latin the history of his own times, could execute the enormous task through fourteen years of unremitting labour, and give forth in his lifetime, or leave behind him to the public, the result of his toil in seven huge folio volumes. The writer must have been animated in his stupendous work by the conviction that he was not labouring for an unappreciative public, and the eagerness with which his book was expected, the heartiness with which it was welcomed, clearly proved that he had not wrongly judged. It is scarcely probable that any man of this generation has read from beginning to end the huge volumes of this history, which is the longest history ever written ; but it is certain that many of De Thou's contemporaries devoured it eagerly, and criticized it in detail, and that, with some special exceptions, the general opinion of the learned of his day gave an emphatic approval of its candour, accuracy, and

¹ 'A prodigious reach of learning distinguishes the theologians of these fifty years, far greater than even in the sixteenth century. And in this erudition the Protestant Churches were, upon the whole, more abundant than that of Rome.'—Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, ii. 354.

truthfulness, as well as of the graces of its style and the deep insight of the writer. Our object in this paper is rather to bring before the reader the man than his writings, to exhibit the character and opinions of this trusted servant of kings, in a time when religious wars and bitter fanaticism were more fierce and savage than perhaps at any other period, and to show how a good Catholic, a profound thinker, a man of stainless life, could repudiate the extravagant bigotry and the gross corruption of the Romish Court, while he remained perfectly faithful to the doctrines accepted by his Church, and was without suspicion of heresy. De Thou is thus, like George Cassander and Paul Sarpi,¹ a witness from within against the abuses which have been allowed to grow up in the Church, and that extravagant spirit of domination and persecution which have wrought such bitter mischief to Christianity.

James Augustus De Thou (or Thuanus, as he preferred to call himself) was born at Paris, October 9, 1553. His father was *Président à mortier*—that is, one of the presiding judges in the Parliament of Paris, which was essentially a legal body—and in this office his son afterwards succeeded him. The younger De Thou was a very delicate child, and his life seemed to hang by a thread; but he exhibited a great capacity for learning, which was carefully cultivated. When in Dauphiny, under the tutorship of the famous lawyer Cujacius, at the age of seventeen, he formed a friendship with Joseph Scaliger, which he cherished throughout his life. This friendship, on account of the freedom of Scaliger's religious views, was often made the ground of an accusation against De Thou. In reply to such accusations De Thou writes in his memoirs:

'He² can solemnly affirm that he never heard this great man dispute on the controverted points of religion; and he is well assured that he never did discuss them but upon provocation, and then unwillingly. What! independently of religious opinions, were there not in Scaliger the most transcendent attainments of human erudition, from which those who associated with him might justly hope to profit? and did not the singular endowments bestowed upon him by Heaven claim the veneration and esteem of all worthy men? Alas! Religion, which formerly rested on the pillars of faith, hope, and charity, is now thought to need the aid of faction and the intrigues of human subtlety. Hence God's indignation is abroad.

¹ See *Church Quarterly* for April and October 1886.

² De Thou wrote memoirs of himself in the third person. These are printed in the seventh volume of Buckley's edition, and have been frequently reprinted separately.

He has suffered us to be blinded by our passions ; and it is to be feared that corruption, spreading like a gangrene, may be permitted to devour His primitive establishment ; and that while the Kingdom of Christ is sought in one place and another, only a scanty remnant may escape to serve Him in the spirit of unity, truth, and moderation.' ¹

A terrible illustration of this text was now to be given. At the age of eighteen De Thou was recalled to Paris by his father, and was a witness of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. Who will ever be able to read the history of that atrocious slaughter, the most terrible chapter in the history of Christianity, without feelings of the profoundest horror? There is abundant evidence that it sank deep into the soul of the young man, who, going out to attend mass on the morning of that fearful Sunday, was constrained to be an eye-witness of the dreadful evidences of the slaughter.

'He could not,' he says, 'see without horror the bodies of Jérôme de Grosloot, Bailli of Orleans, and of Calixte Garrault, which they were dragging to the river by the nearest road. He was obliged to behold these fearful objects without shedding a tear—he, whose tender nature would not allow him to behold the death of an innocent animal without emotion. The suffering which this caused him obliged him afterwards to remain closely within his house, from fear of meeting again with such sights. When the fury of these massacres was a little slackened, he went, some days afterwards, to see his second brother near the Gate of Montmartre. He lived on a high spot commanding a view of Montfaucon. The people had dragged thither that which remained of the body of the Admiral, and had fastened it to a wooden gibbet with an iron chain. He could not but call to mind the nobleman whom, a few days before, he had seen in the Church of Notre Dame, conspicuous enough to attract the attention of all. He recalled to memory this captain, famous by so many victories, by the capture of so many cities—the man who was just on the eve of obtaining a glorious triumph in the Low Countries—and now his body, after a thousand indignities, fastened to an infamous gibbet! These reflections caused him to admire the profundity of the judgments of God, and the feebleness of our condition here, the narrow limits of which ought to arrest the vain projects of our vast designs, and keep us ever fixed in the thought of what one day must infallibly befall us.' ²

The horror of these outrages, done under pretence of religion, did not, however, hinder De Thou from entering the ecclesiastical profession. He went to reside with his uncle, Nicholas, Bishop of Chartres, and being admitted into minor

¹ *J. A. Thuani de Vita Sua Comm.* Buckley, vol. vii. Append. iv. p. 8.

² *Ibid.* p. 11.

orders, obtained a canonry in the cathedral there, which he held for fourteen years, residing in the house of his uncle. During this time he was assiduous at his studies, and especially devoted himself to laying the foundation of that splendid library which he afterwards perfected. During this period, also, he had the opportunity of seeing Italy under most favourable circumstances, having been attached to the suite of Paul de Foix, who went as ambassador to the Pope and the Italian princes from Charles IX. He visited all the great Italian cities with the ambassador, who was a man devoted to learning, and examined in his company all the treasures of ancient and modern art. At Mantua the Italians, who perhaps did not estimate French taste over highly, played somewhat of a trick upon the ambassador and his companions. They lauded the beauties of a marble Cupid by Michael Angelo, and the Frenchmen, after inspecting the figure, declared that it surpassed all that had been said of it, and was absolute perfection. Then, after allowing some time for their praises and admiration, the exhibitors drew off the coverings from another figure, and revealed another Cupid—a work of the ancient world—the marble of which was no longer white, but the execution so wonderful, the effect so life-like, that the whole party were covered with shame at the admiration which had been lavished on the statue first seen, which by the side of the other seemed a block of marble without expression. They were told for their consolation that this had been precisely the judgment of its sculptor, Michael Angelo. At Rome a too candid Cardinal explained to the ambassador and to De Thou some of the mysteries of that corrupt Court; showed them how suits were deliberately prolonged with an utter contempt for justice, and how foreign suitors were invariably made to suffer. He pointed out to them how perfectly true was the saying of Machiavelli that the Papal Court was supported by those acts which prove ruinous to other empires. De Thou procured many valuable books in Italy, and on his return to France devoted himself to study. After he had been for some years thus employed, an event occurred which ultimately changed the whole current of his life. His elder brother died, and his father was much pressed to obtain for his second son a dispensation from his ecclesiastical vows, that he might marry and continue the family. The old judge hesitated about taking this step, but in a short time he himself died. The son then succeeded to his father's office, though he had had no training as a lawyer beyond his own desultory reading. It was perhaps thought that family aptitude would suffice, as

the office of President had been held by his father, grandfather, and uncle. However, it was held advisable to pass an Act restraining De Thou, who was then thirty-four years old, from giving judgment as President until he was forty years of age. A suit was now instituted in the Ecclesiastical Court, by which De Thou was absolved from the obligation of his minor orders and allowed to marry. Throughout the troublous and dangerous times of the Wars of the League, De Thou steered his way with prudence, being loyally devoted to the king, with whom he was high in favour. No man could have had better opportunities for making himself thoroughly acquainted with all the secret machinations and hidden mysteries of those complicated events, which he afterwards described in so much detail. His qualifications for the great work, which he commenced at the age of forty, he himself has told us, if, perhaps, with somewhat of vanity, yet with truthfulness. Speaking of himself in the third person, he says :—

‘Those who know him well know that, however numerous his failings, he was always superior to falsehood ; and that, like Epaminondas, he never allowed himself to utter an untruth even in jest. They well know that from the twentieth year of his age he has lived in intimacy with men of the first repute ; that he has been entrusted with various important concerns, and is so to this day, with the same established character for probity and virtue. Let him be compared with other writers, and it will be found that he has continually mitigated the animosity of contending interests by temperate language, and as a judge in law questions ever leaned to the least invidious side. Besides the daily prayers which every Christian ought to offer at his rising, he made one applicable to his work, and never sat down to composition without begging God to enlighten him with a knowledge of the truth, and enable him to follow its dictates without flattery or detraction. This, indeed, he trusts he has accomplished except where his judgment may be deficient, and he confidently commits his work to the unbiassed sentence of posterity.’¹

The History was begun in 1593, and the first portion of it, comprising eighteen books, together with the famous Preface, was published in 1604. This portion of the History contained the narration of events from 1546 to 1560. In a second edition it was divided into twenty-six books ; and in 1606, twenty-three additional books were published, bringing down the History to 1572. Additions appeared in 1607 and 1609, relating the events to 1584. This was all that was pub-

¹ *J. A. Thuani de Vita Sua Comm.* Buckley, vol. vii. Appendix iv. p. 128.

lished in the author's lifetime, though it was only about half of what he had written. The first complete edition was not printed till some years after his death, and to an English scholar, Thomas Carte, the historian, belongs the credit of having, after enormous labour, brought out, with the aid of Mr. Buckley, his London editor, the most perfect edition of this great work, printed in London in 1733.¹ How was it that the publication of De Thou's History, admired as it was by all his contemporaries who were capable of judging, was suddenly checked, in the reign of a king who professed the most liberal sentiments in religious matters, and who had always pretended the greatest regard for the historian, and employed him in the most confidential affairs? This attempt to stifle the voice of history, and to do violence to the thoughts and minds of men, testifies to the extraordinary influence and to the pitiless policy of the Court of Rome. In his History, De Thou had ventured to relate things as they really occurred. He had not shrunk from telling the truth about the infamous profligate who ruled the Christian world under the title of Alexander VI. He had described in fitting colours the brigand life and manners of Pope Julius II. He had narrated with the fidelity of a true historian the worldly policy of Pope Leo and his sale of Indulgences. These were sufficient offences to draw forth the anger of Rome. But there were others also which perhaps touched her more acutely. Rome had deliberately encouraged the policy of assassination and murder in dealing with the Reforming movement in France. Henry III., who had contended against the Ultramontane League, had been struck down by the dagger of Jacques Clement, and the Pope extolled in full consistory the act of the assassin. De Thou had ventured to characterize this utterance of a Christian pastor as one 'of an arrogance and want of moderation highly unbecoming his pastoral character.'² When the 30,000 victims fell on that fearful St. Bartholomew's Day there was rejoicing at Rome. The butchery was celebrated in paintings, and medals were struck in its honour. De Thou had not hesitated to describe it in its real colours, and in his verses addressed to Posterity he reiterates his condemnation of it as a 'horrible carnage, the eternal dishonour of our nation—a day of terror, which gave birth to a spirit of madness, which caused blood to flow without remorse and without

¹ Collinson: *Life of Thuanus*, pp. 279–294. An Act of Parliament was obtained by Mr. Buckley to protect his work from foreign reprints for fourteen years.

² *Ibid.* p. 355.

horror.’¹ But even more than the History itself, the Preface which introduced it had excited feelings of most furious anger against the author. De Thou’s friend and executor, Du Puy (a Jesuit, but superior to the traditions of his Order), has left on record his views on the cause of the bitter hostility cherished at Rome against De Thou :—

‘On mature reflection, I believe the cause of offence to be the detestation he always expressed of war entered into on account of religion, and the advice he gives for restoring primitive discipline in the Church, and for convoking General Councils at stated times. His enemies are particularly stung by what is said concerning the national laws, “the prerogatives, privileges, liberties, and, lastly, the palladium of the realm.” For, in a word, they are a company of Sinons, who watch opportunities of enriching themselves by the ruin of others ; of invading the liberties of oppressed kingdoms ; of making a vast parade of exorbitant power by trampling on the crown, even at the hazard of the destruction of the Church. They are vexed and wrung to the heart at the exposure of their wiles. Hence, and from no other cause, arise those animosities, calumnies, and that torrent of scandal. Hence, an unlimited censure was passed at Rome, without any cause assigned, on the entire history of Thuanus when only a part had been published ; published, indeed, with that Preface which galls them to the quick.’²

This famous Preface is in fact an elaborate historical argument in favour of toleration, and may be classed with George Cassander’s *Via ad pacem ecclesiasticam*, and Jeremy Taylor’s *Liberty of Prophecy*.

‘Experience has taught us,’ writes De Thou, ‘that fire and sword, exile and proscription, rather irritate than heal the distemper which has its seat in the mind. Religion is not subject to command, but is infused into well-prepared minds from a preconceived opinion of the truth, with the concurrence of divine grace. Tortures have no influence over her—affliction and pain have no power over the religious man. His happiness is in his own bosom, and whatever

¹ ‘Postremo mihi crimen atrox et morte piam
Objicitur, verbis quod sum Insectatus amaris
Urbe Parisiacâ lanienam mane patratam,
In Constantini quæ nunc et visitur aulâ,
Præcipuos inter Romæ depicta triumphos.
Laudem ego tantorum quod apud nos causa malorum
Exstitit, et porro sæclis erit usque futuris ?
Quod cunctas gentes inter populosque propinquos,
Gallorum infami deturpat crimine nomen ;
Implevit trepidas quod seditionibus urbes
Libertatem odiis dedit immanique cruoris
Per cædes populos fundendi accendit amore ?
Non execrer ego potius ?’

² Collinson, p. 82.

assails him outwardly is trivial, and only grazes the surface of the body. Tortures by no means repress the ardour of innovation in religion; but their minds are rather hardened by them to suffer and attempt more. France has now witnessed this irritation for forty years, and the Netherlands nearly as long. Mild persuasion and amicable conference may still conciliate those whom force cannot subdue.'

De Thou then enters into an examination of the opinions of the Fathers on this point. St. Augustine, he points out, had written to Boniface that, when the public tranquillity is endangered, it is proper to relax from severe discipline and to invoke the healing influence of charity.

'St. Martin and St. Ambrose refused to communicate with those bishops who had incited the emperor to use capital punishment against heretics. Such punishment was almost unknown in the Church till the time of the Vaudois. In England, John Wycliffe was allowed to go to his grave in peace. The Emperor Ferdinand, a wise prince, was in favour of toleration, and employed George Cassander to draw up a *modus vivendi*. Coming to his own time, it was permitted to him to say, under the reign of his Majesty (Henry IV.), that war is not the legitimate mode of removing schism from the Church.'

De Thou then gives a sketch of the religious wars of France, and the misery brought about by them. He then pays a well-deserved tribute to the peace-loving rule of Henry IV. and to the happy settlement made by the Edict of Nantes:

'Taught,' he says, 'by experience and your Majesty's example, I have abstained from opprobrious language, and have always made honourable mention of the Protestants, especially those who excelled in learning. Neither have I concealed the faults of our own party; for I think, as the best men have thought, that the manifold heresies which agitate the world at this day have gathered strength not more from the malice and intrigues of their supporters than from our vices.'

He then advocates reforms in the Church—promotion strictly according to merit—the rebuke and abating of covetousness. He then turns to an elegant panegyric of the life and character of Henry IV. and ends with a devout prayer for the prosperity and happiness of France.

Such was the Preface which gave such deadly offence at Rome. How was it, and the History which it introduced, received and treated by the famous sovereign to whom it was addressed in all confidence, as it appears, of a kind welcome? The record of this is a somewhat humiliating one, and does

not exhibit the popular king in the most creditable light. At the first reading of the Preface, the king was much pleased and ordered it to be translated into French,¹ but then there quickly came a change. The Pope's nuncio complained of the book, which was held at Rome to be offensive, and on May 4, 1604, the king writes to his ambassador there: 'When the Pope's nuncio spoke to me in terms of complaint against the President's book, I let him know my disapprobation of it and that I had stopped its sale, which has been done.'² De Thou was no doubt greatly vexed at this opposition, which he probably least of all expected, but he was too good a courtier and too loyal a servant of the king to allow his displeasure to be seen openly. At the beginning of the next year, De Villeroi, the king's minister, writes to the ambassador at Rome:

'I believe the President repents of having published his History, and that he would not proceed to such lengths if the thing were to be done again.³ We must contrive, with as little noise as possible, to apply some remedy; and there is no other but to prevent its republication. I have spoken to him, by His Majesty's desire, and he says he will be the first to bury it in oblivion, and prevent further discourse on the subject.'⁴

The great weakness of the character of Henry IV. should not make us forget the enormous practical value to France of his work and reign, and it is certain that De Thou would not willingly offend one whom he prized so highly. But that he in reality changed his views, or desired to suppress his History, there is no proof whatever. On the contrary, he continued to the last to labour at it, and left directions to his executor to complete the publication. The publication of the instalment put out in 1604 was, as he tells us, hastened by the knowledge that a German amanuensis, whom he had employed, was about to publish a garbled edition; but De Thou probably never doubted for a moment that it would be kindly received by the king. He writes to the President Jeannin:

'The king was at first my protector, but the subtlety of my enemies more than their open slander induced him to waver. The death of some of my friends and the coolness and inactivity of others

¹ *Thuani Opera*, ed. Buckley, vol. vii. Appendix ii. p. 2.

² *Ibid.*

³ As a matter of fact, the greater part of the History published in De Thou's lifetime was published after the date of this letter. Twenty-three books were published the next year, 1606.

⁴ Collinson, p. 182.

left me without support. I confess I was indignant, and said that if even Spain had been my native country I should have received there the honour denied to me in France.'¹

It may easily be supposed that if even the king, whose instincts were in favour of toleration, and who had loved and trusted De Thou, was overborne by the influence of Rome, and brought to discourage and repudiate him, the literary militia of Rome would not be backward in their attacks. Of these two—Scioppius, a hireling scholar, and Machaud, a Jesuit—were conspicuous for their virulence. De Thou did not care to answer them, but, supported by the general approval of those whose opinions were really valuable, went tranquilly on his way. In the concluding volume of the edition of his works, collected by Thomas Carte and edited by Buckley, there is brought together a great mass of letters from various notable persons, all uniting in praise of his great work. De Thou had sent a copy of the first part, immediately on its publication, to King James of England. He had not stinted to use the accustomed tone of flattery, always too apparent in offering such gifts to princes :

'The report of your Majesty's virtues, like the effulgence of the rising sun,² your sincere friendship with our King, the bond of agreement now so closely drawn between the two nations of France and Great Britain, the eminent regard you have shown to men of letters, and to literature itself, and your character for general courtesy, all these causes have conspired to facilitate my access to your Majesty, and have made me indulge the hope that you would graciously and favourably accept this production of my industry such as it may be, and you will find examples of salutary precepts which you have consigned to all posterity in a book that deserves to be written in letters of gold [*Basilicon Doron*]. I pray Almighty God to preserve the most Christian King to his people, and your Majesty to your subjects, and both for the general benefit of Christendom. And as He has lately inclined your mind to cultivate by all good offices and friendly services a closer bond of mutual amity, so may He dispose the hearts and turn the attentions of both by joint consent to restore concord to the Church, lest in ratifying articles of peace ye may seem to have been more intent on strengthening your respective territories than in exalting the glory of the Supreme Lord of us all.'³

King James condescended to reply to the historian in a letter written in French. He says :—

¹ Buckley, vol. vii. Appendix ii. p. 7.

² We are forcibly reminded here of the dedication of the Authorized Version.

³ Collinson, p. 129.



'You manifest the respect and good-will you bear to our person, which we receive and acknowledge with a return of affection, and take in good part the exhortation, which in the sincerity of an honest heart you make, on the subject of using our efforts to forward union in the Church by an elucidation and adjustment of religious differences. To this measure we assure you that we are, and always shall be, not only well disposed but earnest in promoting it, and on all occasions every exertion which depends on us shall be employed for so laudable an object. We have never, we thank God, entertained a spirit of sectarianism, nor disregarded the general good of Christendom, and we cannot but wish that all princes and potentates were actuated by the same inclinations and desires as ourselves.'¹

Nevertheless King James was not altogether satisfied with De Thou's history as it proceeded. In relating the affairs of Scotland, in the second part, De Thou, fearful of offending the king, had sought the advice of the learned Camden as to how he was to treat the events of the year 1566. He had followed Buchanan in his severe strictures on the king's mother, and while the work was passing through the press he anxiously inquired of Camden whether Buchanan had written in a fair spirit. The learned Englishman gave him his version of the affair (the courtly one), but De Thou was too fair an historian and of too candid a mind to be altogether influenced by it. Consequently he treats Mary rather severely. King James was much vexed at such unaccustomed freedom. In a letter written from England after he had become domiciled there, Isaac Casaubon tells De Thou :

'His Majesty sees, not without impatience, that you have been misled by a certain party, and have been transported beyond the bounds of truth, in repeating in your letters and relating with a diligent and scrupulous minuteness reports to the prejudice of his blessed mother of glorious memory. These his Majesty knows, and knows with certainty, to be false, and to have been the fabrications of a set of men rebels to her power, and who exerted themselves by every possible means in harassing and bringing destruction on her head.'²

King James (Casaubon tells De Thou) had directed Sir Robert Cotton to write a true account of these events. This was executed and transmitted to De Thou ; but, though the narrative was somewhat softened in a second edition, yet substantially the same account of Queen Mary remains.

Nowhere was De Thou's history received more favourably than at Venice, then in the midst of her struggle against the Papal power. There is abundant record in the letters of Father Paul Sarpi of the value which he put upon it, but no letter of

¹ Collinson, p. 135.

² *Ibid.* p. 154.

his to De Thou has been discovered. Another Venetian correspondent characterizes the work as 'excellent and immortal,' and freely acknowledges the corruptions of the Roman Church, which it holds up to view, but qualifies this by saying 'nevertheless it is still the Catholic Church.' It may be confidently affirmed that this was always the opinion of De Thou. He was, of course, freely accused of being a Protestant, or of favouring Protestant opinions, but there does not appear to be any ground for this assertion. He was, of course, a strong Gallican. He opposed the acceptance of the decrees of the Council of Trent, which France had refused for forty years. He advocated strongly the national rights of the Church of France, but that he had any difficulty in accepting any part of the doctrinal teaching of the Church of which he was a member does not appear. He is described in his epitaph as *Christianæ pietatis antiquæ retentissimus*, and this he may well have been without believing in the infallibility of the Pope, or doubting that a good Protestant could be saved. In a letter to Cardinal Sforza, written in 1606, De Thou eloquently defends his work and the position which he had taken up :

'When I undertook to write the history of this time, although I knew well that complaisance conciliates friends, and truth gives birth to hatred, I yet did not expect to meet with judgments so little equitable, and readers so prejudiced. The civil strifes excited in the past century on account of religion are a thorny subject, and, like ashes, with fire beneath, over which it is dangerous to walk, but I thought I had met all this in my Preface, which was intended to obviate the calumnies and reproaches which I foresaw would be used against me ; and I think if it is diligently and equitably examined it will content for the most part the most rigid censors. My life must answer for the rest, which, like my writings, is free, open, and exposed to public view. I call God to witness that I have written without favour or hatred to any. I have neither love nor hatred, except love of virtue and hatred of vice. The principal law of history is not only to speak the truth, but to speak it boldly. Take away this liberty, which I know they blame in me, you blind its eyes, you tear it in pieces, you destroy its life. I know that they demand of me a more open detestation of our adversaries in religion. In this matter I think I have said enough in my Preface. I will add that the laws under which we live at present do not allow us to speak otherwise, and since experience has taught us that arms are a deadly remedy in religious disputes, we ought to help it by the arts of peace, and thus strive to reach that reconciliation which is desired by all good men.'¹

To his friend M. Du Puy, De Thou writes :

¹ Buckley, vol. vii. Appendix i. p. 16.

'Christian charity constrains us to hope for the salvation of those who are not heresiarchs, and who, having been born of sectarian parents, do not doubt, in so many places where this evil has spread, that in that belief which we hold to be erroneous they shall find salvation.'¹

Of course it was idle to hope that with such sentiments the writer could expect to escape the condemnation of Rome. Caraccioli, an Italian monk, after an elaborate criticism of the book, came to the conclusion :

'Of this book and its author this is my opinion. I hold that the book ought to be utterly abolished and condemned, for that it contains so many foully pestilential passages, that it cannot be amended without an utter destruction of the history. As for the author, on account of the hideous hatred which he exhibits in it towards the Roman See and its greatest pontiffs, he is evidently a Calvinist, and for that reason to be reckoned among heretics of the first class.'²

To this opinion the Court of Rome soon came. In spite of the efforts of several friendly Cardinals and the kind offices of M. Du Puy, the French ambassador, there came forth in 1609 the decree of 'Ludovico Ystella Valentino, dell' Ordine de' Predicatori, Maestro del Sacro Palazzo Apostolico, Giudice ordinario,' &c. notifying that all the faithful were prohibited from reading or possessing the books following, and commanding all who possessed copies of them to bring them to the office of the Sacred Palace. In the list or index of prohibited works, Bishop Andrewes' *Tortura Torti* figures next before *Jacobi Augusti Thuani Historia*, so that the historian was gibbeted in good company.³ In the same list may also be found the *Mare Liberum* of Grotius ; and not often has one of these contemptible documents exhibited a conjunction of three greater names. The most learned bishop of the Anglican Church ; the most acute publicist of his day, the man who may fairly be called a very encyclopedia of learning, are linked together with the most candid, painstaking, and upright of historians in a joint condemnation by Rome ! Who will not sympathize with the historian in his eloquent appeal to Posterity to reverse the judgment thus cruelly and wickedly passed against him ?

'Libertatis ego nimis verique quod acer
Assertor fuerim, vitiorumque horridus osor,
Et Romæ et nostrâ passim traducor in aulâ.

¹ Buckley, vol. vii. Appendix i. p. 16.

² *Ibid.* p. 57.

³ *Ibid.* p. 36.

Quid faciam ? quo me vertam ? quo iudice causam
 Defendam ? Judex idem accusator et index.
 Tu modo, Posteritas, ades incorrupta roganti,
 Et patrociniū desertæ suscipe causæ ;
 Scripsimus ista tibi, nil nos ingrata moramur
 Judicia, et vili plausus mercede redemptos
 Nil admirantis præter præsentia, vulgi.
 Tempus erit, quo, nunc quæ non ita grata, placebunt ;
 Cumque odio fuerit satis invidiæque litatum,
 Præmia pro meritis constabunt justa labori.¹

When the great tragedy of the assassination of Henry IV. took place, De Thou, in common with all good Frenchmen, was deeply grieved. The events which followed did not tend to raise his spirits. He saw the policy of Henry IV. reversed under the queen regent. Ultramontane principles were now in the ascendant, and the fair promise of the previous reign was marred. Personally he failed to obtain the post of first President of Parliament, which he considered fairly his due, and in disgust at his rejection he wrote a long letter to his friend Jeannin, in which he expatiates upon his wrongs, though at the same time professing a lofty indifference to royal favours. It must be owned that a considerable amount of vanity is apparent in this epistle.

‘I grieve,’ he writes, ‘for the injury I have sustained in my own person. I grieve more because greater injury has been offered to the commonwealth, and I always considered that I was not born for myself alone, but for my friends and my country. I began to write before the civil war was extinguished. That I have preserved the most uncorrupt fidelity, without hatred or affection, with no other object in view but the glory of God and the public good, I call God Himself to witness, who endowed me with ability to complete so voluminous a work in the midst of numerous avocations. I do not presume to think myself equal to many of my predecessors in the graces of style, in luminous arrangement, or weight of sentiment, but in diligence and fidelity I yield to none. I expected the attacks of malice, but the event has exceeded my expectation. Circumstances combined to make me an object of easy oppression to the Court of Rome. Their censures were levelled at two marks, viz. the concern I had in framing the edict in favour of the Protestants, and the freedom of my history, particularly in defending the rights of my country. I became their victim. I soon experienced in the Queen the same change which the King had manifested. I was excluded from parliament and from favour at Court. This flagrant ingratitude makes my private injury a public concern. It is publicly remarked that the factious and discontented now bear sway ; the same spirit prevails which shook the kingdom twenty-five years ago, and ruined it under King

¹ Collinson, Appendix i.

Henry III., and was in continual hostility to his illustrious successor. People now begin to talk of the promulgation of the edicts of the Council of Trent, and express their fears of the extent to which the Papal authority may be established during the minority of the King. These public murmurs prove that the injury done to me is inseparably connected with the common cause.¹

De Thou had many sympathizing friends in his troubles. Among others the learned Isaac Casaubon, ever his close friend, writes to him from England :

‘Adorned and furnished as you are by Heaven itself with so many real advantages, of which no external violence can deprive you, I sincerely think that, considering your own benefit and that of your country ; considering your friends, your favourite studies, and your domestic convenience, you have the greatest reason to rejoice on the present occasion.’

De Thou, after his first outbreak, seems to have taken the same view of the circumstances. ‘I am here,’ he writes in reply, ‘in my own house, preparing for that honourable leisure with all possible content.’ He now applied himself again with diligence to the composition of his History. In a sort of preface to the part now commenced, he goes over again his reflections on public affairs as they concerned himself, and finally declared his intention of devoting the remainder of his powers to the relation of the events of the last ten years of the life of the great king. His life was not sufficiently prolonged to enable him to finish the task. He brought the narrative down to 1607, and in the year 1617 he died. The latter years of De Thou’s life, while thus engaged, seem to have been singularly happy and prosperous. With a wife and children whom he tenderly loved, a number of devoted friends who were living in constant intercourse with him, a plentiful fortune, and the respect and admiration of all the learned men of Europe, it is hard to picture any condition less in concert with the lugubrious forebodings in which he had indulged when Court favour was denied him. De Thou’s learned friends delighted in the grand collection of books which he had accumulated. Henry Stephens, the great printer, writes to him with enthusiasm for his liberality in purchasing books, for his accurate knowledge of the best editions, and for the sumptuousness of the bindings which he bestowed on them. As De Thou was principal librarian of the famous and unequalled Royal Library of Paris, he had the best opportunity for acquiring a deep knowledge of bibliography. By his will

¹ Buckley’s *Thuanus*, Appendix to vol. vii.

he directed his magnificent library to be preserved intact, but after the death of his youngest son it was sold, the books being disposed of for less than their bindings had cost De Thou.¹ Of the publication of his History after his death mention has already been made. Extracts from the History, principally consisting of character-sketches, have been published under the name of 'Thuana,' and parts of it have been translated into English. It has been well pointed out by Mr. Collinson that in many ways De Thou resembles Lord Clarendon. His delight in character-sketches is a palpable instance of resemblance. But the pure and racy English of Lord Clarendon is vastly superior as a style to the tiresome and affected Latin of De Thou. It is true that he wrote the Latin tongue with much skill. Grotius declared that his Latin was so good that after reading it he felt ashamed of composing again in the same language. But Latin is altogether an uncongenial tongue to express the shiftings and windings of modern affairs. The names, for instance, of the actors in the History had to be forced into an antiquated form, and this was done by De Thou so clumsily that one of the chief labours entailed upon his learned editor Mr. Carte was to discover who were meant by the strange appellations with which the text abounded.² Another weak point in De Thou's History was his deficient knowledge of foreign affairs, and especially it may be said of the affairs of England. A glaring instance of this is the elaborate and studied panegyric which he indites on the character of Queen Elizabeth. This he concludes with the words, 'Time will be her best panegyrist, and probably never has produced or will produce a woman superior to her.'³ Time, however, has done for the famous queen quite a different office, and has ruthlessly thrown her down from that pedestal on which De Thou's admiration endeavoured to place her. But after making all the deductions fairly called for, it remains the fact that there are few greater historical works than that of De Thou; and none perhaps in which is more evident a fair, candid, and equitable spirit, not swayed by bitterness or sectarian animosity, but rising superior to low impulses and motives, and intent only upon setting forth the truth and upholding the right.

¹ Collinson, p. 267.² *Ibid.* p. 291.³ *Ibid.* p. 380.

ART. VI.—SERMONS.

1. *Parochial and Plain Sermons.* By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, B.D., formerly Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford. Edited by the Rev. W. J. COPELAND, B.D., Rector of Farnham, Essex. New edition, 8 vols. (London, 1837.)
2. *Parochial Sermons.* By E. B. PUSEY, D.D. (London, 1832-1882.)
3. *Sermons for the Christian Year.* By the late Rev. JOHN KEBLE. Eleven vols. (Oxford, 1887.)
4. *Easter in St. Paul's.* Sermons bearing chiefly on the Resurrection of Our Lord. Second edition, 2 vols. (London, 1887.)
5. *Sermons preached at Brighton by the late Rev. Frederick W. Robertson.* Series i.-iv. New edition. (London, 1886.)

It will be readily allowed that the sermons placed at the head of this article hold a peculiar and paramount place in their generation. They are typical instances of genius and religion, energizing didactically in our own times and in our own Church. Very unlike they are each to each, but tending by different roads to the one good end. All preachers should study them; none should try to imitate, but rather mentally and morally to appropriate and assimilate them. And when they have done this they will still have need to add to their store treasures from other centuries and other countries; and, moreover, all their own growing sympathies with men, and growing knowledge of human sorrows, joys, and needs; all that Holy Scripture teaches them progressively, and all that they learn at the foot of the Cross in meditation and prayer. The true preacher must always be himself, himself enriched, instructed, and elevated by experience and by Grace.

The exceptional sermons cited above are by no means the only proof of what preaching has done and does in our generation. Excellent volumes have been published by Archdeacon Hare, Dr. Arnold, Bishop Armstrong, Isaac Williams; by E. Paget, C. P. Eden, T. T. Carter, J. M. Neale, H. W. Burrows, Baring Gould, Archbishop Trench, &c.; and we must thankfully acknowledge the unprinted sermons of Canon Body, the Bishop of Ripon, and pre-eminently—if we take the old rule, 'We count him a good physician whose patients we see cured'—the present Bishop of Lincoln.

Neither by recommending the study of the sermons which stand at the head of this article is it to be supposed for a moment that ancient homilists are to be neglected, especially SS. Chrysostom, Augustine, Leo, and our own countrymen Andrewes—who is a gold mine—Donne, Sanderson, and J. Taylor. None of these can be spared ; and we venture to recommend students not to read one author through and then another, but to alternate the books, so as not to fall into the groove of any one man and yet to be instructed by all.

There is great need for us to do our best. Time was when sermons were everything, and now they scarcely hold their own ground. From being idolized they have come to be just tolerated, and by some people scarcely that. Sermons used to be an hour long—witness the old hour glass—and now twenty minutes is often thought ample ; and not a tithe of sermon volumes is now issued. They have ceased to be popular literature with serious people. Witty Bishop Andrewes said :

‘ It puts me in mind of the great absurdity, as St. Paul reckons it. “What is all hearing ?” saith he. All hearing ? Yes ; all is hearing with us. But that all should be hearing is as much as if all one’s body should be nothing but an ear ; and that were a strange body ! The corps, the whole body of some men’s profession, all godliness with some, what is it but hearing a sermon ? The ear is all, the ear is all that is done, and but by our ear-mark no man should know us to be Christians. They were wont to talk much of auricular confession ; I cannot tell, but now all is turned to auricular profession.’¹

So again, later on, Herbert Thorndike :

‘ It is necessary that the world should be cleared of this imposture that reigneth—that two sermons every Sunday is the due way of keeping the Sabbath among Christians or of advancing God’s public service.’²

We ourselves can remember churches in which the congregation roused up from torpor when the sleek verger ushered the preacher up the stairs and shut the pulpit door, when he in huge bands, with white pocket-handkerchief at his side, elaborate whiskers, and well-dressed hair, turned over the Bible or his sermon, in lavender gloves, and looked complacently all round the galleries, whilst all was hushed and by their face and manner the people said, ‘ Now it is come at last. This is the business of the day.’

All this is past except with the sects, and the sermon is

¹ Sermon VII. *Of Repentance and Fasting*.

² *Due Way of Composing Differences*, sec. 40.

generally a small thing in the estimate of the congregation, an appendage, an unwelcome necessity. Need this be so? No. There is many a clergyman who can look down before he begins, with no vainglorious glance, but with assurance of a kindly welcome, feeling that his people meet him halfway and are confident that they will receive something from his lips which will do them good.

How inspiring is the feeling that love is addressing itself to love, that an open heart of affection is pouring itself out to receptive hearts of affection! Who is not happy when he is speaking to his own dear people of that which concerns the glory of God and the salvation alike of the shepherd and his sheep?

We know how severely tasked are the clergy of our towns, how little time they have for study and for thought. We would not, then, be hard upon them, but rather give them all encouragement. How is it, indeed, that these same overworked men are after all the best preachers that we have?

But as to the country clergy we beg their pardon when we say that there is no reason why they should not—as a rule—become first-rate preachers. True, they have dull understandings and great ignorance to encounter in their audience, sleepy minds and bodies; true that they know so much of the state of their people that they lose heart; and all high appeals come to be felt unreal. True, all this and more; but then let it be remembered what leisure they have for reading and preparation, how fearless they may be of criticism, how they may train themselves by cottage lectures and the like. Perhaps they could help one another by combination, consultation, kindly criticism, and suggestions. Anyhow we hope to be excused when we say that it is our firm conviction that the sermons of the country clergy might be raised almost incalculably, and that they might educate themselves into as fine a body of preachers as the world has seen, and be welcomed in town pulpits by their weary brethren with gratitude and joy.

Oh, let them not lose heart! Let them trust Him who sent them to make them what He needs for His poor sheep.

In order to promote this advance we will now venture to make some practical suggestions which may possibly be useful to young men, and which will be readily excused by their elders, whose experience has not only taught them better but also taught them how much need there is of any little help which can be had.

1. Preparation.

(a) General. The preacher must study. He must be,

according to his vows, 'diligent in reading of the Holy Scriptures and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same.' He must study if he is to bring forth things old and new. He must have a basis of fact, and then power to teach fact acceptably. He does not want novelty, which is perilous ; but he does want freshness. This freshness is gained by wide reading of history, biography, missionary histories, poetry, and by intercourse with the people. Whatever a man works out for himself—with whatsoever aids—is his own, becomes part of himself. As it is an unspeakable misfortune for anyone to derive all his religion from catechisms and manuals, so also it is a great injury to the preacher to form himself and his sermons upon helps to preachers, skeletons, books of anecdote, and the like. He who contents himself with such sources of thought will always be a very ordinary preacher, for he will be a very ordinary man in the bad sense of the word. He will be contracted, jejune, cold, stationary, like a tree planted in a hole whose roots go round and round and never spread ; and a poor sort of tree it becomes.

(b) Special preparation. A subject should be chosen as soon as possible. Vacant moments, which allow thought, should be utilized. Commentaries, books of devotion, any and all should be referred to for suggestions. Notes of thoughts should be made and weeded out. It would be well to consider how the subject will strike the hearers, how it can be made most clear to their powers and dispositions, most likely to be understood and received ; for it does not follow that the thoughts which come first to the preacher, which are the most beautiful and in themselves the most excellent, are those which the flock will care to feed upon or be able to assimilate. The preacher himself often turns away from thoughts which seem too high for him and which are alien to his mind. How much more, then, the less educated may be expected to do so.

As for subjects, the Church seasons, Gospel, Epistle, Lessons, should come first ; then subjects which do not come out of them. For instance, there are eighteen miracles and eighteen parables which do not find place in the Gospels. Old Testament history is too often neglected ; yet few topics are more profitable and engaging than those suggested in it. Bishop Hall's *Meditations* are a mine of gold.¹ Sermons

¹ It has been found useful to make a note of any subject for a sermon which may be suggested by reading or circumstances, and to add thoughts to the notice, waiting for an occasion to use them. Thus a preacher may have twenty or thirty topics in hand clamouring for an opportunity of usefulness.

should not be always dogma, nor always moral, nor always hortatory. Dogma, needful both as foundation and support, exhausts the reasoning powers, and if not supplemented by *ἡθος* is cold, only touches part of the man. Much the same may be said of moral teaching, unless it make Christ the Pattern and so reach the feelings; whilst hortatory sermons, like revivals and other religious excitements, exhaust the affections. They either fail to heat, or by heating raise the temperature, which is bound to fall, and to fall below its former level, unless maintained by rules and practice and prayer and sacraments. All are needful, but none will do alone. None can safely exclude the others. So the preacher must see that he does not follow his own bent, but preserves the equilibrium of teaching. There should be variety, relief. The style of composition and the manner of delivery should vary with the subject. It is sure to do so if the preacher is natural. The style and manner will then be a simple expression of thought and feeling.

‘The art of men and the art of God are very different. The human spirit knows how to give to truths a turn which flatters the ear pleasantly; the Spirit of God turns them in the mouth of saints in a manner which converts the hearts invincibly. The first is the fruit of study, the other of prayer.’¹

This remark emboldens us to say that the first step in special preparation is prayer, as it is the last step before preaching—prayer for the poor preacher, prayer for the hearer, prayer that the Word may have free course and fructify. Bossuet is said to have spent half an hour in prayer before every sermon.

‘To be heartily in love with the truth one recommends is the great secret of becoming a good preacher.’

‘To preach our own thoughts, forsaking God’s Word, is like an ambassador who neglects his prince’s instructions and follows his own fancy.’²

The vicar of an Essex church which the writer of this paper subsequently served used to preach from a roll which he unfolded as he proceeded. One day it took flight and went over the heads of the congregation. It seems very absurd, but it is only what hundreds of preachers have done and do still, unwarned by the words of good Bishop Wilson: ‘With what truth can it be said that the sheep hear his voice when the shepherd speaks of things or in such a manner as is above their capacity?’³

¹ Quesnel on Col. iv. 4.

² Bishop Wilson, *Sac. Priv. Monday Med.*

³ *Ibid. Friday Med.*

We used to hear a great deal about preaching Christ from the lips of a certain party in the Church. Too often this meant that nothing but the Atonement and faith in it were to be announced. But assuredly the statement is capable of a good interpretation. As Christ is the central Figure of the Old Testament history and Prophets, of the Gospels, Acts, Epistles, the Centre of the Church, the Centre of creation physical, human, angelic, so one way or another He must be the Centre of preaching. Christ foretold, coming, come; Christ born, living, dying, rising, ascended, interceding, ruling, judging; Christ the Light and Christ the Life; Christ perfect Man and perfect God, sometimes revealed in the one nature especially, sometimes in the other, and revealed in both as God and Man—should be always appearing in sermons and through sermons, which should be manifestations of Him who is the manifestation of the Father. This suggestion—we venture to say—requires careful consideration in these days.¹

2. Adherence to the subject. Sermons are too often an accumulation of thoughts not clearly arising from the subject, nor very plainly belonging to it; hence they are very hard to remember. In proof of this assertion—if any be needed—let any preacher examine what he has carried away from the sermon of another. We confess that when we hear a thoroughly good sermon we take it away in our minds and use it ourselves with such alterations as our inferior powers, or the calibre of our hearers, or our own individuality produce. Well, the year before the last, whilst on an excursion, we heard two sermons at an abbey church, two at a cathedral, two at an important port, two at a country village, and we only took home one with us in the head. Of course it may be said that we did not care for the subjects or the treatment of the others. Still a distinct, well followed out discourse would not have slipped through the mind, as these sermons did. Let this anecdote, however, be counted for what it is worth; for the experience of the reader will only too surely confirm our allegation. Now, a sermon should not be a bush bearing on many stems a number of fruits or flowers, but a tree, every branch of which clearly belongs to the trunk. To take a geological simile, it should not be a conglomerate; to take a zoological one, it should be vertebrate, not invertebrate. There is a great difference between a public office with any number of unconnected rooms in it and a cathedral from the

¹ There is an excellent and suggestive sermon on this subject in the volume of sermons cited above by the late lamented C. P. Eden, published when he gave up the Church of St. Mary the Virgin at Oxford.

nave of which open out choir, aisles, and chapels. In short, one permanent idea should prevail, worked out it may be variously, but always being worked out; and then a corollary or two may come in at the end, but not thoughts No. 1, 2, 3, 4, &c., each one of which, like the waves of the sea along the sand, erases the mark of its predecessor.

In old times divisions and subdivisions kept the preacher to his subject, but they were too numerous for the hearer, and instead of assisting the memory confused it. In these days we have gone to the opposite extreme, and by a reaction have abandoned subdivision. It is not a bad plan to map out a sermon under two or three heads, to tell our people at the beginning what we propose to do, and to sum up the results towards the end on the fingers—if we like—and then give eloquence her head—if we have any—the *ῥηθικόν* of St. Chrysostom at the conclusion of his homilies. Not that this arrangement is indispensable, for variety and freedom of treatment is very desirable; but that ordinarily it assists both the preacher and the hearer, the former in the sequence and clearness of his reasoning, the latter in comprehending and in remembering.

3. Hard words are to be avoided, but not more than hard thoughts. We cannot entirely avoid either. It is a mistake to suppose that Saxon words are always more intelligible than Latin, or that any words which are frequent in the Bible and Prayer-Book, however long they may be and hard to explain, are to be disused. How many new terms has philosophy forced into our language recently! Well, then, let theology retain her own terms, which have at any rate the advantage of prescription.

If we try to explain, we must be quite sure first that we ourselves have a clear notion of the matter which we wish to explain. We once heard a preacher explain sin. Did he explain it? Anyhow he said with great complacency to a rural congregation, 'Sin is the transgression of statutory obligations.' We need not be afraid of calling a spade a spade. On another occasion we heard a preacher who was ashamed of the word 'beheaded;' so upon St. John Baptist's Day he said, 'At last he was beheaded.' Then his heart misgave him, and he added, 'that is to say, he was decapitated—he was decapitated.'

4. Illustrations. They must really be illustrations. In an illustrated book nothing is more provoking than to be unable to find the page to which the engraving refers. So how aggravating to the hearer to be unable to identify the

illustration with the subject, and to have to say to himself, 'What has it to do with the matter?' Again, they must not take the place of a subject. To be 'decked with bay and rosemary' is a pleasing addition to the feast, but what if there be nothing in the dish but bay and rosemary? One anecdote is enough for a sermon, quietly stated in its facts and forcibly applied in its moral. Certainly illustrations from nature, from history, from what is going on around, from the callings and habits of the people addressed, are most serviceable; but is it not an open question whether these may not be—nay, often are—overdone? We find them used very sparingly by the grand old preachers of antiquity. But what we do find in them is what we seldom find among ourselves—namely, Scriptural illustration. How is it that the lives of the patriarchs are so seldom referred to—of David, of Daniel, of the Apostles—the dealings of God with His people, and of His people with Him? Secular illustrations are apt to have a secular savour, and tend to produce a secular atmosphere, whilst the preacher is trying, we suppose, to produce one which is spiritual. May we suggest that our first inquiry should be, 'Does not the Bible afford me an illustration?' before we betake ourselves to the world for assistance, and certainly before we go to books of anecdotes? Oh, what degradation! How poor we must be when we ask alms of a manual of clerical anecdotes! Better surely go to such books as Canon Rawlinson's, the *Reports of the Palestine Exploration Society*, the *Land and the Book*, and other works which are akin to the mind and the subject of a preacher of the Gospel of Christ. Of course we do not wish to discourage the use of a good anecdote from Herodotus, or Livy, or books of travels, or from hearsay; far from it; but we plead for a more frequent use of Biblical illustration and against a lowering resort to compilations formed like a Concordance, at once fostering idleness in the clergy and tempting them to deck out habitually with tinsel that which ought to be gold, and truly is gold if it be the Gospel of Christ. One of the most forcible illustrations is an appeal to the hearer's own history—that is to say, to conscience. When a preacher can ask his hearers with something of the love and simplicity—we know it can only be something—yet with something of the sympathy with which Bishop King can ask them, as a brother, whether it is not so and so with them, or has been so of old time; whether their hearts do not bear witness both as to the past and the present that God has been such to them and they such to Him; and whether they do not feel and know that it would be well with them—yea, most blessed—

if they were other than they are ; whether they do not wish to be different, and will try ; whether they are not sure of God's help if they try—surely no better illustration can be given to men than this, their own experience of God and of themselves.

Or it might be—with enlargement and carrying out into some detail—how do we feel and act to our parents, children, friends, and they to us ? For there is a real parallel between the heavenly archetypal Parent and the earthly, between the two sets of affections and the two homes.

It is surely well to draw water out of the well which lies in a man's self, and to help him to heal himself, with God's grace ready to enlighten and aid him. The ailments of his body illustrate to him those of his soul. The care which he takes of his health and his property, his unwillingness to die and be forgotten, which are forecasts of immortality, all these and the like illustrations are understood and felt and acknowledged readily by all men.

These references should be fully drawn out, and the constant parables of our earthly condition elucidated. When this is done they are as interesting as any anecdote, and are in themselves more safe and spiritual than most of those aids to sermons which have their use to some men perhaps, but which may easily be overdone and over-relied upon.

5. Style and manner—simple, natural, individual. Exaggeration defeats itself, causing a reaction of feeling. There is a natural love of truth in man, and the moment we feel that the preacher is exceeding the truth we become suspicious and irritable. Truth not only defends herself, but avenges herself.

Originality is a dangerous gift, leading the possessor to rely on himself, form rash opinions, and use rash statements. Still it is a gift, and a rare gift ; and if sanctified a precious gift, powerful for good. If we have it we have it, as a poet is born a poet, and we are accountable to the Giver. To seek originality is a contradiction, is to be sure not to have it, and violates the rule laid down, Simplicity. To seek originality is to be servile and to lower our moral character.

Simplicity of style and manner is not condescension. Nothing is more offensive than, 'Now, my dear friends, I want you to try and understand this. Now I will try to be very plain. I want you to meet me half-way and do your best,' &c. Simplicity is not a conscious sinking to the level of lower intelligence. Simplicity is never conscious. She *is* always on the level of those she loves by sympathy.

If simplicity has any mannerisms she does not know it.

They are not assumed ; they are only individualities. They may be objectionable, and a kind friend, a real friend, will in that case warn the preacher to restrain them ; or they may have all the charm of what is genuine, natural—the true expression of the inward man.

A vehement gesture proceeding from vehement feeling is eloquent, whilst to stamp on the pulpit floor, or thump the Bible, or knock the board, is, unless required by the subject and the emotion of the preacher, disgusting.

‘ In man or woman, but far most in man,
And most of all in man that ministers
And serves the Altar, in my soul I loath
All affectation. ’Tis my perfect scorn ;
Object of my implacable disgust.
What ! will a man play tricks, will he indulge
A silly fond conceit of his fair form
And just proportion, fashionable mien,
And pretty face in presence of his God ? ¹

Therefore avaunt all attitude and stare,
And start theatric, practised at the glass.
I SEEK DIVINE SIMPLICITY IN HIM
WHO HANDLES THINGS DIVINE.’ ²

Simplicity of manner, unless it arises from simplicity of character, is only an affectation. Of simplicity of character issuing in that of manner Fénelon said—

‘ This simplicity is manifested in the exterior. As the mind is freed from the idea of self we act more naturally, all art ceases ; we act rightly without thinking of what we are doing, by a sort of directness of purpose that is inexplicable to those who have no experience of it. To some we may appear less simple than those who have a more grave and practised manner ; but these are people of bad taste, who take the affectation of modesty for modesty itself, and who have no knowledge of true simplicity. This true simplicity has sometimes a careless and irregular appearance, but it has the charm of truth and candour, and sheds around it I know not what of pure and innocent, of cheerful and peaceful ; a loveliness that wins us when we see it intimately and with pure eyes. How desirable is this simplicity ! Who will give it to me ? ’ ³

Strange ! Fénelon did not know that he possessed it supereminently ; nor did Keble.

¹ Only the year before last we ‘sat under’ a young preacher who leaned his head upon his hand during much of the sermon, showing his white hand and ring, and seeming more complacent than his hearers.

² Cowper, *The Task*, book ii.

³ *Selections from the Writings of Fénelon*, by Mrs. Follen, p. 120.

St. Vincent de Paul took the same view as to preaching, and surely he was a master in the work.

‘I give thanks to God for the blessing which He has given to the labours of . . . and for that which you recount that it ought to be attributed, to their manner of speaking simple and familiar. I hope that this example will confirm you in the practice of never speaking in publick nor in private but with simplicity, humility, and charity. It is the greatest secret that one can find to success in preaching, instead of the contrary practice, which only serves to exercise the patience of the hearers and to fill with vanity him who speaks to them.’¹

There are three thoughts helpful in time of need—1, God’s Presence, to which Cowper referred above; 2, the thought of those to whom we speak, immortal souls, sheep for whom Christ shed His precious blood; 3, the preacher’s own unworthiness to stand where he does and speak in God’s name. ‘As of sincerity, as of God, in the sight of God speak we in Christ’ (2 Cor. ii. 17).

As to whether a sermon should be written or extempore, or midway, i.e. preached from notes, is it not best to leave it to the preacher to find out what he can do well and what he cannot? Only, if he preaches a written sermon, he ought surely to take pains to know it well, and not to keep his eyes upon the manuscript, but look his people in the face. So much depends upon the expression of eye and mouth, so much upon the hearer feeling that the preacher is really speaking to him heart to heart.

A sermon should no more be monotonous in delivery than noisy and bombastic, and it need not be so if the preacher be not monotonous himself, any more than it need not be bombastic if the preacher is not so. If his matter varies, and his feelings vary with his matter—which they surely will do—he will not be monotonous, nor indeed can be. The interest which he feels will impart itself to his manner.

It is a mistake to prolong a sermon beyond where it should fairly stop. If it is well-reasoned and forcible, although long, it will not be too long; but when it ceases to be this it should stop, even if it were only ten minutes long; and the very abruptness of the cessation would be impressive, because it would be truthful; and nothing is so impressive as truth.

We know that to drop the voice at the end of a sentence—a failing only too common—spoils the period; but to drop intellectually or morally towards the close of the sermon is certainly worse. Too many a good discourse loses power towards the end, and the disappointed hearer wishes that it had

¹ Letter, June 14, 1656.

concluded before. 'Why did he not stop when he had reached such or such a point? but now he has marred his work, undone himself.'

Prayer before preaching is needful, in order that what is preached may be true and good, and have good success in the hearts of the hearers; but prayer after preaching is needed for the preacher's self. Whatever was good in the sermon was God's, the Giver of all good gifts; where it failed the weakness of man appeared. The less a preacher thinks of his sermon after it is over, the better. He need not think of it at all except as Dupanloup did, to humble himself in the dust. All glory to God and humiliation to man. The good is His; the evil, man's.

'It is God who gives His ministers, such as are humble, power over the hearts and souls of men; when distrusting themselves they ascribe all glory to God.

'We take the work out of the hands of God when we are pleased with what we have done, and rob Him of the honour due to Him alone.

'There have been many who, without any great learning or eloquence, yet by their communication in a humble and low way have instructed and converted more than famous preachers; for that they preached not themselves, but Christ Jesus, placing all their confidence in God.'¹

The writer of these words was an instance. His sermons were devoid of eloquence, but he produced a profound sensation in London pulpits when he left his island for a time.

It was said to a clergyman in our times, 'What an admirable sermon you preached to-day.' He answered, 'The devil told me this first, as I was coming down from the pulpit.' Nor is this all, for the preacher cannot but feel that he has condemned himself when condemning sins; and has spoken beyond himself and above himself when speaking of high and holy things, from which he is far removed, although it has been his duty to urge others to seek that which he has never attained. Too often the preacher is his own accuser, and he is more sad than vain, if he only reflects.

Well, then, let preachers fear their indolence and their 'own vain hearts' and their want of faith; and doing their very best fear nothing else, but be of good heart. Then, although they may not be admired or run after, they will have accomplished all that they had a right to expect, and more than they will know of until 'that Day.' They will have peace in their hearts, 'that best and truest gift,' and will receive the reward of those who 'turn many to righteousness.'

¹ Wilson's *Sacra Privata*, Friday Med.

ART. VII.—THE NATIONAL SYNOD.

1. *Synodus Anglicana*. (London, 1702.)
2. *Fasti Eboracenses*. Lives of the Archbishops of York.
By the Rev. JAMES RAINE, M.A. (London, 1863.)
3. *York Journal of Convocation*. (1861–1865.)

THEY who care to recall the stolid resistance so long maintained against the revival of Convocation, are aware that among the captious and irrelevant objections heaped together from all quarters by prelates, dignitaries, lawyers, leading journalists, Liberal statesmen, and the heavy Low-and-Slow train of Church-obstructives, in and out of Parliament, there were three genuine difficulties, always more clearly discerned by the party of progress than by its opponents. We did not suffer ourselves to be diverted from the object in view. 'Convocation' could only be revived as it stood; but when revived we all knew that it would be confronted, first by the inadequacy of the representation of the clergy, next by the demand for a lay element, and then by the need of securing the concurrent action of the two provinces.

The first was promptly disposed of at York by the happy thought of revising the various writs in conformity with the earliest precedents, and so restoring the archidiaconal representation throughout the province. The question was treated as a matter of ecclesiastical procedure, which Lord Selborne acknowledges to be within the archbishop's prerogative; and the result is a Lower House of twenty-seven dignitaries and forty-eight proctors returned by direct election of the clergy. A similar process in the larger province, where the representation was originally archidiaconal, as it still is in principle, would give 150 elected proctors (in place of seventy-two) against the eighty-eight *ex officio* seats. Here, however, a larger scheme has been framed, which was set forth in our last number (p. 459). If the law officers of the Crown continue inexorable we hope it is not too late to fall back on the powers of the president.

The archbishop's authority has proved sufficient to meet the second difficulty, by calling into existence the House of Laymen. One effect of this experiment is to retort on the northern province the disparity experienced in the other with respect to the clerical representation. If it were possible to create an effective House of Laymen at York, it would

obviously add to the risk of separate provincial action. Such perhaps is the feeling of the two primates themselves, in calling attention at this time to the inconvenience of the 'zigzagged line' intersecting the National Church. Each has suggested a scheme for closer union between the two Convocations; and with the headlong zeal that characterizes so many of our modern reforms, the Church House already invites contributions as a home for the regenerated National Synod.

The time is come, then, for the practical discussion of the last great difficulty in the way of our revived Convocations. We submit that it can only be successfully dealt with from the historical point of view. We must beware of plunging into another protracted struggle with the law officers of the Crown. It is not a question that can be treated experimentally, like the Lay House which has no place in the constitution of the Church. The two Convocations are the fundamental elements of our ecclesiastical organization. They are older than the nation itself—the main links that unite it to the Catholic Church; older than the parishes, the cathedrals, and the greater part of our existing dioceses. They are the sources of all our Church law, worship, and discipline. Of such bodies the very life blood is precedent; if we want proof of its practical value in dealing with the question before us, we have only to compare the swift success of the historical process at York with the still fruitless efforts of the Lower House of Canterbury for its own reform. Our first object, then, is to review the relations of the two provinces from the historical point of view: to know the course of their joint action in the past is the safest guide to improvement for the future.

We begin with dismissing the idle theory that the 'sacred Synod of this nation,' referred to in the 139th Canon, is a different body from the two Provincial Synods comprehended under the name of 'Convocation.' No such Synod as this theory imagines ever sat in this island. Our Provincial Synods have been united in a National Council; but whether united or apart, they always preserved their own constitution, and were 'the true Church of England by representation' in their respective provinces. The decrees of one became national by the concurrence of the other, just as Councils became General by the acceptance of national Churches, whether or no they were formally represented in the original Synods. The fact is so familiar to canonists that we should not have adverted to it, if we had not met with some worthy people in eager pursuit of a will-of-the-wisp that can only lead them into a bog.

A second elementary fact is that a Provincial Synod in this country implies an archbishop. Theodore was Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of All England, in a sense inherited by only three of his successors. They were sole archbishops of the English Church three centuries before an English kingdom existed. At no time, however, was England an 'Exarchate.' Theodore's mission was to unite the British, Scotch, and Roman successions in one national Church, under the superintendence of the Pope. He was substituted for Wighard, who was nominated by the kings of Northumbria and Kent, but died at Rome before he could be consecrated. There is no doubt that Wilfrid aspired to the pall, but his controversy with the Celtic bishops made him obnoxious in Northumbria, and being a Northumbrian himself, neither king nor bishops wanted him in Kent. Enjoying the temporal support of the two most powerful monarchs, Theodore was primate of the whole island—Oswy's archbishop as much as Egbert's. He has even been styled Archbishop of York;¹ but there was no Archbishop of York, and consequently no Provincial Synod, till Egbert obtained the pall, A.D. 735. Paulinus himself did not receive it till after his flight from York, and the five intervening occupants of the see were only diocesan bishops. The Councils held by Theodore and Brihtwald in the several kingdoms were Pan-Anglican, though occasionally employed on local questions. They welded the English Church into the Catholic communion by receiving the creeds and the decrees of the Œcumenical Councils.

The existing provincial organization dates from the primacy of Egbert. It is not a subdivision, but a confederation of autonomous Churches. Northumbria was an independent kingdom, extending from the Trent to the Forth, and from the German Ocean to the Isle of Man. Its mother Church was not Canterbury but Iona. The Culdee name and discipline lingered at York Minster in the reign of Henry I.² It was at the king's request that Theodore was invested with the primacy, and when the demand was made for a native primate, neither Rome nor Canterbury could gainsay the constitution of Gregory. The marvellous progress of the Northumbrian Church under the long primacy of Egbert, and of the three disciples that followed him, owed nothing to external influence. Five bishoprics supplied the synodal action, of which the fruits are seen in Egbert's *Excerptions*, and Wulfstan's *Laws of the*

¹ Raine, 50.

² *Ibid.* 2.

Northumbrian Priests. Albert's magnificent minster with its thirty altars stood intact to the Norman Conquest. It was here that Eanbald, assisted by three of his suffragans, consecrated King Eardulf on June 25, 796. The School of York, with its splendid library, where Alcuin studied and taught, was the light of the English Church till quenched in the Danish invasion. The second Eanbald was a member of Charlemagne's literary coterie. In one of Alcuin's letters the great scholar asks his former pupil—the 'Symeon' of the imperial Court—to assist Ethelhard of Canterbury in his struggle to regain the Mercian primacy, which Offa had transferred to Lichfield. He is credited with the authorship of the York Use, which Canon Simmons holds to be neither more nor less than Charlemagne's palatial Missal.¹ There could be no stronger proof of his independence of Canterbury, since a Council at Cloveshoo, about fifty years before, decreed the use of the Roman *exemplar*. It was at York that Alcuin conferred with the English divines on the Caroline Books, and we suspect that the Council of Frankfort thought much more of the Archbishop of York than of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The fall of Northumbria embittered the dislike of the Angles to the Saxons, whom they had always looked down upon. The kingdom was shattered to pieces by the Danish inroads. The Church not only converted the assailants, but preferred their alliance to the southron yoke. The conversion was the swiftest upon record; within a century from their first appearance in the Humber the thrones of Canterbury and York were both occupied by full-blooded Danes; still the gulf between the north and south was far from being bridged over. In spite of Athelstan's munificent gifts, Danish kings reigned in York for twenty years after the victory of Brunnenburgh. His archbishop, Wulstan, was deposed and imprisoned by Edred for complicity with the Danes. His successors, Oskytal and Oswald, though Danes themselves, had little influence in the north. York was practically a Danish city: it was thronged with Danish merchants, who made the commercial mart which was its glory in the Middle Ages.² The earls who replaced the kings were more Danish than English. Canute was already King of Northumberland, East Anglia, and all the north of England, when the southern half fell to him on the death of Edmund Ironside; he became the first undisputed King of England just fifty years before the Norman Conquest.

¹ *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, p. 353.

² Raine, p. 123.

In all this period there is not a trace—we might say there was no possibility—of any subjection of the northern primate to the southern. The alleged submission of Archbishop Adulph, which imposed upon Collier, is known to be one of the forgeries of the Cantuarians under Lanfranc. The prelate who signed it was bishop of Lindsey. The archbishop was indeed a suffragan of Canterbury by reason of the bishopric of Worcester, which he held *in commendam* with York ;—an arrangement which began with Oswald, and was continued to several of his successors, to supply the impoverishment of the northern primacy. By this way such unity of action as the times permitted was indirectly secured.

Lanfranc's attempt to exact a formal submission was a political measure in violation of all ecclesiastical precedents. The English Church was of no authority with the Normans. An archbishop of York had crowned the Conqueror in Westminster Abbey ; another archbishop of York might perform the same office for a rival in York Minster. This was the danger that weighed with William and his Norman prelates at the Council of Windsor. Thomas had been long enough at York to know better. As often as the case was referred to Rome the forged bulls, from which the leaden seals had perished by time, while the parchment was miraculously preserved, were laughed out of court. Three Popes—Paschal, Gelasius, and Calixtus—pronounced for the independence of York. The last gave a bull of exemption, which Thurstan promulgated in York Minster (1121). Two others to the same effect were issued by Honorius II. (1126), and by Alexander III. (1179). In 1306 Archbishop Grenefeld proclaimed in the Synod of Ripon that the Archbishop of York had no superior in spirituals except the Pope, and anathematized any of his subjects who should appeal to Canterbury.¹ This canon, save as regards the Pope, being undoubtedly among the number to which the Act of Submission gives the authority of statute law, it is surprising that a writer of Mr. Joyce's learning can still contend for the Windsor decree ; and the more so that it has little or no bearing on the subject of Convocation.

The distinguishing feature of an English Convocation is the formal representation of the parochial clergy, and of this we have not a particle of evidence before the twelfth century. The Episcopal Councils before the Conquest were doubtless attended by many priests and deacons, as well as kings and

¹ Trevor's *Two Convocations*, p. 83.

nobles and even abbesses. St. Hilda and St. Wilfrid (then an abbot), Agatho the priest, and James the deacon, besides the two kings, appear at Whitby. But there is no trace of formal representation, nor any clear evidence of the extent of their power. The Norman Councils were limited to the greater prelates—bishops and abbots; the Diocesan Synod was the proper utterance of the voice of the clergy. By the end of the eleventh century it had become usual to admit inferior prelates and capitular bodies to the Provincial Synod. Under the Papacy the provinces were held together by subjection to a common superior. The Roman legate developed from an *amicus curiæ* into the presiding judge: he cited the prelates and clergy before himself, displaced the archbishop, and dictated the constitutions. Still there was no change in the constitution of the Provincial Synods. The first use of the word 'Convocation' is at the Legatine Synod of 1125, and it appears that each was convened by its own archbishop, and included the archdeacons, abbots, and priors. The legate presided at the Council of Westminster (1176) when Roger of York was 'fustigated' for claiming precedence of Canterbury in right of seniority.

In the reign of Henry III. Archbishop Boniface was engaged in resisting the papal exactions, which, though at first opposed by the king and the laity, were supported by the whole power of the Crown when Henry had come to an agreement with Rome. The bishops and clergy were thrown upon their own resources, and the struggle tended to augment the interests of the lower clergy in the Convocation.¹ The archbishop's *Mandatum pro Convocatione* (1257) now commands his suffragans to bring with them the deans and priors of their cathedral churches, the abbots and independent priors and the archdeacons, each armed with letters procuratorial from their several congregations and subject clergy. The king forbade the assembly on pain of forfeiture of all their lands, but the archbishop deeming his duty to the Church superior to the royal prohibition, the Convocation was held in defiance both of king and pope. In the next reign Kilwarby's *Mandatum pro Convocatione* summons the archdeacons and the procurators of the whole clergy, and as no directions are given for their election, it would appear the usage was now established. The parochial clergy, who had always appeared in the Diocesan Synod in person, henceforth had their proctors in the Provincial Synod or Convocation. These particulars

¹ Trevor's *Two Convocations*, p. 29.

being *before* the attempt of Edward I. to enforce their appearance in Parliament, effectually dispose of Wake's theory of the Parliamentary origin of Convocation; a theory now exploded, though it was the stronghold of the anti-revivalists forty years ago, and for a time imposed even on the clear-sighted Bishop Thirlwall.

Edward's object was to bring the parochial benefices under the fiscal yoke which the Conqueror imposed on the bishoprics and religious houses. He sought to extend the bishops' writs of summons into a diocesan representation of the clergy, to treat with the Crown in common with the lay estates in Parliament. This would have extinguished the provincial division, superseded Convocation, and reduced the Church to a department of the State. The clause remains in the bishop's writ of summons to this day, and has at odd times been acted upon so far as the election of proctors; but we know nothing of their voting in Parliament, nor can anyone tell to which House they belong. It is open to any bishop to order an election to-morrow, but we doubt if he would get his proctors past the doorkeepers at Westminster. Fancy the Lord Chancellor's face if a posse of rural proctors had roared out 'Not content' from the bar, when their bishops voted for the Burials Bill! It would be a pretty experiment for a dean, but we cannot recommend it to any elected member of Convocation.

Convocation utters the distinct voice of the Church, independently of all temporal forms of government. The voice is as powerful (if not more so) in the American Republic as under the English Monarchy. The political privileges and restraints incidental to connexion with the State cannot abrogate the synodical principle of the Catholic Church from the Apostles downward. It is a theocratical, not a democratical, principle, deriving from the superior to the inferior, and not, like the House of Commons or the General Assembly in Scotland, working up from the people to their elected representatives. In the Church representation begins in jurisdiction. Bishops represent their dioceses *proprio jure*; inferior prelates by episcopal delegation within their prescribed limits; and proctors of the clergy by other grants from the source of authority.

All this was clearly discerned by the clergy in their long struggle with the Plantagenet policy. From first to last the controversy turned on the single question, whether their appearance should be before the archbishop in a consecrated place, or before the king in his court of Parliament. It ended in a compromise, by which the clergy agreed to give the king

his money in their own Convocations, and the king abandoned the attempt to force them into Parliament. Under this compromise, the very essence of which was the independent constitution of the ecclesiastical Synod, the clergy taxed themselves in Convocation for about three centuries; and two centuries have elapsed since the privilege was surrendered in exchange for the county franchise. Convocation remains in principle and substance the same as ever.

In one respect, indeed, the Parliamentary policy has been thought to have left its mark on Convocation. By those who are ever ready to assign a reason for phenomena which they do not understand, the clause in the bishops' writs is said to prescribe the representation, which the archbishop's writ of Convocation leaves undetermined. This conjecture—for it was never anything more—is now the stumbling-block in the way of the proposed enlargement of the Lower House. From the historical point of view it is a mere fiction. The facts now stated make it quite clear that the Parliamentary representation was taken from the *modus debitus* of Convocation, as recognized in the archiepiscopal mandates. This is evident from the clause itself; the *archdeacons* could only have been included in it because they were actually cited to Convocation. The dean and the capitular proctor were required to bind the chapter, the proctors of the clergy to bind the parochial incumbents; but the archdeacons represented no temporal interest whatever: the spiritual jurisdiction, in virtue of which they sit in Convocation, was not taxable; they could only have been summoned to Parliament because they were actually in Convocation. In the next place, the Parliamentary writ never had any effect on the Convocation of York, though equally applicable. The northern clergy continued to appear by archidiaconal proctors as before. Lastly, though it is true that in Canterbury only two proctors now appear for each diocese, the citations and elections are still mostly archidiaconal. It is *after* the election and return to the bishop that two proctors for the diocese are manufactured, by a process wholly inconsistent with the representative principle.

The true explanation of this singular anomaly we take to be this: when the attendance was a burden rather than a privilege, the archbishop left the number undetermined to meet the convenience of the clergy. A Constitution, printed in Lyndwood (1279), specifies two *at least* from every diocese, and when this number was accepted as sufficient in Parliament, the archbishop would be unwilling to insist on more in Convocation. Still the writs go out to the archdeaconries: in

some dioceses the elected proctors agree among themselves, in others the bishop settles it for them, that only two are returned to the archbishop. This appears to us the only intelligible explanation ; it is clearly an indulgence, not a restraint. If all the archidiaconal proctors were to claim their seats, we see nothing to hinder them ; and if the archbishop should see fit to enlarge the number, there is nothing in Lord Selborne's *Memorandum* to stand in the way.

Having now considered the separate origin and constitution of the two Convocations, we are in a condition to inquire into their united action. Under the Papacy this was secured by the subjection of the archbishops to a common superior. The Lower House was of little account beyond voting the subsidies, which were ordinarily proportioned to the supplies granted in Parliament, and presenting their *gravamina et reformanda*. There would be no lack of these when an Archdeacon of Richmond went on his visitation with a train of fifteen and sometimes four-and-twenty horsemen, each with a dog ready for a hunt, whenever a stag or a roe might spring from the cover on the roadside.¹ The parson had to find them all in provender. There are many canons in correction of this abuse ; first, the archdeacons were limited to a given number of retainers. Then the clergy compounded for a procuration in money, to be shared between the incumbents when two churches were visited in the same day, seeing it was uncanonical to eat two dinners. Now and then complaint would be made of heresy, or of the intrusion of monks and friars. The archbishop would promulgate the constitutions received from Rome, or agreed upon by the bishops. Questions of ritual were disposed of at the visitations, and with a laxity that would astonish the Judicial Committee. The various Uses of cathedrals, abbeys, and dioceses provided an elasticity sufficient for every taste, and the sacraments were more thought of than the vestments. When Walter Gray promulgated a constitution on vestments in his Provincial Synod, the question was, not of their use, but of the distribution of the cost between the parishioners, the rectors, and the vicars. Canons of doctrine and discipline being in accordance with admitted principles, passed *nemine discrepante*. The smaller Synod followed the lead of the larger, and sometimes adopted its canons *en bloc*, as in 1462 and 1605.

Occasionally the two Convocations were congregated before the Papal Legate, but they were not amalgamated : each

¹ Canon Ormsby's *Diocesan History of York*, p. 164.

was convened in its own province and preserved its distinct existence and authority. Moreover, the Legatine Synod was *less* representative than the Provincial. The archbishops and bishops resented the humiliation of a foreign president, the clergy put in a scant appearance, and, what has been strangely overlooked, the Lower House of York was altogether absent. In the struggle with the Plantagenet policy it came out that neither Convocation had any authority out of its province. Bishops are bishops everywhere, but deans, archdeacons, and proctors are as local as mayors and common councils. Hence when the archbishop and bishops of the southern province, with a large part of the clergy, obeyed the king's summons to York (1322), they were unable to hold a Synod to grant a subsidy, because the absentees, not being obliged to appear out of their province, could not be pronounced contumacious, and the decree would be canonically invalid. The archbishop was obliged to return and call a lawful Synod in his own province. A similar failure occurred to the Archbishop of York at Lincoln (1327).¹ To surmount this obstacle Wolsey prorogued his Convocation from York to Westminster Abbey, an exempt monastery, and cited the Archbishop of Canterbury, with his Convocation then sitting at St. Paul's, to meet it before himself. The Southern Convocation appeared, but refused to proceed on the ground that having been elected to treat with their own archbishop, they must have new powers to confer with the legate. The Cardinal had to prorogue his own Convocation to his house at Whitehall, '*locum utique nostræ jurisdictionis Ebor. solitum et consuetum*,' and there a subsidy was granted.² Hence it is clear that the Legatine Synod was really no more than the Convocation of Canterbury supplemented by the northern bishops. The canonical authority for its constitutions in the province of York would be their subsequent reception by the Provincial Synod.

Henry VIII. unquestionably aimed at a great deal more than the 'civil sword' of Article xxxvii. As *caput supremum cleri et ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, he challenged the spiritual obedience of the clergy 'usually called the English Church,' and congregated the two Synods before his vicegerent, in place of the papal legate. But the king was far too sensible of their representative character to attempt any change in their constitution. The queerest feat of the Cæsaro-papacy was Cranmer's delivery of the pall to Archbishop Holgate. But unfortunately for Mr. Joyce's theory the submission

¹ Wilk. *Conc.* ii. 547 ; Trevor, p. 50.

² Trevor, p. 85.

was not of York to Canterbury, but to their more terrible Supreme Head.¹ The Convocations were consulted apart on the great questions of the rejection of the Papacy and the submission of the clergy. When consulted concurrently there was no amalgamation. The Upper House of York signed apart, while the Lower House remained at York. The concurrent process saved time, but the united action was more full and distinct in the successive deliberations, first in London and then at York.

Neither did the abandonment of the obnoxious title by Queen Elizabeth effect any change in the relations of the two Convocations. The 'Synod of London,' which agreed on the Thirty-nine Articles, was composed of the Convocation of Canterbury, with the addition of the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of Durham and Chester, who signed by themselves. The subscription expressly terms it a Provincial Synod; '*Nos archiepiscopi et episcopi utriusque provinciæ regni Angliæ in sacra synodo provinciali legitime congregati.*' The heading indicates the bishops of either province, not the clergy. '*Articuli de quibus convenit inter archiepiscopos et episcopos utriusque provinciæ, et clerum universum in synodo Londini, A.D. 1562;*' but the Acts printed by Gibson show it to be an ordinary Provincial Synod; there is no mention of the northern bishops, though they signed the Articles. Dr. Bennett has shown that the Lower House of York were in session at York, and never signed at all.² Still it appears from their Acts that the House was in communication on the subject with the archbishop in London, and there is no doubt of the synodal reception of the Articles in the northern province. The same course was pursued in enacting the Canons of 1571, save that only one bishop of the northern province (Chester) signed in person; the Archbishop of York subscribed by his proxy the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Durham by the Bishop of Winchester. It does not appear that any authority of the Crown was required on either occasion.

These precedents show that the course pursued at the Revision of the Liturgy in 1661, instead of being so unique as

¹ The pallium was aspersed with holy water and delivered in Lambeth Chapel with the words: '*Ad honorem Dei Patris Optimi Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Intemeratæque Virginis Mariæ, et totius cœlestis exercitus ac illustrissimi et serenissimi Domini nostri Henrici VIII. &c., cui soli et nulli alii obedientiam et fidelitatem debes.*' Canon Ormsby relates the incident from the *Gentleman's Magazine* of Nov. 1860, to which it was communicated by Professor Stubbs. The 'beatification' of Henry VIII. may surely bear comparison with the 'adoration' of the Pope.

² *Essay XXXIX. Art. ch. vi.*

some suppose, was simply the established way of proceeding. The two Convocations were separately opened in their respective provinces. The Archbishop of York and two of his suffragans sat in consultation with the Upper House of Canterbury, appearing in their own synod by proxy. They served on committees in common with the southern bishops, the only difference being that the president *requested* the northern prelates, and *directed* the others.¹ The Synod at York was in communication with the archbishop on the revision, and at its conclusion the book was severally subscribed by the two Upper Houses and the Lower House of Canterbury, exactly as the Thirty-nine Articles were. In the usual course it would have been sent down to York for the Lower House there. But Parliament was impatient. The House of Commons had sent to the Lords a Bill of their own with a Prayer-Book of 1604, and the king wanted to supersede it by the Revised Book of Convocation. Unless the York subscription could be got by the end of next week, the archbishop wrote, 'we are lost.' To escape this danger, the House executed a proxy to eight persons, four of either province, and by six of these the subscription of the Lower House of York was executed in London on the same day with the others, December 21, 1661.

The proxy bears date November 30, and in the interval the House transmitted some important propositions, moved by Dr. Peter Samways, to the archbishop for consideration. It appears also that in the *Preces Synodales*, first printed from the Acts by Canon Trevor,² the words '*in Eboracen. gerentium*' were

¹ *Syn. Angl. App.* p. 76.

² *Two Convocations*, p. 104. This prayer was used *verbatim* in the Vatican Council of 1870. It is also found in Egbert's Pontifical (A.D. 760), where it may have been inserted in the thirteenth century: in any case it was clearly the standing synodal prayer of the Western Church, and must have been in use at Canterbury no less than at York. Archbishop Parker seems to have replaced it with the Latin Litany, and the prayer now in use which the registrar notes as '*noviter ut apparuit edita*' (*Syn. Angl. App.* 198). Archbishop Longley was content to follow in English; but it is surprising that the Northern Convocation should still be insensible to the treasure preserved in their Acts, and one so infinitely superior to the modern substitute. As Dr. Trevor's book is out of print, we take leave to transcribe this venerable relic:—

'Adsumus Domine Sancte Spiritus! adsumus peccati quidem immanitate detenti atque deterriti, sed in nomine Christi specialiter convocati et congregati; Veni ad nos et esto nobiscum; dignare cordibus illabi nostris: Doce nos quid agamus, quid dicamus, et ostende quid efficere debeamus, ut Te auxiliante Tibi in omnibus complacere valeamus. Esto salus nostra omniumque in Te sperantium; esto effector et confirmator judiciorum nostrorum, omniumque servorum Tuorum vices Tuas ubique

altered to '*jam Londini*,' where the House deemed itself present by proxy. But though armed with full powers to consent or dissent, there is no probability that any of the York members sat or voted in the Lower House of Canterbury. They were '*procuratores, actores, factores, negotiorum nostrorum gestores, et nuntios speciales*,' but the object being only to affix the subscription of the House assembled in Synod at York, it is not to be imagined that they would go beyond the specific purpose of the power of attorney.

In here closing our historical review, it is important to observe that, with the exception of subsidies *gravamina* and contested elections, the synodical business was mainly transacted in the Upper House. The conclusions there arrived at were sent to the Lower House and passed for the most part *nemine discrepante*. If objection arose, it was reported by the Prolocutor and reconsidered in the Upper House. The Houses occasionally deliberated together in full Synod. A few divisions are on record ; but there were no reporters and nothing like a modern debate. It was the Non-juring Secession, and the plot to tamper with the Liturgy, which, by destroying the confidence of the clergy in the episcopate, led to the scenes which brought about the suspension of Convocation, with the consequent weakness and disorganization of the Church.

We may now claim to have historically demonstrated the following positions :—

1. That the two Convocations are co-equal and co-ordinate Synods, each representing the National Church in its own province, and as incapable of amalgamation or fusion as the Synods of England and Ireland.

2. That their united action, whether concurrent or successive, constitutes the National Synod.

3. That concurrent action is no better guarantee of unity

præsertim in Eboracen. [*jam Londini*] gerentium. Præcipue autem in bonitate Tua memineris Domini nostri Caroli secundi, eorumque qui ei sunt a conciliis, tum ecclesiasticis tum civilibus, tum publicis tum privatis. Non sinas inter nos perturbatores esse justitiæ, Tu qui summam diligis æquitatem ! Non in sinistrum nos ignorantia trahat, non favor inflectat, non acceptio munerum vel personarum corrumpat : sed junge nos efficaciter Tibi solius Tuæ gratiæ dono, ut simus in unum, sed in nullo aberremus a vero ; quatenus in nomine Tuo collecti sic in cunctis cum moderamine pietatis justitiam teneamus, ut hiis a Te in nullo dissentiat sententia nostra, et in futuro sæculo Te facie ad faciem in æternum beatifici videamus, Tecumque semper regnemus, per Christum Jesum Dominum et Salvatorem nostrum : Cui cum Patre benedicto in unitate Spiritus Sancti sit omnis honor dominium et gratiarum actio, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.'

than successive, while the latter secures the fuller deliberation.

4. That, from the provincial constitution of the Lower House, neither Convocation can do any synodical act outside the province.

5. That in intersynodical action the ordinary course—whether under the Pope, the *Caput Supremum*, or the existing Royal Supremacy—is for the northern bishops to consult and agree with the Upper House of Canterbury, and to send their conclusions to the two Lower Houses, to be synodically ratified in the respective provinces.

6. That there is not, and never has been, any power in the Crown, the Archbishops, or the Convocations themselves, to alter these fundamental relations. Nothing short of an Act of Parliament can revolutionize the constitution of the National Church.

It remains to consider the demand for further and more definite united action which has arisen from the altered circumstances of the Church. It is perfectly natural that the need should have been first felt in the province of York, where the greatest alteration has taken place. The episcopate has been augmented from five—the number in the Northumbrian Church and not exceeded down to the Restoration—to ten, including Wakefield; and must be further augmented. The clergy have been multiplied probably three or four fold, and the population many degrees more. Socially and politically it has become the dominant section of the kingdom. It was not to be expected that the Convocation, with its larger representative element and the traditional superiority of the North, would be content with the very subordinate position assigned to it in the precedents of former ages. At its first meeting in 1861 they were confronted with a new canon (in substitution of Canon 29), discussed, agreed to, and formally promulgated by both Houses of Canterbury, to which they were desired to give their assent. The difficulty was increased by the absence of all the northern bishops from the deliberations of the Upper House of Canterbury. This omission was doubtless due to ignorance, but it cannot be justified. Archbishop Longley, the mildest of prelates (little foreseeing his coming change of position), expressed the feeling of his Synod in this way:—

‘It is right to mention that I have received from the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury an authorized copy of a new form of Canon to which that Convocation has agreed. I may also mention that that communication imposes upon us no obligation whatever. We are an entirely independent body, and act of our own accord.

The Province of York can make any amendment, or may be perfectly inactive, as we please. We are at liberty to accept or reject the alterations made in the other Province. Nothing that is done there can impose upon us any obligation to proceed further than we please.¹

The result was that the canon stood over for the remainder of the primacy. The Lower House instructed its actuary (Canon Trevor) to examine the precedents, and his Report, after recapitulating all the precedents from the time of Elizabeth, concludes that—

‘There is no precedent of any law or formulary being proposed to the Convocation of York since the Reformation, which had been debated, concluded, and signed in the Convocation of Canterbury without reference to either House of this Province.’²

The Convocation of Canterbury hastened to explain, expressing their earnest desire to consider the opinion of the Northern Synod before proceeding to ask the Crown for the necessary powers to put the canon in use.³ The Lower House of York were desirous of proceeding, but the Bishops would only appoint a committee. When the canon was at last carried under the present Primate (1864), Archbishop Longley, then at Canterbury, applied for the Royal ratification, upon which Archbishop Thomson wrote that the application was made without his consent, and the canon has not been ratified to this hour!

In the course of these untoward proceedings, the Lower House of York resolved, after a very slender debate:

‘That this House is fully persuaded that the only satisfactory mode of obtaining that joint and harmonious action is the union of the two Convocations of York into one body, so that, without prejudice to the occasional assembling if need be, by the permission of the Crown, of Provincial Synods, that general Convocation of the clergy of the Church of England, which now consists of two Provincial Assemblies, may meet together in one National Synod.’

The resolution was supported by speakers of such different views as Dean Goode and Archdeacon Churton, but neither suggested any practical means of effecting the desired amalgamation. The resolution credits the Crown with the power of issuing a National or Provincial writ of Convocation at its pleasure. The speakers further assumed that in either case the present representation in the Lower House of York would be preserved. ‘The Convocation of Canterbury (said Archdeacon Churton) must take them of York as they were, and their voice would be more potent in union with the larger body

¹ *York Journal of Convocation*, p. 85.

² *Ibid.* pp. 124-130.

³ *Ibid.* p. 137.

than apart from it.'¹ This implies that the Crown should empower the Archbishop of Canterbury to summon the Archbishop of York and his whole Convocation to appear before himself at St. Paul's. This is a good deal more than the Windsor decree; it overrides the provincial limitations of the Lower House, which were too strong for Edward I. or the papal legate. But then why should the larger province take the smaller as it is, and not rather impose upon it the diocesan representation imposed on itself?

It is needless to pursue the subject. No sensible person can suppose that the Crown would be advised to exercise a power which as a matter of fact it has never yet exercised, without an Act of Parliament, and this is what none of our heroic reformers have yet asked for. Parliament might think of a simpler plan. It might abolish the archbishopric of York, as it abolished the archbishoprics of Tuam and Cashel, and endow two new sees out of the revenue. The fusion would then be complete, unless Parliament should take the opportunity to fuse the Lay House with the clerical, and oblige us with a National Synod of the latest democratical pattern.

We must note that the Upper House of York has not committed itself to any of these insoluble problems; it has never done more than appoint a committee, and we do not find that they ever reported.

The Lower House of York has returned to the question at intervals. The archbishop glanced at it in his opening address last year, expressing his readiness to give respectful obedience to an alteration of the Crown writ. We suspect his Grace would be the very first to challenge the Queen's power to subject him and his courts to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Lower House, however, resolved *nem. con.* :

'That this House is of opinion that in the present needs of the Church of England it is much to be desired that a National Synod, uniting from time to time the two Provincial Synods of Canterbury and York, should be convened; and begs humbly to thank his Grace the President for his address on this question, and with due submission requests that his Grace will take such action, or join with the President of the Convocation of Canterbury in taking such action, as may to him or to them seem good, in order to obtain the necessary authority from the Crown to convene the said National Synod.'

The mover, Archdeacon Watkins of Durham, quoted both archbishops and the Bishop of London in his favour. He

¹ *York Journal of Convocation*, p. 161.

said that National Synods had constantly been held before the Reformation, cited the 139th Canon as an unanswerable proof of his argument, and affirmed that 'nothing was required but the Queen's writ, and it was not likely it would be refused.'¹ Having already disposed of the archdeacon's precedents, we will only remark that to our mind nothing is more certain than a refusal, if the primates were so rash as to make an unprecedented application. The Archbishop of Canterbury knows how often he has been refused the much more moderate request for power to make a canon for a reform of his Lower House, of which no one disputes the necessity. Meantime it is remarkable that, with all this passion for united action, not a word is said for the resumption of the true constitutional usage of united deliberation by the two Upper Houses. That the archbishop should choose to be first in the north, rather than second in the south, is intelligible enough, but why his suffragans do not fly from the hyperborean atmosphere to the calmer Olympus in Dean's Yard is to us inexplicable. They require neither royal writ nor archiepiscopal permission. They have only to leave their proxies to answer the citation at York, and the Great Northern will swiftly bring them to the haven where they would be.

It is impossible not to sympathize with the Lower House of York, beating its wings so pathetically against the bars of its cage. Partly from its distance from the capital, and partly from circumstances on which we have twice commented before,² it fails to maintain its place in the National Synod, and is in danger of being left in sterile isolation. The position is so humiliating that we hear threats of abandoning Convocation altogether unless it is speedily changed; this would be to despair of the republic. Our friends in the north must remember that, in Synods especially, Heaven helps those who help themselves. Of the gallant band who fought and won the battle of the revival only one or two now survive, and hardly receive due recognition. It cannot be denied that among those who reap the fruits of their victory many are wanting in the *seriousness* indispensable to synodal success. The constituencies show too little regard to the qualifications of the candidates; the elections are allowed to degenerate into party conflicts or coalitions as the case may be. Men of proved synodical ability are set aside for nonentities, and the consequence is that the large representation of the Northern Convocation has less weight and influence than the scant but

¹ *York Journal of Convocation*, 1886, p. 148.

² *C.Q.R.* October 1884, Art. ix.; January 1887, Art. x.

earnest modicum in the Jerusalem Chamber. It is not the archbishop's fault that the Northern Convocation is content to meet but once a year ; that the bishops can only spare a couple of days, and that the clergy are eager to get away from the York hotels. Judging from the Reports, the archbishop gives more time and thought to Convocation than any other member. He speaks upon every question, interrupts other speakers, corrects their motions and amendments, and is always eager to guide the Synod to his own conclusion. If he were less combative and imperious, he would be Speaker, Chairman of Committees, and Leader of both Houses, all in one. As it is, he only leads the Opposition.

The Bishops, affecting a Lucretian indifference to the storm, have reduced the Upper House to a cipher.¹ The Lower, with plenty of courage and ability, lacks industry and persistence. It appoints committees and overcrowds them with members ; but the attendance is lamentably scant, and Reports are few and feebly followed up.² Now, this committee work is the most valuable part of the labours in the southern province, and the northern clergy may rest assured that they will never enjoy their proper share in the councils of the Church till they rise above personal and party views, and emulate the serious appreciation of synodical work by which the Southern Convocation has earned its power. No reform of procedure can make up for constitutional apathy.

It is time to come to the practical propositions. The Archbishop of Canterbury has been understood to suggest a free conference of the two Convocations in both Houses. This implies no organic change, no royal writ, no submission of York to Canterbury. It only extends to the Lower Houses the ordinary course of intersynodical deliberation in the Upper Houses. The suggestion is simple, feasible, and effectual. The Conference would not be a Synod ; it would debate, agree, and conclude, but the synodical Decree would follow in the respective provinces apart. This would afford opportunity for reconsidering conclusions arrived at by chance majorities. Where

¹ The majority is actually entered in the Division List, February 15, 1882, *Ayes* 0, *Noes* 1 ! The explanation is that the President and the Bishop of Manchester kept a house, when the others had gone, to enable the Bishop of Liverpool to defeat a large majority of the Lower House.

² In the Committee of Privileges, consisting of sixteen members, the attendance seldom exceeds six and sometimes sinks to three. When the Prolocutor nominated Canon Trevor on a committee to confer with the Canterbury Committee on the Relations of Church and State, the archbishop called attention to the 'balance of parties,' and two tame elephants were added to outvote the formidable animal.

the mind of each province was clearly ascertained, the synodical act would be a matter of course. It is no small advantage that the experiment might be tried whenever and for as long only as might be desired. If combined, as it would be, with intersynodical committees on particular questions, it would leave nothing wanting to joint and harmonious action.

The Archbishop of York's plan is more complex and doubtful. It proposes a 'delegation' of the Northern Convocation, comprising all the Upper House and one half the Lower, with the President at its head, to meet either a similar delegation or the whole Convocation of Canterbury—we are not sure which—on such questions as may be determined by the two presidents. This scheme has no support in the proxy of 1661. It begins by depriving the Northern Convocation of its best distinction; it disfranchises half the Lower House at a blow. Next it perpetuates in the Conference the dual headship, which is the cause of all present want of harmony. If the Archbishop of York is to keep the delegation under his own direction, and within such limits as he may approve, the advantage of mutual discussion will be seriously curtailed. Lastly, the plan retains a demi-house at York, who, not having been at the Conference, will be ready to help the archbishop or other dissatisfied members to refuse the synodical ratification. The two Houses at York may jump at such crude proposals in their impatience of the 'ills they have.' But we should be very much surprised if the Convocation of Canterbury should admit such a thorn in its side. It is one thing to open one's doors to a party of friends and neighbours, and quite another to receive a Highland chief 'with his tail on.'

On the whole, the Archbishop of Canterbury's suggestion seems to meet all the requirements of the case, and we should be glad to see the experiment tried. It would be a fitting memorial of the Jubilee, in which her Majesty has taken opportunity to rectify a strange anomaly in the treatment of the two portions of the National Synod. Everybody knows that the Convocation of Canterbury, like the Houses of Parliament and the Universities, is privileged to carry its addresses to the foot of the throne and be received by her Majesty in person. But this privilege, strange to say, has till now been denied to the Convocation of York, though extended to several Non-conforming bodies. Archbishop Thomson's application was rejected by a Home Secretary not famous for courtesy, on the ground of want of precedent. The fact is that the only address from York on record was to Queen Anne on the occasion of the Royal Bounty, and it could not be shown how it was pre-

sented. Canon Trevor having discovered that it was received by the Queen in person, and answered from her own lips, brought the fact before the House last year, and it was unanimously resolved to request the President to apply to the Queen for a restoration of the privilege. We have reason to know that the subject came under her Majesty's notice in the newspapers, and the result was that by Royal command the Convocation attended at Windsor on July 6, and were admitted to the Presence with their Address. This is another proof of what may be done by steady persistence on established lines.

ART. VIII.—RELIGION IN IRELAND: PAST AND PRESENT.

1. *Ireland and the Celtic Church.* A History of Ireland from St. Patrick to the English Conquest in 1172. By GEORGE T. STOKES, D.D., Vicar of All Saints, Blackrock, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Trinity College, Dublin. (London, 1886.)
2. *The Reformed Church of Ireland (1537-1886).* By the Right Hon. J. T. BALL, LL.D., D.C.L. (London, 1886.)

THE disestablishment of the Irish Church and the social troubles which, to those who regard them from law-abiding England, look something very like a revolution, have not, strange to say, smitten the sufferers under these events with literary unproductiveness. On the contrary, the Irish contributions to literature have been more important during the period since disestablishment than during any previous seventeen years that we can remember; and Trinity College has lost all title to the name of the Silent Sister. Our business at present, however, is only with the department of Irish ecclesiastical history to which the books at the head of this article strictly belong.

These works form a most creditable contribution from the Irish Church to its country's history and to its own. And without anticipating what we have to say of the merits of each individually, we would point out one characteristic common to both, which is under the circumstances equally surprising and hopeful. We mean their extreme moderation

and fairness of statement. Neither of them aims at the imaginative eloquence which has often been found in the speaking and writing of Irishmen, but in neither of them, on the other hand, is there the slightest tinge of that exaggeration which has so frequently marred this richness of language. These Irish gentlemen we may be sure have suffered severely both in purse and in position from the late changes in Ireland; but they treat the history of the country with far less passion than Mr. Froude, who belongs neither to the persecutors nor to the persecuted—to whichever Irish party we may consider those terms respectively applicable.

Perhaps some of this moderation may be due to the political impotence into which the Irish Church has fallen. Her members must be conscious that there is no class of persons either in England or Ireland whose utterances matter so little in the struggle of 'the classes and the masses' as theirs. They can return but two Members to Parliament, and, this primary condition being wanting, their comments on the situation have no more practical effect upon events than the remonstrances of some peaceful clergyman in the midst of a battle. They have so much the less temptation to be unfair that unfairness in their case is of no use. But none the less it is of excellent augury that members of the Irish Church look this state of facts in the face and accept with dignity the place of non-combatant spectators which fate has assigned to them. It is a position very different from that to which they were used and to which a few of their brethren still hopelessly cling. It is not every one who when fighting has proved useless can abstain from scolding. But to those who can, time may bring a reward at last. If ever peace should come in Ireland, it will be a just source of pride for Irish Churchmen that in this period of distress her members were found to bear their burdens so patiently and say and do so little that was unworthy of their profession, and that her writers were able to view the chequered history of the past, full as it is of causes of offence, with a truthfulness so conspicuous as these authors display.

The work of Professor Stokes leads the way as referring to the earlier period. It consists of lectures delivered in the Divinity School of Trinity College, Dublin, in discharge of the author's functions as Professor of Ecclesiastical History. Attendance upon these lectures is not compulsory, and the voluntary system has certainly worked well in this instance by producing a style of teaching in which the profit is so mingled with pleasure that we do not wonder it has proved attractive to the class. At the same time genuine research

is never sacrificed to literary charm. Dr. Stokes has judged well in preserving the colloquial form of his lectures when preparing them for publication. We may meet with a carelessly written sentence here and there, and sometimes with a few unessential details of which we can scarcely feel absolutely sure. But these defects are a small price to pay for the completeness with which the book meets the well-known first requisite of books—that of being thoroughly readable. How great a merit this is in the present case will be known only to those who have perused some former writings upon the same subjects. Nothing can be more timely at present than such a work. The Saxon reader need not put it aside as concerning only a troublesome country of which he had rather never hear. His duty is to learn something about a land and a race on whose future he is deciding when he exercises his Parliamentary vote. And, apart from this practical question, the part played by Ireland in the history of Britain, and even of Europe, during the centuries from the fifth to the eighth was such that the English student who neglects it is setting aside an important portion of his own national annals. A more trustworthy or a pleasanter guide to the 'origins' of the Irish question than Professor Stokes he is not likely to find.

We suppose it is our duty to make some criticism. If so, we shall admit in Professor Stokes a certain want of elevation in relating lives of the most lofty devotion. It is to be confessed that he sometimes seems to introduce us to the great Irish saints in the style of that functionary to whom no man is a hero. We plead guilty to so much of weakness as to dislike being told of St. Patrick that 'the poor man's digestion was out of order, or he had fasted too much, and was much in the same state as Luther when he flung his ink-bottle at the devil, who was making faces at him across the table.' This is rationalizing after the example of Paulus. And we do not in the slightest degree believe that this theory gives a probable account of the flocks of demons in the form of black-birds which beset the saint. It appears to us obviously more likely that we have in the story a legendary embodiment in material form of the spiritual conflicts through which the saint, like all his brethren, and like his Master, was forced to go.¹

¹ See the Life by Tirechan in *Analecta Bollandiani*, tom. ii. p. 57, where (unless we suppose with the editor that something has dropped out of the text) the birds who hid the face of the sky seem to be the saints of Ireland, past, present, and future, whom God had sent to bless the land.

But indeed it is a very hard matter in relating the lives of saints to strike the mean between the reverence which idealizes them out of all historic credibility and the familiarity which leaves out the supernatural greatness of their character and retains but the mundane details. The Irish imagination has room for both treatments, and can at the same time adore the apostle of Ireland as a patron of superhuman power, and sing of him that he 'was a gentleman and came of decent people.' But such inconsistencies are not for the historian. And the question, What are you to do with the miracles? faces him in every attempt to relate the lives of the saints. Professor Stokes simply leaves all the miracles out; and the result is a genial narrative in which our interest never flags, and which realizes the whole story with its surroundings as if it had happened yesterday. But we have often thought that the abundance of miracles with which the mediæval biographer adorns his story are his simple method of expressing a sense that his hero's faith rendered him superior to the world. If we think ourselves justified (as no doubt we are) in rejecting the miracles considered as physical facts, we ought to replace the miraculous element in the story by a sustained spirituality such as may constantly remind the reader that he has to do with men whose work and thought was beyond what natural causes could have produced. And this is a task so difficult that even Montalembert did not find himself equal to it, and simply embodies the miracles in the story as historical in the sense of being representative of the way in which it was viewed by the ages that handed it down. But such a treatment we fear would hardly command the respect of a class of Protestant divinity students. We cannot be surprised that Professor Stokes has chosen the other extreme. And his work is so good that we feel little disposition to complain of it.

Dr. Ball is ex-Chancellor of Ireland. As Member of Parliament for Dublin University he fought the conquering progress of Irish disestablishment with an ability and judgment which was acknowledged on all sides. He was a distinguished civilian in the days when ecclesiastical law was studied as it is never likely to be studied by Irish lawyers in the future. And these antecedents fit him excellently well for writing the constitutional history of his Church. If he had not performed the task it is unlikely that any one in future times would have acquired the knowledge necessary for its discharge. Nor is the material of the book merely legal. The reader will be interested to find that this suc-

cessful public man displays a knowledge and interest in theology and kindred subjects which shows that they must have possessed an attraction for him through life. In style the work aims only at the eloquence of terse expression and clearness. We may sometimes wish for more vividness of personal presentation and richness of detail. But we are content to accept instead of these a judicial exposition of facts and principles in which moral judgments are not wanting, but are expressed as from the bench with perfect calmness and self-restraint.

We shall not attempt to epitomise the story of Irish Church history which these works relate. In truth they tell their tale as briefly as we could put it. Our aim shall be to note some of the characteristic principles which the history exemplifies and the lessons which are to be derived from it. There is an extraordinary contrast between the small and haphazard character of most events recorded in the Irish annals of Church or State and the uniformity of the social and ecclesiastical lessons which they display. Never was there a history in which that orderly development and progress by which churches and nations are made is more disturbed by human wilfulness and temporary accidents. Yet nowhere can we find a history in which the same moral agencies work with a uniformity—we had almost said more sad and dreary—and in which similar results from similar causes recur more obstinately from age to age.

Whatever shades, both of sorrow and of obscurity, hang over the past history of Ireland, there is one possession at all events which England must concede to her; that of a patron saint whose history is a genuine national example. Even if (with Bishop Milner) we reject Gibbon's audacious identification of St. George with an army contractor of indifferent reputation, we cannot compare the conquest of the dragon, either for historic certainty or for Christian edification, with the well-attested missionary history of St. Patrick or the deeply Christian faith which his simple writings disclose to us. Professor Stokes relates the well-known story and analyzes the documents with great skill and fairness, and, as we might expect from his good sense, keeps pretty clear of the controversial disputes which have been so often waged over the saint's grave.

The Irish Protestant, to whom asceticism is a mark of the beast, has triumphed nearly as much over the fact that St. Patrick was the son of a deacon and grandson of a priest, as

over the parallel fact that St. Peter was himself a married man. But when we regard the life which the saint chose for himself, and which afforded the type whereon that of his successors was moulded, we find in it the most undoubted ascetic colour. The worthy Calpurnius, father of the saint, may have united the characters of civic magnate and family man to that of ecclesiastic, and been, as Professor Stokes puts it, town councillor, cleric, and farmer all at once. But this excellent person would have found himself entirely out of place in his son's mission, and so would his modern representative, the clerical citizen and country gentleman of Protestantism. The ancient Irish Church was essentially monastic, as Professor Stokes justly records. What is to be said is that this organization of ecclesiastical work and this ideal of life were not adopted in obedience to any hard and fast rule of clerical celibacy like that which Hildebrand imposed, but in response to the calls and occasions of the times, listened to and understood by Christian men who were regardless of their own comfort and worldly interest. We can well understand that a society of men of the same spirit existing among the conditions of our times might admit the idea of marriage in the priesthood as in many cases well adapted to the better performance of priestly work. Indeed, married clergy existed of old in the Celtic churches both of Ireland and Wales.¹ But the principle of Christian self-denial—of asceticism if you will—which led them to refuse marriage for themselves, would still be present to refuse it in many a case in which it is now adopted. The Protestant clergyman of the present day atones for his denial of the sacramental nature of marriage by the emphatic welcome which he accords to it as a state of life allowed of God. He marries even when the state of his income is such that marriage in a layman similarly provided would be counted wickedly improvident. The discouragement of thoughtless increase of the population, as all social reformers know, is a necessary subject of social instruction in these times. But it meets no assistance from the example of the cleric of the reformed Church in Ireland—and may we not say in England? Marry he must, though he load himself thereby with family cares and anxieties which will force him in many an anxious hour of the future to realize St. Paul's warning, by caring more for the things of his household than for the things of the Lord. And the Church to which he belongs, in her repulsion from Rome, will approve his union, but will not therefore be the more disposed to endow him with the means

¹ See Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, pp. 13, 14.

of supporting and educating a family. It will not even contribute generously to funds which undertake some of the family burdens of an underpaid clergy. The Irish Synod of this year recommended such a fund to the members of the Church as a fit object of Jubilee offerings, but with very small success. Expedients of this kind are but poor ones at the best, adapted to perform for the clergy in a very inadequate way family duties which fathers ought to be able to perform for themselves. For a clergy whose incomes are, we fear, likely to be so small as those of the large body of the Irish, the true cure for the evil seems to be not to marry unless your work calls for it and your means permit it. And in this the Irish clergy would be simply adopting in a very mild and moderate form that determination to renounce earthly ties at the call of God, which was voluntarily displayed by that Church of St. Patrick which they claim to represent.

And this leads us to notice a characteristic of early Irish Church work very closely connected with its ascetic and monastic form, and which is not only capable of imitation in a modified degree in the present day, but must in our opinion be imitated if the Irish Church is to be as efficient as she might be. We mean the system of working a district from a centre at which many clergy live, instead of dividing its area among a number of isolated priests. Professor Stokes well maintains the superiority of the ancient method for missionary purposes. But it is in many places equally applicable to his own Church. The country parts of Ireland are at present cut up for Church purposes into a very large number of poorly endowed parishes, each with its incumbent. In some dioceses there are not more than one or two parishes sufficiently large to require, or sufficiently rich to afford, a curate. The consequence is that no opportunity exists for a young man to learn his work under an experienced pastor. Scarcely has he been ordained priest when some small incumbency is offered him, on which he settles down and marries before passing through any of that period of probation and apprenticeship which stands at the threshold of other professions, and which is surely more necessary for a guide of souls than for a lawyer or a doctor. How very much better would it be for the younger clergy, and how very much better for small parishes, if these were thrown together and worked from a common centre by an experienced rector with a staff of curates. It will be difficult, no doubt, to prevail upon parishes to surrender their separate existence. They prefer Home Rule, and had rather be worked inefficiently by their own parson than

well from a neighbouring town. But if ever, under the pressure of necessity and through actual inability to pay incumbents of small parishes, or to find men willing to accept them, the system which we advocate should be introduced, it would be only a return to the idea of the ancient Irish Church. The reader will find in the interesting work of the Baron de Mandat Grancy called *Ches Paddy* (pp. 180 *sq.*) an instructive passage in which he shows that this system is actually worked by the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, and contrasts it with the other system as practised in France, very much to the disadvantage of the latter.

Part of the asceticism which tinged the Church of St. Patrick and St. Columba was due, no doubt, to the tendencies of the Celtic race working in the teachers to incline them this way, and in the flock to require this character in their teachers. Professor Stokes is commendably awake to the influence of national character on Church history; but we do not remember that he connects the extraordinary value which the Irish have displayed for ascetic forms of devotion and life with the disregard of personal comfort in their own habits which is so very conspicuous both for good and evil. The improving landlord in Ireland (would that he were more frequently met with) cannot induce his poor neighbours to care for cleanliness and nourishing fare, as the English of the corresponding class are so ready to do. Let him build them pretty cottages, and give them the opportunity of improving their way of life; it is well if he is not driven to despair by the constancy with which they return in the most literal sense to their wallowing in the mire. He desires earnestly, but, alas! too often in vain, that he could make them care more for themselves, and inspire them with Saxon self-respect and ambition. He sees that their low standard of personal comfort is by no means inconsistent with reckless self-indulgence, and that if they cared more for good clothes and good food they would be less apt to become the slaves of drink.

And a social reformer in Ireland with this experience in his mind might read with very little sympathy Professor Stokes's account of the persistence with which the anchoret has survived among the Irish, the object of universal reverence and appreciation. No wonder, he would say, that a dirty devotee shut up for life in a kind of pig-sty should be the religious ideal of such a race, for he embodies in a pronounced form the degraded plan of life which they prefer for themselves. He would be better content with an English population whose religious ideal consists of a well-fed and well-

housed rector with a wife and family, and who aim at similar comforts for themselves. We have not the least doubt that such a judgment would have its application not only to much of Irish asceticism, but to much of asceticism in general. There is no question that the desire after improvement in worldly comfort is a great means which the Almighty uses in advancing the condition of the race. And yet this is but one side of the picture. We are not of opinion that the well-to-do rector completes the Christian ideal, or that religious devotion and the finer qualities of the soul are likely to be best fostered among the flock who feed in the fat meadows where he guides them. If the Celt, in his idleness and dirt, is the despair of the social reformer, the Celt living content with food which the Saxon counts starvation may surely obtain some respect from a Christian. Mr. Matthew Arnold has taught us how ill the Celtic element can be spared from literature: it is the same with life. The failures of the Irish in the affairs of life are often the excesses of a power to invest earthly wretchedness with an ideal charm, which is in close alliance with Christianity. If the Saxon rightly claims the promise which godliness has of the life which now is, he is less quick to realize the life to come. And the form of religion which suits the one race does not suit the other. The Celt must have an ideal element embodied in his religion, and meeting him in his life, of which the Saxon is quite impatient. He will have it in grotesque forms as well as in noble ones; in the superstitions of Welsh Dissent or Irish Romanism, as well as in the fervour of devotion which meets us among both.

Professor Stokes with great justice notices the persistence of the Celtic character as displayed in the opposition of Irish monasticism to the progress of Roman ideas. This obstinate retention of habits is an undoubted characteristic of the race, and we must make our account to find it in every department, whether of earthly affairs or spiritual. It will show itself in opposition to the interests of the very people who display it, and, what may seem more strange, in opposition to their own perception of what their interest is. The Irish peasant is very quick and shrewd, and you will often find him as well able as you are to perceive the injury which political agitation inflicts on him, and the selfishness of the agitators. But after all he will give his vote (even if he does not fire his gun) on the side of his race and its leaders. When you notice this you will naturally say either that he has deceived you, or that he has been intimidated. Neither will be the truth. He has

not deceived you, but rather been driven by his natural and national self in a direction which his intellectual self cannot justify. And when it is said, as it is so often said, that he has been intimidated, the unanswerable rejoinder is to ask who are the persons that are able to intimidate a whole race, and on what does their power over it rest? The fact is that the national tradition, working by means of the Celtic persistence, gives the intimidation an inward power and a sense of justice and fitness in every Celtic mind, which trebles its rational effect, just as Julius Cæsar could quell a mutiny by a word or two which recalled the soldier's mind from his interests and desires to the habit of discipline which ruled him in spite of himself.

This Celtic persistence of type is the more strange because it is so separable from individual perseverance. When we contrast Englishmen with Irishmen there is no point in the comparison more generally recognized than this, that the one is a dogged and persevering personage, who perhaps catches your idea slowly and adopts it unwillingly, but when once it has got hold of him may be depended on to carry it out; while the other is a volatile being, quick in appreciation indeed, but not to be trusted to act on what he has assented to, or to carry on in permanence what he has begun. Of course, this characterisation admits of many exceptions, and may easily be exaggerated. But in the main we think it true. Yet the quality of perseverance which is thus apportioned in the individuals seems to be reversed in the races, and the Celtic character has ever shown itself more powerful to assimilate the Saxon to itself than he to resist. This is a commonplace in Irish history, and it considerably deducts from the truth of a statement which Lord Salisbury is accustomed to make, and which we suppose can be only half welcome to the class in Irish society which he befriends—that Ireland contains not one nation but two. The principle may have its truth as to some parts of the North of Ireland, where English or Scotch settlers are so thickly massed as to have retained their type. But in the rest of the island the inhabitants of every race, whatever be their descent, religion, or politics, and however they may desire to class themselves, are for good or for evil Irishmen, and will display their national qualities wherever they go. They have breathed the air and touched the soil, and cannot wash out the mark even if they wished. So it was with the saints, as Patrick and Columba; and so it is with the soldiers and statesmen, as Roberts and Dufferin. Born abroad but living:

in Ireland, or born in Ireland but living abroad, they are Irishmen all.

The monastic character of Celtic Christianity came well in to strengthen this national persistence. It was quite natural that Irish monks, in defence of the religious habits which had been handed down to them, should be equal to resisting all the rest of the world. Spiritual work, it is certain, must be done upon fixed principles. The sceptics, the never-satisfied inquirers, may have their place in God's kingdom, and perform a work useful to the Church. But inquiry and doubt give their minds sufficient employment; active Christian work is not for them, unless it be of some kind of which even they cannot doubt the usefulness. The half-convinced Christian may feed the hungry and clothe the naked, but he will never propagate the faith which he himself imperfectly believes among those who do not believe it at all. Somewhere there must be a stop to doubting if we are ever to begin Christian work; somewhere our digging of foundations must cease if ever we are to commence the building. This is a principle of which the Church of Rome has made ample use. We believe that she stops digging the foundation at a very insufficient depth, and that the building is consequently insecure. But we can well understand why her prohibition of doubt has set free so much active energy among her members for the purposes of work.

Now monasticism stereotyped this principle. It enlisted a body of soldiers for whom from the day they accepted the rule there was to be no question of first principles, but only obedience. The rule was the foundation upon which each man was to build; the lever by which he was to uplift himself to heaven, and bear his part in God's work on earth. We can perfectly understand the power of such an institution in times which were adapted to it; and under fitting conditions, and with a rule which can be truly accepted by men and women of the time, there will be room and place for it as long as the Church lasts. But the work which communities under rule are adapted to do will never be the work of change. Their life is organized upon the basis of accepting a received order without appeal. And every day that they live under this order it becomes more and more impressed upon the mind as a kind of law of nature, alteration in which would overturn the first principles of life, and leave one at the mercy of the world. And if Rome has frequently availed herself of the instinctive and unreasoning fear of change, it has no less frequently been used against her. Adherence to the chair of Peter is only her particular way of putting the principle: not the only way.

The whole Eastern Church defends itself against her by the dogged determination not to change: so does Mohammedanism. And even Protestantism itself, through the principle of inquiry, might seem to be of its essence, yet organizes itself in a generation or two into a form in which inquiry is as much forbidden as in Rome itself.

We need not, therefore, be at all surprised at the extreme and sometimes unreasoning resistance of Irish monasticism to the Roman habits and claims. This way of celebrating mass; this form of tonsure; this time of keeping Easter, was their rule. It was what they had accepted as part of the principles of their spiritual life. On this basis, and in this form, the founders of their society had converted whole races, and carried the Gospel through half Europe. Tell them not that the points are not of supreme importance, or that the majority of Christians are against them, or that St. Peter himself condemns them. The very raising of the question whether a point of obedience is great or small, the very attempt to adduce authority in opposition to anything contained in the rule, was something in itself inconsistent with the duty of a good monk. In the spirit of unquestioning obedience had the world with its potentates and its temptations been resisted. In the same power must they resist the claims of ecclesiastical authority itself.

When the Church of Ireland at the present day pretends to be the representative of a church in which the spirit we have been describing worked and fought, it is pretty plain that it ought to aim at displaying something more than mere Protestantism. If, indeed, it is satisfied with a formal and legal succession, it may cheerfully divest itself of all the religious habits of the Church to which it claims to succeed; just as the heir to some noble name is its legal heir, though his habits contradict the whole tradition of his family. But we do not think highly of noble personages who claim their rights without the spirit of their position. We expect them to improve upon the ancestral tradition; but they must not turn democrats or sacrifice the principles which justify the existence of their own order. And so, if the Irish Church is pleased to become a merely Protestant body, a self-constituted aggregate of persons who have happened to adopt similar opinions each to the other; it may indeed by formal episcopal succession and local habitation represent the Church of Patrick and Columba. But the less it says about a parentage which condemns its mental habits the better.

As Professor Stokes truly remarks, the Church of Patrick

and Columba was neither Roman nor Protestant. It gave the best proof that it was not Roman by excluding and resisting Rome for more centuries than the succeeding ones during which Rome reigned with undisputed sway. But this separation from Rome was maintained, not upon Protestant principles (except so far as any protest must be protestant), but upon Catholic. It called to its aid, not the bare rights of private judgment, not the individual struggle for liberty, or the simple testimony of Scripture explained by reason, or the natural restlessness under ancient laws and customs—but the authority of tradition, the sacredness of primitive habit, the claim of an ancient community to bind its members and restrain their preferences, the divine will that individual devotion is best fostered when it runs in channels cut for it from of old, and regulates its daily course in a spirit of constant reverence for the prescriptions of a divinely-founded Church. These are the principles on which the Irish Church was based. She held them, it may be, in a simpler and ruder form than that which our age requires. But Irish Protestantism, as such, holds them in no form at all, and has so much the less right to call itself the heir of the ancient Church of its country.

Professor Stokes enumerates in his preface certain departments of his subject which he has been obliged to omit. Of these we can well understand that Celtic art should remain for treatment by specialists; but we trust that the Professor may include in the new edition, which is sure to be called for, a chapter upon St. Brigid and the ministry of women in the early Irish Church. It is a subject of such great importance, both in a social and religious view of Celtic society, that the picture is incomplete without it. We cannot think that a publisher, who desires, in Dr. Stokes's words, 'a history which will interest the public,' could possibly wish on that ground the omission of a theme so exceedingly attractive as that of woman's work. Nor could any part of the field of view be named in which the present Church of Ireland fails more entirely to reproduce the methods of its ancient predecessor, or is in more urgent need of awakening and instruction, than in that which relates to female ministration. In this great department, so intimately concerning the sex which furnishes its most earnest adherents, and filling so large a space in every primitive church system, the Celtic among the rest, the reformed Church of Ireland has as yet done nothing whatever. No ecclesiastical organization of woman's ministry exists in her at all.

The subject of liturgies is another which Professor Stokes has omitted. The want, as he himself reminds us, is supplied in a very large degree by the works of Mr. Warren and by the learned paper upon the Stowe missal read by Dr. McCarthy before the Royal Irish Academy. But we think the Professor might have given us an interesting chapter on the point. It is true that much remains to be discovered in the matter of liturgies; still, the information in his hands has enabled Dr. Stokes to convince himself that the Irish and Gallican uses of the fifth century were identical, a conclusion in which we entirely concur. This once granted, the work of Mabillon gives us a great amount of information upon the early Gallican liturgies, which we are safe in applying to the earliest Irish use, however difficult it may be for us to ascertain the exact period at which it gave way to the Roman, or in what regions the substitution obtained.¹ A prominent feature of this ancient form of liturgy was the extensive use made of Holy Scripture, since a lesson from the Old Testament was included as well as the epistle and gospel; and the selection of this Old Testament portion for the various days of the Christian year was so careful and intelligent as to give us a very high conception of the Scripture knowledge of those who made it, and of the instruction it was fitted to convey to the people. The *Contestatio* (called in the Mosarabic form *Illatio*) was a lengthened memorial in the form of a thanksgiving of the saint whose day was celebrated. And there is in many of the so-called 'collects after the mystery' in the old Gallican form clear indication of Eastern influence in the shape of an invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the elements, as in the following instance:—

'May the eternal and co-operative Paraclete descend, O Lord, on these sacrifices of Thy benediction, that we may receive the oblation which we have offered to Thee of Thy fructifying earth by a heavenly transmutation through Thy sanctifying power, that the bread being translated into the Body and the wine into the Blood that may avail by merits which we have offered for our sins.'

These ancient records of the Eucharistic services of the primitive Irish Church before the jejune forms of the Roman missal were forced upon it would have afforded rich materials for a Catholic revision of the Prayer-Book on the part of the Disestablished Church of Ireland, had Catholic principles

¹ The Stowe Missal exhibits in the various alterations which appear on the face of the MS. a very curious record of the change from the Gallican to the Roman form. See Dr. McCarthy, *Trans. R.I.A.* 1886, p. 150.

been in the mind of that portion of her members who forced the question of revision upon her ; and no single provision in the arrangement of her worship could be named which would have involved a more effective protest against Rome than a return to the intense spirituality and intelligent devotion of the early Eucharistic forms. Perhaps in the distant future a time may come when learning and breadth of mind shall sufficiently prevail to render a revision of the Prayer-Book on true principles a possibility in Ireland.

Professor Stokes holds out to us the hope in the course of time of a sequel to his present volume which shall furnish the history of Ireland and its Church from the English Conquest to the Reformation. The sooner he is able to perform his promise the better pleased shall we be. Meanwhile, to turn from his volume to that of Dr. Ball is like reading one of those plays, such as *The Winter's Tale*, in which a long period is supposed to elapse between the acts. Time, the chorus, should come forward and speak a prologue in which the intervening events should be epitomized. And, indeed, the change which the intervening period has brought with it is not too great for dramatic propriety to leave unrepresented on the stage. To skip in English history the period from the Norman Conquest to the Tudors would be ridiculous. It would not be possible to trace the connexion between the scene on which the curtain had descended and that on which it rose. For the period thus omitted includes a constant progress, social and political, which changed the face of the land and the condition of its people. Two races left at enmity when the conquest was completed have been so thoroughly welded together that the qualities of each have passed into the national character, and form the complement each of the other. The people have been drilled and schooled into obedience to the law by a stern and rigid rule ; and when the lesson of obedience has been well learnt, they have begun by a movement spreading gradually downwards through the nobles to the commons to claim a share of self-government, and the first germs of English political liberty are sown. The peace and order of the land, though often disturbed, has been constant enough to encourage quiet industry and impress upon the general mind the habit of labour and the trust in its results. And the wars of the kingdom, though bloody and destructive, have not been waged for nothing, but have had their fruits, either in increasing the national territory or strengthening the national institutions, or at the least in fostering the national pride and self-confidence.

No such advance has taken place within the corresponding period in Ireland. The act of the drama which it has fallen to Professor Stokes to write, traces the independent Irish Church from its beginning to its fall, and the corresponding history of the tribal form of social and political existence. He has shown us how the ecclesiastical instincts of the Irish missionaries organized their work in the form best adapted to the condition of the people with whom they had to deal, and connected their establishment with the tribal centres ; while their bishops, instead of being territorial governors, were officials attached to these communities for the performance of the ecclesiastical functions belonging to their order. He has described to us the resistance which this ancient ecclesiastical system made to the more efficient one of which papal Rome was the centre, just as pagan Rome had been the propagator of political order through the world. At the same time the tribal system has struggled to develop itself into a kingdom, has seemed under Brian Boru to succeed, and fallen back into its old disunion after his death. Whether the Celtic race if left to itself would ever have united and constituted itself may be doubted. It is not every race that has proved able to make itself a nation. Greece reached as far as the constitution of the city, but there stopped. But whatever the innate capacities of the Celts for political self-formation, and whatever assistance might have been given them in the process by the diocesan and provincial form of ecclesiastical order established among them we cannot tell, for their self-development was rudely interfered with from without and deprived for ever of the opportunity of showing whether they could have effected any better progress towards order in the future than they had during the past. But we must not exaggerate the influence of the English conquest in hindering Irish political growth. For many centuries, during which Britain was a prey to constant wars and invasions on the part of Romans and Saxons, Ireland was left perfectly undisturbed by foreign foes. During those centuries, it might be plausibly urged, the Celtic race had its chance of self-organization—a better chance than any other people in Europe enjoyed, for even conquering Rome did not touch it. It did something. It reached that development of art and civilization which we know. But it did not constitute itself ; and it must not complain that it has never had a chance, nor forget those ages of unexampled independence, because its later centuries have been so miserably disturbed. Its conquest was rather

the punishment for not having used its opportunities of self-constitution than the denial of such opportunities to it. Be this as it may, from the time that the Northmen formed their settlements in Ireland the Celtic race has never ceased to see within the land which it counted, and still counts, its own, a foreign race better armed, better disciplined, better ruled, better reinforced from without, and if not braver, more resolute and industrious and ambitious than itself. And throughout this whole period the foreign immigrant, while strong enough to interfere constantly with Celtic independence, to form settlements which could not be dislodged, and to maintain constant war and disturbance over a far wider area than that in which he could make order and peace, has never been strong enough, or at least sufficiently put forth his strength, to conquer the whole land, as the Romans conquered Gaul or Spain, or even as the Normans conquered England. There is, therefore, no such exceeding difference between the state of things at which Professor Stokes closes his volume and that on which Dr. Ball opens.

If we might recur to our theatrical illustration, we should say that the curtain drops upon an effective tableau. In the centre stands the papal legate, who confers the pall as the sign of Roman subjection upon the Irish archbishops. Around him are ranged both the Danish and the Irish warriors. But the Danes stand the closer to him as the earlier and stronger friends of papal dominion, who joined hands through Canterbury with Rome when the rest of Ireland was still independent.

In what are the conditions changed when we pass over four centuries to the eve of the Reformation? The Danes are indeed no longer there under that name. But it is only the difference between Northmen and Normans, for the ruling race which is centred in Danish Dublin is of the same blood and the same character as the founders of the city. Only, the Normans have brought their Saxon subjects with them—willing subjects now and as sharply distinguished as their masters from the Irish race, the enemy of both. The union so happily made between Norman and Saxon has never been effected between English and Celts. The English pale is larger than the Danish bounds, but fails as really as the Danish had done to cover the whole island or even to occupy the fringe of mountains round the coast in which the native race finds its refuge and stronghold. Like the Danish, the Norman power is in strict alliance with Rome. Under the authority of Rome it made its invasion to bring the Irish into

better Roman obedience and the habits of life which Rome approves. What, then, has Rome been doing by means of that authority of hers, which she established upon the ruins of Irish independence? This is a difficult question to answer in detail. What the efficiency of the parochial and episcopal system was, and in what degree the people were attached to the faith, we have, so far as we know, but little to tell us. But we are sadly assured that neither the ecclesiastical nor the civil influences to which the Irish have been subjected have advanced their civilization or their happiness beyond the point which had been attained seven or eight centuries before. For all that we can see, they are at the period we speak of less organized in political constitution, less refined in manners and mode of life, and less obedient to law. A sad verdict; and whether less creditable to themselves, or to the government which has taken on itself to rule them, we shall not attempt to decide. But so we arrive at the period of the Reformation: a term of curious import in Irish history, since it denotes there a change due to the secular power, and in no wise to the people who were supposed to need to be reformed.

It was the thought of those great minds of mediæval Europe, who speak to us through the verse of Dante, that God had provided distinct and separate organizations for the maintenance of sacred and secular dominion in the world. The first to infringe the ordinance were the popes. We know with what intense earnestness the poet resisted the papal ambition, which by claiming both kingdoms for its own degraded its sacred mission while seeming to exalt it into the greatest secular power in Europe. The forces by which it maintained itself did indeed pretend to be religious, and in its vast dominion much of spiritual religion existed. But its pomp and pride of place, the weapon of persecution which it wielded, the earthliness of the objects for which it strove, and the formal and mercenary methods by which its promised benefits could be secured: all these characteristics of the papal monarchy caused it to assume at last a thoroughly secular aspect. In the times immediately preceding the Reformation it was distinguished from earthly monarchies not by greater spirituality, but by the more formidable nature of its weapons of offence. And if in Europe at large the Mediæval Church became more and more secular with time, it was not Ireland which knew it in a spiritual form. The English had invaded Ireland by a donation of the island from the Pope as its pretended secular owner; nor had the Papacy ever assumed a

more sympathetic or a more religious attitude towards the Irish race than this first step in their relations indicated.

The secularity of the framework of mediæval religion explains and very largely excuses the Erastianism which tinged the Reformation, and with which in England and Ireland it has been so constantly reproached. If the papal system had been spiritual or intellectual in its nature and its power; if it had fought its battles by appeals to reason and feeling, the reformers would be justly blamed for calling in the earthly prince with his armies and his laws to oppose it. But without doubting the duty of reason and faith to defy those that kill the body, they could not in the circumstances of the Reformation time secure a fair stage for themselves against a power which scrupled not to use on the vastest scale the forces of this world to suppress them. The secular prince was the only one who could meet the Papacy on its own chosen ground of force and violence. No wonder that the reformers called in his aid; we cannot conceive how they could have maintained themselves without it. They did not appeal to a secular power against a spiritual so much as set up one secular power against another.

But when the secular prince undertook to head his subjects in a revolt against the Papacy, and to proclaim himself their leader in religion as well as in life, he did so under great disadvantages. Though the Papacy was tyrannical and worldly, yet the system of which it was the head was linked by an infinite number of bonds to the habits and feelings of the people. It had grown and strengthened itself by means of popular religious feelings, some of them praiseworthy and some of them superstitious. Its worship was such as popular tendencies had made it, and what was prescribed or imposed was that which the experience of centuries had proved to be adapted to the hopes, fears, and desires of the people at large. How could the secular prince, when he assumed the seat from which he had thrust the Pope, expect to devise a system which should enlist the hearts and minds of the people as widely as that which was overthrown? He had to solve a difficult problem indeed. It was not merely how to destroy an ancient system by a war of negation and opposition, but how to replace it. Laws of belief and worship might indeed be devised, and obedience to them be compelled. But religion is a matter which concerns the intellect and the feelings, the affections and moral sympathies of a people, and in which external compulsion and external obedience are insufficient. And the problem had to be solved by the aid of counsellors

who, if they were worldly, were therefore totally unfit to deal with a religious difficulty, and if they were religious were apt to be prejudiced in favour of peculiar views, and out of sympathy with the mass of the people.

When we consider what the difficulties of the situation were, our wonder is that they should have been so successfully solved by English statesmen and reformers as they were. Yet in that case many circumstances came to aid. The preaching of English reformers both before the Reformation and during its progress had had wide effects; the pride of a strong kingdom had been peculiarly offended by the pretensions of the Papacy, and had shown unwillingness to submit by many a sign during centuries past; the new system of worship was devised in the midst of the English people, with due regard to their habits and preferences; the kingly power was at its highest, and England was in complete sympathy with its monarchy; the realistic tendencies of the English mind so tinged its religion that it did not see the same contradiction in taking a king for its leader in sacred matters as other nations might have done, and it was confirmed in this view by the splendid developments of genius and power which followed upon the experiment. And yet, after all, the Church of England since the Reformation, grand though its achievements be, has never succeeded in enlisting the whole body of the people to the same degree as its mediæval predecessor.

But in Ireland, so far as regards the Celtic people, not one of these helps to the Reformation had any existence at all. There was no special grudge or cause of offence in the Irish mind against the Papacy, except that which consisted in its friendship for England, and this was effectually wiped out when it became England's bitterest foe. The Reformation worship was devised without the smallest sympathy for the religious wants and desires of a Celtic people, and proved, as might be expected, utterly unfit to attract them. There had been no preliminary reformation movement whatever in Ireland. The Irish people, instead of feeling any friendship for the English government such as might induce them to follow its lead, were disposed by the experience of centuries to expect that all changes would have the object of organizing their enemies against them rather than that of conciliating them or saving their souls. And if, as was doubtless the case, the Irish were too barbarous to frame any formal judgment on the Reformation movement, these were the views which they had good reason to take of it; the judgments which lay in germ and undeveloped in their quick, though

ill-informed, intelligence. Dr. Ball, as many another writer before him, records the monstrous direction that Irish clergy unable to read the new Prayer-Book in English should read it in Latin. But in truth this was but one indication of the complete want of sympathy with the Celtic race which guided the Irish Reformation. Had this particular point been otherwise ruled, we have very little doubt that the Irish would have been alienated from the Reformation by the other accompaniments which surrounded it. And even if the interval before the Pope began to interfere actively against it had been longer than was actually the case, he would have found no difficulty at any period in rousing the Celtic race in opposition to a system so little fitted to attract it, and introduced by means and men unlikely to recommend any change to its acceptance.

To wish that it had been otherwise is vain, for it is to wish that the whole relations of England and Ireland had been different from what they were; that Celts had been tractable, and Saxons sympathetic. It could not be. And yet (if our readers will bear with us in our folly) it would not seem so impossible to imagine that the Reformation which professed to be, and in some measure actually was, a return to vital Christianity, should have admonished politicians of their neglected duties to the Irish race rather than subjected itself to the worldly purposes of statecraft. A few Irish prelates and divines have from time to time taken this tone, and what a few did too late it is possible to imagine all doing in time. Had the reformed religion been presented to the Irish in a shape adapted to their acceptance there must, indeed, have been some surrender in points that many have deemed important. There must have been much more of external form and ritual. The priest must have been recognized as a real priest and not merely as a preacher. Death must not have been thought to sever the departed from our prayers. The great testimony of the Divine in human life which the Real Presence provides must not have been smothered in intellectual theory. The impulses of an excitable and imaginative people, living much in externals, must not have been reduced to the standard of devotion which sufficed for a reasoning race. And this would have implied what would have appeared to some an abatement of the full demands of reformation; to us, perhaps, they would have seemed enrichments of the Church which had far better have been retained for the sake of human nature at large and in obedience to the Gospel. But even if the concession had involved some loss, how

great would have been the gain ! The Church would have had for her sphere of work a whole nation instead of a fragment of a nation. She would have been in contact with millions of souls sorely in want of her guidance instead of handing them over to those whom she deems blind guides. And any spiritual good she could have done among them would have been repaid by delivering her from the fatal possession of too much wealth and prosperity, while the multitude who ought to have been her children endured penury and persecution. She would have remained free from the infection of party spirit and race enmity. And not in Ireland alone would these benefits to the Reformed Church have come ; even the Church of England itself, as head of the Anglican communion, would have incalculably gained by including within its bounds another race besides the Anglo-Saxon. The insularity and narrowness with which she has been charged would have been broken through, her worship would not have been all of one pattern, nor her laws and customs framed to suit one national temper. She would have been more Catholic than she has ever been, and thereby better fitted for the work of missions among various races which has so wonderfully fallen to her lot.

But we shall be told that if the Church had made any advances of this sort towards the Irish, she would have lost the affections of Protestantism in the same ratio as that in which she gained the native race.

We reply that the dream we are dreaming includes the imagination that the English settlers in Ireland should care less for Protestantism than for Christianity. Indeed, in the case supposed, all Ireland would have been Protestant, or none of it Protestant, whichever way you choose to put it.

But we shall be told that the native race would never have accepted any religion, even were it that of Rome itself, which did not take its side in the political and social contest which it had to wage with the usurpers of its fields.

This is, perhaps, true, and may explain the present attitude of the Church of Rome in Ireland. She believes, and with reason, that if she admonished the Irish of their duty to the landlord and the law they might withdraw their affections from her. And she follows the popular impulses instead of guiding them. We see and blame her moral defects ; but it is scarcely for us who have missed our hold of the people altogether to criticize her very sharply. She is in power ; she has the spiritual constituencies. We are in Ireland only an

opposition ; yet an opposition may have its functions even though unable to become a ministry.

Our limits do not permit us to follow Dr. Ball into the period subsequent to disestablishment. And, in truth, we do not consider this the most satisfactory portion of his work. Perhaps it is because the contests in the Church of Ireland which followed upon disestablishment are fresh in our minds that the bare record of the statutes passed by the synod appear to us so lifeless a record of a history, most of which indeed had better be permitted to die, but which still conveys some useful lessons. For then the stored-up Puritanism of many generations of Protestant supremacy attempted to reconstruct a branch of the Catholic Church, and only succeeded in proving in the face of the world how ill fitted it was for any such task. And surely Dr. Ball is wrong in representing the Oxford movement as utterly without influence in Ireland. That its influence was not widely extended we allow ; would that we could deny it. But it enlisted some remarkable men even in Ireland, not to mention the Irish men and Irish women who helped the Church movement in England itself. Dr. Ball has named among the writers of Ireland the lamented Archer Butler, a decided Churchman, who, had he lived, would have played an important part. He might also have mentioned the little knot of accomplished men who surrounded the late Lord Dunraven, and whose secession to Rome did sore harm to the cause of Irish churchmanship ; while of those who remained staunch there were among others Todd, Boyton, the Woodwards, and the patriarch of Irish Churchmen, Dr. Maturin, who has, amid universal respect and regret, departed to his rest in this very year, having testified for half a century to unsympathizing ears, and lived to see his principles progressing with a measure of success which is, at all events, greater than he could ever have expected in his earlier days.

How far the Irish Church has it in her power to repair any of the neglects and heal any of the wounds of past ages it is not for any of us to say. Let her work in faith, leaving the issue to God. For many a year to come her best way of doing good to the nation at large will be to improve herself ; so that the aspect she presents to the people may not be that of a sect but of a church. Let her not spend her time in protesting ; let her eschew new inventions in doctrine and devotion ; let her teaching be positive and Catholic, her worship constant and as beautiful as she can make it, her attitude towards all political movements and interests impartial and dignified, her witness to God's moral law unbiassed by favour

or interest, her learning genuine and superior to the passing circumstances of the time. And we must in fairness pronounce that the authors now before us have written as men who felt that such an attitude became their Church, and were determined to assist her in assuming it.

ART. IX.—FIFTY YEARS OF ENGLISH ART.

1. *Victorian Fine Art.* By WALTER ARMSTRONG. *Art Journal*, Jubilee Number. (London, 1887.)
2. *Fifty Years of British Art, as illustrated by the Pictures and Drawings in the Manchester Royal Jubilee Exhibition*, 1887. By J. E. HODGSON, R.A., Professor of Painting in the Royal Academy. (London, 1887.)
3. *The English School of Painting.* By ERNEST CHESNEAU. Translated by L. N. ETHERINGTON, with a Preface by Professor RUSKIN. (London, 1885.)

It was a happy inspiration which prompted the citizens of Manchester to celebrate the Queen's Jubilee by an Exhibition which should illustrate the progress of Art and Science during her fifty years' reign. Nowhere in England do we find Art cultivated and artists encouraged in a more enlightened and understanding spirit than in this great city, in itself one of the most remarkable products of the present century. Not only has the Corporation been distinguished for its liberal purchase of the masterpieces of contemporary art, but for some years past one of our best living painters has been employed to decorate the Town Hall of Manchester with a series of frescoes illustrating the civic history. It was, therefore, only natural that special attention should be devoted to the Fine Arts department of the Manchester Jubilee Exhibition, and the most complete success has attended the exertions of the committee to whom this section was entrusted. Perhaps never before has so thoroughly representative a collection of the works of art belonging to any period been brought together as this one of the paintings and drawings of the Victorian age at Manchester.

The opportunity was a splendid one for the student, who could thus cast his eyes backward over the last fifty years,

and compare the works of men whose now half-forgotten names cast lustre on the early days of the Queen's reign with the latest achievements of living painters, which were the boast of last year's Academy. Each successive phase of art, every movement which has taken place during this memorable period, was here fully represented. The works of masters who have stood apart from the crowd, and painted in silence and solitude, were seen here as well as those of the popular favourites with which we are all familiar. For the first time pictures by Dante Rossetti and Madox Brown hung side by side with works by Leighton and Millais, by Orchardson and Tadéma, and the respective merits and distinguishing tendencies of their painters were clearly brought to light.

An exhibition so varied and so admirably arranged, so complete and representative in its character, could not fail to be profoundly interesting. Many were the reflections it suggested, many the problems which it forced upon our consideration. Does Art progress to-day? we ask ourselves. Has it reached a higher level than it had when Queen Victoria ascended the throne? Do we see here any advance in painting which at all corresponds to the marvellous development of science and material prosperity which England has witnessed during these last fifty years? Above all, does the art we see here worthily represent the culture and learning, the passions and aspirations of this great Victorian age?

Let us take a rapid glance at the chief features of the fifty years' art which is here brought before us, and, with the help of the critics whose writings stand at the head of the page, see how we can best answer questions such as those which the Manchester Exhibition naturally suggested. The critical essay on Victorian Fine Art which heads our list appeared in the Jubilee number of the *Art Journal*, and is the work of Mr. Walter Armstrong, a writer already known to most of our readers by his papers on the National Gallery, which originally appeared in the *Guardian*. In these, as in other contributions to periodical literature, Mr. Armstrong has proved himself a competent critic, and his judgments cannot fail to command respect even where we may differ from his conclusions. His present sketch of Victorian art is powerful and comprehensive, and he gives a lucid and interesting account of the different schools or movements into which the painting of this period may be divided. Here and there, it seems to us, his keen appreciation of technical merits is apt to blind his eyes to higher excellence, and while he invariably endeavours to be fair in his criticism it is plain

that he has but little sympathy with those contemporary masters who devote themselves to the higher forms of imaginative art. The 'painted poetry' of Rossetti, of Watts, or of Holman Hunt has apparently but few attractions for him, and in dwelling on technical faults and defects of their work he is inclined to forget the poetic intention and nobleness of aim that inspired them. In the same way the art of Orchardson and Tadema is more congenial to him than that of Holman Hunt or Burne Jones. He ranks Millais and Frank Holl above Watts as portrait painters, writes with greater sympathy of the Scotch landscape painters than of Frederick Walker and his followers, and leaves out all mention of George Mason, whose fine group of works attracted general attention at Manchester.

The pamphlet in which the Professor of Painting in the Royal Academy discourses of *Fifty Years of British Art*, as illustrated by the Pictures and Drawings of the Manchester Exhibition, offers a curious contrast to Mr. Armstrong's brief but able and well-written summary of *Victorian Art*. To judge from this specimen of his powers, Mr. Hodgson is not largely gifted with the critical faculty. He leaves to others the invidious game of finding fault, and distributes his praises right and left with lavish hand. He finds Long's Babylonian Marriage Market 'delicious,' and pronounces Goodall to be one of the ablest and Joseph Clark one of the most consummate of living artists. Rossetti alone he frankly confesses is altogether beyond him; he tells us 'it is brain-splitting work to study him,' and that 'his drawings fatigue the mind and convey no meaning' (p. 46). Mr. Hodgson's notes on the pictures contained in the thirteen galleries at Manchester may be of use to visitors to the Exhibition, but on the whole we are inclined to think the parts of his book likely to prove the most valuable are those portions in which he gives his personal recollections of artists, or his reminiscences of the stir caused in artistic circles, and what he calls 'the topsyturveyism of old associations' which he found in the art world on his return to England after some years' absence in 1852.

If the last-named book is decidedly tinged with the flavour of self-congratulation common to much of our Jubilee literature, M. Chesneau's history of English painting will serve as a wholesome corrective in this respect. It is both useful and interesting to hear English art and artists judged from a foreign point of view, 'to see ourselves as others see us,' and in justice to the French critic it must be said that he has

devoted much time to the study of that side of English painting which is in direct opposition to French views of art, and has endeavoured with praiseworthy zeal and patience to enter into the meaning of English pictures and understand the aims that have inspired our finest national art. The book is, in fact, to quote the words of the preface with which Mr. Ruskin has honoured M. Chesneau's volume, 'a piece of entirely candid, intimately searching, and delicately intelligent French criticism.'

Faults it undoubtedly has, as Mr. Ruskin also points out. The author is 'too ready to forgive the transgressions of minor genius, and to waste his own and the reader's time in the search for beauties of small account and the descriptions of accidental and evanescent fancy.'¹ He gives elaborate descriptions of pictures by such little-known pre-Raphaelites as Arthur Hughes and W. H. Fisk, and devotes five or six pages to Sir Noel Paton, while he has scarcely one to give to Walker or Rossetti. The achievements of several of our most illustrious masters have to be crowded into a single paragraph for want of space; others, such as W. B. Richmond and Dyce, are not mentioned at all; and not a word is said of our modern school of portrait painting, one of the most remarkable developments of Victorian art. But, putting aside this want of proportion, which makes itself felt throughout M. Chesneau's work, his acute perception and the soundness and independence of his judgments render his book a valuable one and deserve the high praise which it has received from Mr. Ruskin.

The French critic divides the history of English painting into two periods, and dates the rise of the modern school from the year 1850—that is to say, the moment of the pre-Raphaelite revolt. Up to this time he considers painting in England—with the exception of landscape art—to have been clever indeed, and at times original, but altogether wanting in genius. And certainly it must be confessed that during the early years of the Queen's reign oil painting sank to a very low ebb. Constable had died in 1837, and although Turner lived till 1851 his best work was done. Most of the other painters whose names stood highest in public opinion, Etty and Stanfield, Mulready and Leslie, belonged to what M. Chesneau calls our '*ancienne école*,' and were survivals from the Georgian age. Their ideals were those of another day, and, with the exception of Stanfield, whose '*Tilbury Fort*,'

¹ Preface, p. x.

the best example of his style at Manchester, was exhibited in 1844, they had already painted the pictures which made their reputation, and were content with repeating former conceptions with more or less variety. Such artists as Maclise, C. W. Cope, and E. M. Ward, who lived until comparatively recent years, served but to prolong the old style of historical genre painting in a feeble manner, and, except in one or two rare instances, did not rise above mediocrity. A far more gifted master, William Dyce, whose best easel pictures are collected in the present Exhibition, was forced to give up his profession for years for want of patronage, and when he at length found a fair field for his powers in the frescoes of Westminster Palace it was too late in the day for him to attain the high place his genius might have won. The one branch of painting which flourished in this stagnant condition of art was water colour, and those who saw the splendid collection of drawings brought together in the three galleries devoted to water colours at Manchester had ample opportunity of seeing the high excellence which this peculiarly English form of art reached in the first years of Queen Victoria's reign.

Wonderful indeed in its skill and variety was the display of talent which met us there. Eastern scenes, Moorish and Egyptian streets and markets, by John Lewis and William Müller; ruined abbeys and cathedral portals, drawn with delicate grace and lightness by Prout and Roberts, hung side by side with ripening harvest fields and gorgeous sunsets by Samuel Palmer and John Linnell. There, too, were Arcadian landscapes by Barret and De Wint, breezy downs by Copley Fielding, and fruit and flower pieces by William Hunt in which ripe plums, quinces, and apples glow with colours as luscious, and under a sunlight as bright, as any now growing in our English orchards. And there, too, finer still in colour and poetic charm, were the well-known Turners, the two 'Righis,' one misty blue, the other flushed with rose-red sunset hues, prominent among them; and, finest of all, the noble group of David Cox's landscapes, including 'Beeston Castle' and the 'Welsh Funeral,' two splendid specimens of the mountain scenery he loved best and those effects of struggling clouds and sunshine which he loved to paint. Fourteen of his finest oil paintings, amongst others the 'Sky-lark,' 'Rhyl Sands,' and 'Bettwys Churchyard,' were grouped together in another gallery, so that the Manchester Exhibition may fairly claim to have contained the best collection of David Cox's works that has ever been brought together. For,

although born as far back in the last century as 1783, David Cox only died in 1859, and it was in the last twenty years of his life that he developed his greatest powers and strongest individuality, so that he belongs of right to the painters of the Victorian age, among whom he takes high place. Mr. Armstrong goes so far as to say that in point of pure art he excelled Turner. 'No finer art,' he goes on to say, 'than that of Cox at his best exists. It has the poetry of Corot without his mannerism, the truth of Constable without his want of style' (p. 167).

Certainly no one has painted the fleeting effects of our changeable English weather, the special beauty of our English scenery, the showery skies and windy hillside, the green meadows and hedgerows, the yellow cornfields and far blue plains, with greater faithfulness and more genuine delight in his task; and it is because these familiar sights and scenes appeal to us all that his work has met with so wide a response and his influence has been so largely felt by succeeding generations of artists.

It is singular that at a moment when so much true poetic feeling was to be found among our water-colour artists a more and more prosaic spirit seemed to pervade the art of oil painting. No subject was held too commonplace or trivial to be represented as long as it was treated after the usual conventional fashion and lacquered over with a thin gloss of sentiment. Thus it came to pass that even bustling stations and crowded racecourses were considered appropriate pictorial themes, and Frith made his reputation by his 'Derby Day' and 'Railway Station,' which M. Chesneau calls, not without reason, 'the worst painting that can be imagined.' The one artist who stood higher still than Frith in popular estimation was Landseer, who was knighted in 1850 by the Queen, and whose career, from the time when, as yet a boy, he exhibited his first picture in the Royal Academy until his death in 1873, was one long course of easily won successes. In spite of his many defects as an artist, in spite of what Mr. Hunt justly calls 'the pomatumy texture of his painting, the absence of firm bone beneath the skins, and general melting away of every form into shapeless cloud,' his popularity is still great at the present time, and it is a curious fact that one of his works, 'The Spearing of the Otter,' was insured for the enormous sum of 7,500*l.*, the highest price set upon any picture in the Manchester Exhibition. Probably the chief secret of his extraordinary success is owing to what M. Chesneau calls his clever trick of giving animals a human expression, a look

of intelligence which does not belong to them. Both Landseer and Frith were among the masters whose works were exhibited in Paris in the year 1855, when for the first time English pictures attracted considerable attention in French circles. But in that same Exhibition of the Avenue Montaigne there were some paintings of a new and wholly different character from anything that had yet been seen in Victorian art, the work of a little band of young men who had joined together in the noble but visionary dream of regenerating art by their teaching and practice. These pictures were first and foremost : Holman Hunt's 'Light of the World,' and three others by Millais, 'Ophelia,' 'The Dove's Return to the Ark,' and 'The Order of Release.' Although these works were directly opposed to French views of art in their mode of treatment, their singularity and originality could not fail to command attention, and M. Chesneau describes amusingly the mingled feelings of aversion and fascination with which they were regarded by his countrymen, sentiments which were by no means confined to the Parisian world.

Here was an art which formed a startling contrast to its surroundings, which had nothing in common with the humorous style of genre painting or the melodramatic representations of historical events then in vogue, an art which was serious, earnest, above all original ; an art in which the minutest details were reproduced with faithful accuracy, but which was all the same inspired by the noblest ideal feeling.

Six years before the Exhibition of the Avenue Montaigne, the two young artists who painted these pictures joined with a third, Dante Rossetti, the master spirit of the little band, and, fired with enthusiasm for the art of the old Italians, bound themselves to work together in the same humble and patient spirit, with the same patient zeal for truth, the same firm faith in the lofty mission of Art. And, since the name of the great Urbinate was made to cover all conventional modern art, they called themselves the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, and signed the letters P. R. B. on their pictures as the mark of their union. Four other young men afterwards joined the brotherhood. Two of them, F. G. Stephens and James Collinson, were painters ; one, Thomas Woolner, was a sculptor and poet, and the seventh, Dante Rossetti's brother, William Michael Rossetti, the distinguished writer and critic, who began his career by expounding the principles and defending the practice of the new school. Several other men who sympathized in the movement, such as William Bell Scott and Ford Madox Brown, have been spoken of as Pre-Raphaelites, but were never mem-

bers of the brotherhood, which remained limited to the original seven.

So in the year 1849 the new movement was set on foot, a movement which Mr. Armstrong, who cannot be accused of undue partiality to the pre-Raphaelites, calls the most important that has ever taken place in English art.

'The times were ripe for it, and, indeed, it was no more than the art branch of the great uprising against lethargy and conventionality, which seems to have been set afoot, in the first instance, by the mechanical progress made in the long peace after Waterloo. The enormous activities, both of brain and body, which had been called out in the struggle against Napoleon were diverted after his fall into more peaceful channels. With such events behind them as the French Revolution, the subjugation of Europe, and our own final triumphs by sea and land, men could not sink back into the sloth of the eighteenth century. They turned their minds to innovation in science, politics, commerce, literature, and religion. Each of these had their revolution, and Art had to have hers. That in some way this last revolution should be founded on error was inevitable, for revolutions are only made by very young men, and art, as a whole, is too complex for their grasp' (p. 170).

What, then, was the aim of the pre-Raphaelites when they set themselves to reform English art?

'Speaking broadly,' continues Mr. Armstrong, 'it may, I think, be said that pre-Raphaelism first enforced the principle that all art that deals with nature must speak through Truth' (p. 171).

And M. Chesneau's explanation is given in much the same terms.

'Its theory is governed by two ideas : a hatred of forms, appearances, and pretences, and a noble, passionate love of Truth' (p. 195).

'Truth, in fact,' to quote a noble passage from Mr. Ruskin, whom M. Chesneau calls the apostle of the movement, 'Truth is the vital power of the whole school ; Truth its armour, Truth its war-word.' And in another place he writes thus of the central idea of the pre-Raphaelite school :

'Its mental power consisted in discerning what was lovely in present nature, and in pure moral emotion concerning it ; its physical power, in an intense veracity of direct realization to the eye. . . . This fraternal link the reader will, if careful in reflection, discover to be an effort to represent, so far as in these youths lay, either the choice or the power, things as they are, or were, or may be, instead of, according to the practice of their instructors and the wishes of the public, things as they are *not*, never were, and never can be ; this effort being founded deeply on a conviction that it is at first better,

and finally more pleasing, for human minds to contemplate things as they are than as they are not. . . . The works of these young men contained, and even nailed to the Academy gates, a kind of Lutheran challenge to the then accepted teachers in all European schools of art ; perhaps a little too shrill and petulant in the tone of it, but yet curiously resolute and steady in its triple fraternity, as of William of Burglen with his " Melchthal " and Stauffacher in the Grütli meadow, not wholly to be scorned by even the knightliest powers of the past.'¹

This protest against bad work and conventional art, this earnest effort to express with the utmost sincerity and completeness the idea which lay at the root of the painter's conception, was the great message these men had to give, and which, so far as it was possible ' in a time of trouble and rebuke,' they gave the world bravely and faithfully. If, in the ardour of youth and the warmth of their indignation against artificial sentiment and conventional rules, they sometimes carried their theories too far and exaggerated the very truths they had to tell, it is rather to be wondered they did not fall into graver mistakes and run into more violent extremes.

This is not the place to tell the fate which befell the movement, the curiosity with which their pictures were at first regarded, and the fierce indignation into which that sentiment soon passed, an indignation, Mr. Ruskin says, ' that caused the youthfully didactic society to be regarded with various degrees of contempt, passing into anger, as of offended personal dignity, and embittered further among certain classes of persons even into a kind of instinctive abhorrence,' until their work was denounced as atrocious and they themselves were brought to the verge of ruin and starvation. The tale of that fight for art has been already told, and a sorrowful record it is of the way in which England, for all her boasted civilization, has treated her greatest artists.

Time has justified the sincerity of their aims and the excellence of their work ; their pictures sell to-day for as many pounds as they asked shillings, and the papers which were loudest in their denunciation pour out eloquent rhapsodies in their praise. Last year witnessed their final triumph at the Graham sale, following as it did on the Millais and Holman Hunt exhibitions, when the finest collection of pre-Raphaelite pictures ever known was on view at Christie's, and all London flocked to see these once despised and abused pictures. And this year the Manchester Exhibition afforded us another proof of the great and permanent influence which the pre-Raphaelite movement has had upon English art. If these men did not

¹ *The Colours of Pre-Raphaelitism.*

convert the world to their ideas they certainly left their mark on their generation, and it is not too much to say that all the finest art of the last thirty years has been largely influenced, where it has not been actually inspired, by their example.

Of the three original pre-Raphaelite painters, Dante Rossetti's art was the most completely represented at Manchester. The number of his works exhibited was small, but they included such characteristic examples as his smaller 'Dante's Dream,' 'Beata Beatrix,' the 'Beloved,' 'Proserpina,' the 'Blessed Damsel,' and the lovely little grey-green picture known as 'Il Ramoscello,' besides several of his finest water-colour drawings. We see him at his best in these subjects, that were inspired by the *Vita Nuova* of Dante, in whose age he seemed as it were to live, and which supplied him with most of his noblest conceptions, whether finished pictures or drawings glowing with colours as rich and jewel-like in radiance as the hues of stained-glass windows or the illuminated missals of mediæval times. Such, for instance, is the fine triptych of Francesca da Rimini. On one side we see the lovers as they were 'nel tempo felice,' and on the other, still clasped in each other's arms, as they are whirled together in the furious blast of hell, while Dante and Virgil stand in the centre, their hands locked fast together in a passion of grief and pity. Such, again, is the meeting of Dante and Beatrice in the flowery meads of Paradise, where she turns suddenly and lifts her veil, and he gazes once more on the adored face—

'Guarda mi ben, ben son, ben son Beatrice'—

and in the background a bright troop of rose-crowned angels come running in behind her, striking their harps for joy. And we see him in those later days of waning powers and weakened intellect, when faults and mannerisms had crept in, and the hard curves of his lips and the livid shadows of his flesh painting had become positively ugly. But all through we feel the intensity of the man's individuality, the power of the imagination which lays its spell upon us and bears us away into an enchanted world of its own, a realm where unknown flowers spring up in the grass and strange sweet music fills the air. There can be no doubt that this poet painter was what Mr. Ruskin calls him, 'the chief intellectual force in the establishment of the modern romantic school in England;' more than this, 'the first on the list of men who have raised and changed the spirit of modern art.'

There is, however, one phase of Rossetti's art which we looked for in vain at Manchester, the drawings—for, alas! he

never worked them into pictures—which deal with the life of our Lord, and more especially the ‘Magdalene at the Feast of Levi’ and the ‘Virgin in the House of St. John.’ This phase of art, which Rossetti touched with that originality of genius which marked all his work, received its fullest development in the hands of Mr. Holman Hunt. Not merely is the life of Christ a reality for him, but, to quote Mr. Ruskin again, it is ‘the one Reality’ before which all other aspects of truth grow pale. Filled, he has told us himself, with an earnest desire to illustrate the greatest of all histories, satisfied in these days of failing hope and faith that the Father of all had not left us, he was seized with the noble ambition ‘to prove, so far as painting could, that Christianity was a living faith, that the fullest realization of its wondrous story cannot unspiritualize it; that followed up, new lessons and fresh interests may present themselves by the teaching of art; it was used to teach, not only to divert, in the days when it was at its highest.’

With this end in view he left home and spent years in Palestine, painting at Jerusalem and Nazareth, and on the desolate shores of the Dead Sea, where close by all was salt and burnt limestone, decaying trees and skeletons of dead animals, and afar the mountains glowed with the brilliancy and preciousness of jewels. This was the scene he chose for his great picture ‘The Scapegoat,’ that most moving of all his works, in which he realizes in a wonderful manner the pathos of the words, ‘All we like sheep have gone astray, we have turned every one to his own way, and the Lord hath laid on Him the iniquity of us all.’ The small replica of this painting, formerly in the Graham collection, was exhibited at Manchester, as well as that most serenely beautiful of summer landscapes ‘Strayed Sheep’ and the large ‘Shadow of Death,’ which excited the interest of the working men in the North of England in so remarkable a manner, and is now, we rejoice to see, the property of the city of Manchester. Mr. Hunt still holds his place apart, and he remains true to his first principles. His ‘Triumph of the Innocents’ has shown us in recent years that his convictions are as firm, his imagination as powerful, his perseverance as indomitable as ever. But he can no longer sign himself P. R. B., he tells us, for he has no brother left. Upon one ‘the slumber has fallen in untimely season,’ and the other has long ago given up the principles and changed the practice of his youth.

The large and well-selected group of Sir John Millais’s works did not include any of his earliest and strictly pre-

Raphaelite paintings, and it is to be regretted that the loan of his 'Lorenzo and Isabella,' which Mr. Hunt justly calls 'the most wonderful work that any youth still under twenty years of age ever did in the world,' could not be procured. On the other hand, his middle period was represented by one of his most powerful pictures, 'The Vale of Rest.' The subject represented is said to have been seen by the painter when traveling in France. A nun meditates by an open grave which a lay sister is digging within the bounds of a convent garden, while the last rays of the sun fade away behind the dark cypresses and the dying day seems to tell of the night coming, when no man shall work. Here the influence of old ideas is still present, the fire of the old enthusiasm is not yet spent. A few more years and the ardent companion of Rossetti and Hunt will be content to paint such commonplace subjects as 'Sleeping and Waking,' 'Yes or No,' 'Hearts are Trumps.'

Several of the fine portraits for which his latest period will be chiefly memorable are also to be seen here, among them one of the very finest which he has ever executed, the Mr. Gladstone of 1879.

One striking feature of the Manchester Exhibition was the opportunity which it afforded of studying the works of Mr. Ford Madox Brown, whose 'considerable reputation,' Mr. Armstrong observes, 'has grown up almost entirely without the aid of societies or exhibitions' (p. 170).

Although not actually a pre-Raphaelite, Madox Brown was closely associated with the members of the brotherhood, and helped Rossetti with his teaching, and Hunt with his sympathy and advice, from the first. His own pictures are decidedly pre-Raphaelite in their general tendency and character, but show a dramatic vigour peculiar to himself. The decoration of the Exhibition dome bore witness to those imaginative powers which we see revealed in all their fullness in the splendid series of frescoes on the walls of the Manchester Town Hall, while his best easel pictures were on view in the galleries. Of these the most famous—'Work,' on which he was engaged for twelve years—is too crowded with figures and too complex in aim to be entirely satisfactory, although it is full of interest as reflecting the moral and social aspirations of the age and introducing portraits of Carlyle and Maurice, the mental workers, by the side of the British navvy, in marked contrast with the idlers and pleasure-seekers who have never learnt to work. His drawings of 'Elijah and the Widow's Son' and of 'The Entombment' are remarkable for their rich colour and tragic

grandeur, and deserve to be worked out on a larger scale ; but the finest of all his pictures is the 'Romeo and Juliet,' of which Mr. Armstrong gives an engraving. Here, while every carefully painted accessory—the fruit trees laden with blossom, the yellow light in the sky behind the tall red brick towers of Verona—helps to enhance the central idea of the picture, nothing is allowed to interfere with the unity of the pictorial motive, with the force of Romeo's passion as, leaping over the balcony, he rushes into the arms of Juliet. All the short sad story of those lovers, all the tragic beauty of that immortal tale, is gathered up in this one supreme moment. By the side of this picture Frank Dicksee's well-known rendering of the same passage, graceful and refined and poetic as it is, seemed poor and stagy.

Mr. Armstrong considers Mr. Madox Brown to be the real originator of the new development of pre-Raphaelism, of which Mr. Burne Jones is the head ; and M. Chesneau, in the same manner, classes the two together. Most persons will see a closer affinity between the work of the last-named artist and that of Rossetti. In splendour of colouring and mystic imagination the two are very closely allied, and if the younger master's genius hardly attains that of the elder in power and originality, he surpasses him in intellectual vigour, in grace and beauty of design. It has been remarked that the men of science and letters of the latter half of the Victorian age have been chiefly engaged in working out the great ideas of the former half. In this manner it may be said of Mr. Burne Jones that he has reaped the fruit of his predecessors' labours and entered upon the inheritance of their struggles. Chief among contemporary artists in poetic conception and in the power of giving reality to his dreams, his art is the higher development of the old pre-Raphaelite school, the perfect flower which has blossomed on the parent stem. The series of splendid masterpieces exhibited at Manchester have formed for many summers the chief attraction of the Grosvenor Gallery, and are too well known to need description. In their variety of subject and carefully thought out composition they bear witness as much to the painter's scholarship as to his artistic gifts, and show the same sympathy with Christian legend as with the fables of Greek or Teutonic mythology. Less emotional than Rossetti, Burne Jones appeals rather to our intellect than to our passions, and where Holman Hunt or Madox Brown would have represented persons he gives us abstract ideas under the form of symbolic figures—'The Days of Creation' rather than 'Adam and Eve,' 'The Wheel

of Fortune' rather than the tragedy of King Lear. But his religious paintings lack the intense reality of Holman Hunt's work, and for all their loveliness leave us cold. His beautiful faces are all touched with the same nineteenth-century spirit of unrest, the same sense of loss or regret. For them life is a sad and weary thing, and the best the painter can do for us is to lead us into some quiet vale, far removed from the strife and turmoil of men, where Pan sits piping by the waterside, and bid us dream away the years in this delightful garden and forget, if we can, how soon we have to die.

In his own sphere Mr. Burne Jones stands alone, but of those who follow in his steps and drink inspiration at the same fountain the two best, Mr. Walter Crane and Mr. Spencer Stanhope, are well represented at Manchester. More akin to Rossetti and Madox Brown in the freshness and vigour of invention is Mr. Frederick Shields, whose fine single figure of Lazarus coming forth in his grave clothes at the voice of Christ hangs on the same wall, and whose cartoons for the decoration of the Duke of Westminster's chapel at Eaton show that at least one of our younger artists is not lacking in lofty spiritual imagination.

In the same gallery as these modern pre-Raphaelites, exactly facing Mr. Burne Jones's picture, hung upwards of twenty paintings by Mr. Watts, the other representative of mythical painting in England, whose work it has been 'to place at the service of former imagination the art which it had not, and to realize for us, with a truth then impossible, the visions described by the wisest of men as embodying their most pious thoughts and their most exalted doctrines.' No finer sight was to be found in the whole Exhibition than the wall devoted to the works of this veteran painter. Above were his great symbolical pictures, Hope in her blue robes, striking the one remaining string of her lyre, between Love the poor child who struggles vainly to resist the march of Death, and Love the angel form who leads Life gently over the rocks and up the heavenward path. Below in a long row hung the magnificent portraits of poets, and statesmen, and painters, and thinkers whose names have shed lustre on the Victorian age, a splendid achievement for any one lifetime.

The technical defects of Mr. Watts's art have often been pointed out, but we lose sight of these in the grandeur of his conceptions and the steadfastness with which he has maintained throughout the whole of a long career his high belief in the great mission of Art. Nowadays, when we remember

how long he has been painting for us, we look about us among our younger artists, and ask ourselves in vain who will fill his place when he is gone.

From the gallery which held the works of the giants of to-day we must now turn to another room almost entirely devoted to the paintings of two masters whose short career was too soon closed by an early death, Frederick Walker and George Mason. Mr. Hodgson, who was intimately acquainted with both these men and supplies some interesting particulars about them, remarks on the sad significance of the verse of Chaucer which was written up over the door of this gallery :

‘The life so short,
The craft so long to learne ;
The essay so hard,
So sharpe the conquering.’

Both painters started from the pre-Raphaelite point of view—that is to say, they took Truth as their motto—and seeing the close connexion between art and life, strove each in his own way to express the common joys and sorrows, the varying emotions of everyday life, in the most real and vivid way, unfettered either by choice of subject or manner of representation by conventional rules. Both have the same touch of classic grace, the same feeling for beauty of form and composition. Finally, the art of both men is genuinely English, and deals almost exclusively with scenes of modern English life.

Walker's genius was the most powerful, and when he died in 1875, at the early age of thirty-five, great possibilities, to say the least, perished with him. The shadow of that early death darkened his life, and makes itself felt in all his finest work. His imagination beats restlessly against the walls of this life, asking what lies beyond and whither we are tending. Whether he paints strong-limbed peasants in the prime of life and strength, ‘in glory and in pride following the plough along the mountain-side,’ or the contrast of youth and age, of care and sorrow, in the figures meeting at the Old Gate, we are conscious of the coming end. It is not that he cannot be joyous, or that his themes were invariably sad ones. No picture was ever painted which breathed with a fresher or healthier life, a keener joy in action, than that of ‘The Bathers.’ None reflects the still glory and midsummer beauty of an English riverside better than his ‘Sunny Thames.’ And yet through all the light and colour, through all the sense of pleasure in work, of delight in human loveliness, there runs an undertone of sadness. The fiery splendour of

the sunset, the russet tints of the trees under the grey autumn skies, the murmur of hurrying waters, all seem to tell the same tale—'Man goeth forth to his labour *until the evening*.'

Mason's art is of a gentler and a happier kind. To him this world is all fair and good; he leads us to the vales and meadows of Arcady, and shows us the reapers going homewards in the soft twilight of the harvest moon, the village children dancing on the green slopes by the summer sea, the tired horses bearing the last load home at the end of the day. His short life had its full share of struggles and hardships, and, as was the case with Walker, suffering and weakness darkened his latter days; but there was room in his heart for all the sweet sights and pleasant sounds around him, and to the last his sympathy with Nature and with struggling humanity never failed him. The works of both these painters have become widely known by the fine etchings of Mr. Macbeth, and both, but more especially Walker, have had a marked influence on our present school of landscape painting.

It is impossible here to do justice to those isolated artists who, without belonging to any particular school or line of thought, have helped to adorn the Victorian age, and whose art was worthily represented at Manchester. Foremost among them comes Sir Frederick Leighton, the President of the Royal Academy. No man is better fitted for the post, whether by virtue of his accomplishments as painter, sculptor, orator, and scholar, or by his ready and generous recognition of merit in others. His youth was spent almost entirely abroad, and it is to foreign training that Sir Frederick owes his masterly draughtsmanship and thorough knowledge of the human frame. Everything he paints is marked by the same accurate rendering of form, the same truly artistic spirit. His lovely forms and softly blended colours have a witchery which has been compared to that of Correggio's art. They are always delightful to look upon, but altogether too delicate and transparent to be natural. While his pictures are remarkable for variety of subject and diversity of treatment, he has of late years shown an increasing delight in Hellenic themes, in all that belongs to classical fable and Greek literature. His 'Daphnephoria,' a Greek procession containing some thirty figures and painted with the utmost skill and unwearying patience, is a grand specimen of decorative art, and his frescoes of the Arts of Peace and War at the South Kensington Museum, and of the Ten Virgins at Lyndhurst Church, deserve mention as the finest mural paintings of the day; but his dead Alcestis,

lying white-robed, with the weeping maidens about her and her pure profile against the dark blue waves, while Hercules wrestles with the mighty giant Death, is to our mind his greatest work.

'I knew, too, a great Kaunian painter, strong
As Herakles, though rosy with a robe
Of grace, that softens down the sinewy strength :
And he has made a picture of it all.
There lies Alkestis dead, beneath the sun
She longed to look her last upon, beside
The sea, which somehow tempts the life in us
To come trip over its white waste of waves,
And try escape from earth, and fleet as free.
. . . I pronounce that piece
Worthy to set up in our Poikilè !'¹

Next to the President, M. Alma Tadéma is conspicuous by reason of his great technical skill, his unrivalled painting of texture, and the extraordinary manner in which he has reproduced the life of the Roman Empire in all its minutest details. Now and then he has shown signs of dramatic power, but this is seldom, and perhaps the most perfect instance of his work at Manchester is a tiny picture called 'The Rose of all the Roses.' In this little canvas, blue seas, white roses, a lovely maiden form, and a marble floor, painted as no one but M. Tadéma knows how to paint it, are all brought before us, and the result is a gem of the rarest and most exquisite workmanship. Mr. Poynter and Mr. W. B. Richmond come very near to the two last-named painters in their technical powers and treatment of classical subjects, and of late years Mr. Orchardson has rivalled M. Tadéma's skill in reproducing a particular period, and attained great popularity by his skilful representation of eighteenth-century *salons*. Among other popular painters whose best works are to be seen at Manchester we cannot do more than name Edwin Long, G. D. Leslie, and H. S. Marks, whose genuine love of beasts and birds finds expression in so many humorous forms.

Mr. Armstrong observes that one striking feature of recent art has been the movement towards French ideals, which he dates from the time of the Paris Exhibition of 1867. This is to be ascribed, he thinks, partly to the influx of French artists during the Franco-German war, partly to the fact that among the rapidly increasing number of English students many find their way to Parisian *ateliers* in search of the training they cannot obtain at home. Another cause which he names is the influence of Mr. Whistler, whose art is certainly unique in

¹ *Balaustion's Adventure*, by Robert Browning, p. 168.

its way, but none of whose works, whether pastels or etchings, were exhibited at Manchester. This tendency to imitate modern French art, and allow ourselves to be influenced by foreign standards of taste, is steadily increasing at the present time, and is by no means one of the happiest features of contemporary painting.

If we turn to landscape art many well-known names occur to us at once, even if there are none to rival the illustrious water-colour masters of the early Victorian age. Cecil Lawson, whose artistic impulse was so genuine and whose short career was so full of bright promise, has too soon passed away, but Alfred Hunt charms us yearly by his delicate and poetic rendering of effects of light, of gabled roofs touched with rose-red sunset glow, or fishing boats on a twilight sea; Alfred Parsons paints Avon meadows and West Country apple orchards, river banks, and wayside flowers with rare delicacy and freedom of hand; J. W. North and Mrs. Allingham follow in the steps of Walker; and Thorne Waite, Hine, and Thomas Collier keep alive the best traditions of the old water-colour school; while other masters, such as B. W. Leader, Vicat Cole, and the Scottish school of landscape painters, with Peter Graham and MacWhirter at their head, set themselves to repeat certain phases of nature year by year with varying degrees of skill and different measures of success. Two separate developments of contemporary art in recent years are the school of battle painters, which owes its origin to the success of Miss Thompson's 'Roll Call' in 1876, and that of sea painters, which dates further back, but has lately achieved some remarkable triumphs. Mr. Hook stands at the head of the last-named school, both in virtue of his age and his long roll of well-conceived and finely executed works, fresh with the smell of salt water and the cheery ring of the fisherman's voice; while Brett goes on painting the smooth expanse of rippling waters, and Henry Moore, with bolder hand and more spontaneous genius, rejoices in flashing sunlight and rolling seas—'deeply, darkly, beautifully blue.'

Yet more important is the development of portrait painting which the last twenty years have witnessed, a change the more remarkable if we look back, as we did at Manchester, to the beginning of the Queen's reign. Then, portrait painting was a merely decorative thing, and people were satisfied with a tolerably fair likeness in the face of the sitter, and asked for nothing more. Now our best portrait painters aim at nothing short of a complete representation of the sitter's personality, his inner as well as his outer characteristics. Here

Millais, Richmond, Herkomer, Frank Holl, and Oules stand at the head of their profession ; but all in turn must yield the palm to Watts, whose finest portraits have never been surpassed in completeness and beauty.

And now that we have taken this rapid glance over the last fifty years of British Art, as seen at the Manchester Exhibition, what answer can we give to the question with which we began ? We have seen much splendid and interesting work produced within this period ; we have seen the loftiest social and religious aspirations of the day reflected in contemporary art ; we have seen again the scientific spirit of the age, the spirit of research, of curiosity, of freedom of thought, applied each in their measure to the different branches of painting. We have seen—there can be no doubt of that—a vast change in the popular estimation of Art, a wide revival of interest and zeal in its pursuit, and we have also seen a great advance in technical excellence on the part of our painters. And yet, on the whole, it would be impossible to say that the development of the art of the Victorian age has in any degree been equal to the immense progress made in other fields of knowledge during this memorable period.

No brilliant and sustained Renaissance of painting has taken place in England ; no long succession of world-renowned artists will make the Victorian age famous in art history ; we can point to no striking series of frescoes in our public monuments or great churches such as adorn the cities of Italy. And yet this period has not been wanting in painters of genius. No one who looked about him in the galleries at Manchester could doubt this. But we as a nation have wasted these splendid capabilities—in the words of a great living artist, ‘wasted genius such as no other country in the modern world has produced.’ We have allowed our best painters to lose hope and faith for want of sympathy and encouragement. We let Holman Hunt well-nigh starve for want of funds, and almost drove him to emigrate to Canada ; and when Watts, in generous zeal for the education of his countrymen, offered to paint the hall of Euston Station with frescoes, we declined his proposal with thanks. Mr. Armstrong gives the history of the decoration of the Houses of Parliament, and shows how that great opportunity was thrown away from sheer incapacity on the part of the Committee. Think what a man such as Rossetti might have done had the task been given him, or how beneficial the effects would have been on his work. But ‘the bravest spirits get disheartened with a struggle in which opportunities are never given them.’

'It is not to reveal my own private troubles,' says Mr. Holman Hunt at the close of the papers in which he tells the story of his struggle for life, 'that I relate these things; other English painters have had worse. It is to save future artists from the narrow-minded opposition which I had to stem at every fresh effort. . . . People may consider whether it was consistent with any profession of interest in the attainment by England of a glory in art (such as she deservedly has in other great pursuits) that a man who had produced the earlier work ("The Finding of the Saviour") should have been left in the best years of his life, despite the fact of great diligence and carefulness, without means to continue his chosen task, except with vexatious interruptions, from sheer want of money. May I not ask whether our enemies are not now proved to have been wrong? Their violence proceeded either from my incompetence to deal with art, and that also of Rossetti and Millais to paint, or from the ignorance and injustice of our jury. Such unbounded condemnation on their part was either very right or very wrong. If Rossetti's "Annunciation" was contemptible then, it cannot be worthy enough for the nation to purchase now. If Millais's "Isabella" was atrocious then, it is not fitting of a high place in the Liverpool Permanent Art Gallery. The company I was condemned with is admitted now to be of the highest order. Had we found a public showing only a reasonable amount of interest and independence of taste, and of faith that our countrymen could and should win glory for the nation, I know that my two companions would have done greater things than can easily be imagined, and I can assert that what I now show of my life's work would be but a tithe of what there would be; but even yet, I thank God, the day leaves me opportunity to work with my might.'

Sad words to be written by the man who painted the 'Light of the World'—all the sadder because we are conscious of their truth.

The fact remains that Art is not an essential in the lives of most English men and women, and does not appeal to the people of England as a whole. And, since the national spirit is not in sympathy with it, the Victorian age has not produced an art that corresponds to its high degree of culture and civilization. M. Chesneau, for his part, considers that the uneducated state of public taste is at fault, and accounts for this by saying that the English soul has no ardent craving after the perfect expression of beauty.

'It seems to me as if a picture, to this nation, meant nothing more than a luxury, and as if a *chef-d'œuvre*—albeit considered a fine acquisition, as testifying to the worldly prosperity and distinction of the possessor—is powerless to produce the sensation of delight and elevation which might be looked for in the contemplation of a great work. This has been during a century the condition of art in England. And this explains the desire among purchasers to obtain

productions which display singularity rather than simple beauty. Since they only wish to procure an object for amusement, they strive, with method in their madness, to light on what is extraordinary and out of the way' (p. 162).

There is, it must be confessed, a good deal of truth in this remark of the French critic. For year by year we see how the pictures which attract the most public notice are those which are distinguished by some sensational feature, some trick in the lighting, some startling effect or novel arrangement; and so the successful artist is encouraged to indulge in the perpetual repetition of the particular device which first caught the popular fancy, instead of seeking after higher ideals and a more perfect realization of their conceptions. 'Art as a whole does not progress.' This, too, is the conclusion at which Mr. Armstrong arrives when he has reviewed the fine art of the Victorian age; and he ends by warning us against the fallacy of thinking that a finer *technique* necessarily implies a finer art.

'Wilkie said acutely of French painting, when he saw it in Paris in 1814, that it was the result, and not the cause, of encouragement; and in all our hopes for art in England, in all our straining of the eyes to descry the advent of new genius upon our home horizons, we should guard against the mistake of accepting the means for the end, science for art, and ability to realize with the fingers for the faculty which conceives' (p. 176).

The advice is well timed and salutary, and will be remembered, we hope, as much by our critics as by our painters. On the other hand, there is no doubt that, as Mr. Armstrong also observes, 'Art is more alive in England than it was at the Queen's Accession, and an enormously larger number of people have right ideas about it than they had then' (p. 176). To spread these right ideas among all classes and grades of people—among our statesmen and our thinkers, our patrons of art and buyers of pictures, our working men and women in every rank of life—must be the earnest and unceasing aim of all lovers of art. In order to attain this end it is necessary, not only that high-class art literature should be widely spread abroad, but that every opportunity should be taken of setting great works of art before the public.

'Every means of stimulating, cultivating, and popularizing the noblest expressions of art,' said Mr. Watts, when he was examined four-and-twenty years ago before the Royal Commission of Enquiry into the position of the Royal Academy, 'should be pressed into service. Until the people at large grow to care about it it can

never take root in England, and this they can never do until it shall be presented to them habitually; but a people who care more for Handel's music than that of any other composer would not long be insensible to similar impressions conveyed in a different but very analogous form. . . . For public improvement it is necessary that works of sterling but simple excellence should be scattered abroad as widely as possible. At present the public never see anything beautiful except in exhibition rooms, when the novelty of sight-seeing naturally disturbs the intellectual perceptions. As I believe the love of beauty to be inherent in the human mind, there must be some unfortunate influence at work; to counteract this should be the object of a fine-art institution, and I feel assured, if really good things were scattered among the people, it would not be long before satisfactory results exhibited themselves.'

In proportion as 'right ideas' gain ground, and the public mind is educated to a proper understanding and appreciation of art, the sympathy of the people will be enlisted, our painters will receive the encouragement they need, and thus, stimulated to higher efforts, will 'represent worthily things worthy to be represented.' So we may yet live to see that Art Renaissance which a recent American writer has assured us is about to dawn on the world, a Renaissance worthy of the advanced state of civilization we have reached, higher and nobler than any that has gone before. Of that Renaissance which is yet to come we shall then recognize the germ and beginning in the Fine Art of the Victorian age.

ART. X.—FIFTY YEARS OF DOCUMENTARY DISCOVERIES ON CHURCH HISTORY.

Urkundenfunde zur Geschichte des christlichen Alterthums.
Von Dr. GOTTHARD VICTOR LECHLER, ord. Professor der
Theologie, Geh. Kirchenrath in Leipzig. (Leipzig, 1886.)

THE celebration of the Queen's Jubilee has given occasion for the publication of many reviews of the progress the nation has made during the last fifty years. It seems, then, not an unsuitable time to take a review of what the last fifty years have gained for us of materials for the knowledge of Church history; for in respect of the coming to light of new documents, the years of our Queen's reign will well bear com-

parison with any previous period of equal length. So many important 'finds' have been made, that we cannot help asking ourselves whether we have come to the end of them. Is there any chance that any of the works now set down as lost may yet be recovered? What a light it would throw on the history of our Gospels if there should be disinterred from the library of some Eastern monastery that *Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord* by Papias, about which so much ingenuity of conjecture has been expended! What if a copy should have escaped destruction of Porphyry's learned assault on the Christian faith, a work so hateful to believers that they seem not to have had even patience to read the answers to it—at least these answers, though some of them were written by distinguished men, have failed to reach us—and yet a work which, if we now had it, would probably give us a fuller picture of the Christianity of the third century than is presented in the writings of many an orthodox divine? What if some New Testament MS. should come to light earlier than any we have got, the earliest of which only dates from the fourth century?

It seems unreasonable to hope for much of new discovery, now that the treasures of the civilized parts of the world have been so well explored. The records of the earliest Christian centuries, to which we should now attach the most value, did not excite the same interest in the minds of the scribes of the Middle Ages, who preferred to transcribe many documents which we could bear to lose with little grief. Our hopes of finding really old books or papers still surviving become faint when we read many a true story of the destruction of ancient libraries through the waste of ignorant possessors, who either allowed valuable papers to rot uncared for, or even applied them to base uses. According to Tischendorf's story, he was barely in time to save the Sinaitic MS. of the New Testament from being used in lighting fires. The regions whose literary treasures have been least explored are also those where waste and destruction are likely to have had greatest range of exercise. Every year the chance of finding old documents undestroyed must be becoming less; and if we should find a heap of such, the chances are that the greater part would be things for which we should not much care. Lord Bacon complained that time was like a river, which bore on its surface things light and worthless, while the weighty matter sank to the bottom. Yet if we must not be too sanguine in our hopes, the knowledge of what the last fifty years have gained for us may teach us not to despair. For at the time when Queen Victoria ascended the throne it might have

been argued, as we have argued now, that there was little reason to anticipate much addition to the then existing sources of knowledge.

There will no doubt be many readers of this Review for whom nothing that we have to tell will have any novelty; but there is a pleasure in being reminded of what we know, as well as in being told what we do not know. We called to mind at the beginning of this article how many narratives of the secular events of the reign have been lately published, and have been read with interest by persons themselves well able to remember most of the things related. The tract by Dr. Lechler, which is the subject of this article, is intended to give an account of the documents throwing light on early Church history which have been recovered within the last fifty years; and though naturally he wrote last year without thought of our Jubilee, it so happens that he begins with the first year of our Sovereign's reign. Although we can ourselves well remember the surprise and pleasure with which we heard of most of the discoveries of which he tells, we read his tract with so much interest that we think our readers will be glad to receive an account of this very opportune publication. A review article in modern times is commonly an independent dissertation, for which the title of the book reviewed only furnishes a motto. Ours must be one of the modest reviews of the old school, which aimed at no more than giving a faithful account of the contents of the work reported on; for we write in an Alpine village, at a distance from books, and have learned by sad experience the danger of putting too much confidence in our memory.

Dr. Lechler begins by stating the limitations necessary in order to bring what he has to tell within reasonable compass. Thus he restricts himself to discoveries throwing light on the history of the first six centuries, although he gives specimens of interesting things which might be related if he were to carry the history lower down. He confines himself also to speaking of documents. Thus he refrains, for example, from saying anything about the explorations made in the Roman catacombs, about the discovery of ancient buildings, and about inscriptions. This last subject is in itself extensive enough to furnish materials for an article. Those who have read Bishop Lightfoot's recent volumes will know how important a part inscriptions play both in determining the date of Polycarp's martyrdom and in enabling us to identify the Asiarch who presided over the games at which he suffered. Many still disputed questions in chronology might be settled

by the very possible recovery of an inscription enabling us to determine the date when office was held by a proconsul whom we know of in connexion with the events in question. We need not speak of other services rendered by inscriptions, the importance of paying attention to them being fully felt by all modern writers on Church history. We have now only to speak of documents, of which Lechler treats in chronological order, arranging them, however, according to the order when the discoveries were made, not according to the dates when the discoveries were published. Accordingly he gives the first place to Dressel's discovery of the conclusion of the Clementine Homilies, which appears to have taken place in 1837, the first year of Queen Victoria's reign, though not actually published till 1852.

I. In the speculations of the Tübingen School concerning the early history of the Christian Church a prominent place is occupied by a work which was given circulation in Rome at the end of the second century, or not long after. In the form in which it then appeared it was written in the name of the Roman Clement, and professed to give an account of St. Peter's preaching to the Gentiles and of his controversies with Simon Magus. That form of the work which is known as the Clementine Homilies was published by Cotelier in his *Apostolic Fathers* in 1672; but the MS. on which Cotelier's edition was based was defective, for although it stated that the complete work contained twenty homilies, it broke off in the middle of the nineteenth, and it was more than a century and a half before the gap could be filled up. In 1837, as we have said, Dressel, a Saxon scholar who was engaged in literary research at Rome, found in the Vatican Library an un mutilated MS. containing also a better text of the Homilies, a MS. to which no attention had previously been paid, probably because the heretical work which it contained had excited little interest.

But, however unorthodox may have been the doctrine of this work, its undoubted antiquity gives it importance in the eyes of historical students. One question which it raised was whether the writer manifests acquaintance with our Gospels. In the discourses ascribed to St. Peter sayings of our Lord are quoted, in substance agreeing with the report of our Gospels, but ordinarily differing somewhat in form. Are we to suppose that the writer drew his information from Gospels other than those we know, and which have now perished, or is it enough to say that some distortion of quotation was a literary necessity?—for too close a copying of our Gospels would

betray at once that we had to deal with one completely dependent on the written record, and not, as was pretended, an apostle speaking from independent knowledge and at a time before any Gospels were written. With the controversy as regards the Synoptic Gospels we have here no concern, nor indeed is there much need to speak of it ; for, as St. John's Gospel is allowed by all to be the latest of the four, it will hardly be disputed that, if the Clementine writer was acquainted with that, it is likely that he knew also the other three. Now there are in the first eighteen of the Clementine Homilies several coincidences with St. John's Gospel, the most obvious explanation of which was that the homilist had borrowed from St. John. But this the critics of the Tübingen School obstinately refused to admit. Hilgenfeld, in 1850, urged the extreme improbability that the Clementine writer would make use of a book with which he was doctrinally at utter variance, his work being so deeply marked by Jewish Ebionitism as to be outside the limits of orthodoxy, whereas no New Testament book more completely throws down the barrier between Jew and Gentile than does the fourth Gospel. Hilgenfeld's positive conclusion was that there is no instance of the use of St. John's Gospel in the Homilies. The same conclusion was maintained by Zeller, in the *Theologische Jahrbücher* for 1853, who declared that the attempts were vain which had been made to establish an acquaintance with St. John on the part of the Clementine writer. It was exactly then that Dressel's complete edition of the Clementine Homilies appeared, and in the newly recovered 20th Homily there was found a distinct reference to the healing of the man born blind (John ix.) and to the disciples' question, 'Whether did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?'

The result has been that the Clementine use of St. John may be said now to be completely acknowledged. Volkmar owned the decisiveness of the new proof in 1854. So did Strauss in his *New Life of Jesus* in 1864. Hilgenfeld showed some reluctance at first, but in his Introduction to the New Testament in 1875 makes full acknowledgment. In fact, those critics who regard as pure invention the things related by St. John and not mentioned by the other Evangelists, feel it to be a less evil to acknowledge the Clementine use of St. John than to assert that a story peculiar to the fourth Evangelist had been confirmed by an independent tradition. Lagarde counts fifteen passages of St. John made use of in the Clementines, none of which it is worth any one's while to dispute, now that the Clementine writer's acquaintance with the Gospel has been

established in one clear case. But the value of the victory on this point has been greatly enhanced by the efforts that were made to avoid yielding it. For Hilgenfeld's proof that the author of the Homilies was in point of doctrine at the opposite pole from St. John entitles us to say that the fourth Gospel must have been a long time in established credit and authority when the Clementine forger wrote, else he would not have made such frequent use of a book with which he could have had no sympathy.

Another interesting result obtained from Dressel's discovery is that we are now assured how the story ended. It appears that the original story of the preaching of Peter and of his conflict with Simon Magus described all as taking place in Eastern cities. The story of a conflict at Rome between Peter and Simon Magus is seen to be a later addition, probably first imagined when the *Preaching of Peter* was adapted to Roman use, and afterwards amplified by legend.

II. The next 'find' which we have to relate takes us to a different period of Church history, viz. the end of the fourth century. A parchment MS. in the Paris Library, written in uncial characters, contains, among other matter, the Acts of the Council of Aquileia in 381. A German scholar, Krust, took notice that on the broad margin of some of the leaves there was writing in a cursive hand. And being himself obliged to leave Paris, he directed to the MS. the attention of another German scholar, Professor Waitz, who edited this marginal matter in 1840. It was found to contain controversial notes by an Arian bishop, Maximin, criticizing the statements in the Acts of the Aquileian Council. We are on firmer ground in writing the history of any heresy, the more we are able to balance the accounts of it given by orthodox writers by documents written from the heretical point of view. But what has especial interest for us in the fragment of which we are treating is that it gives us new materials for the life of Ulphilas, the Apostle of the Goths, who exercised immense influence over that nation, who translated the Scriptures for their use, and who for that purpose had to create the Gothic written character. It was known that he was an Arian, and that under his teaching Arianism became the creed of the Goths; but our previous authorities for his life, being separated from him by some interval of time, and emanating from persons apparently with no sufficient means of knowledge, left us uncertain on several points. The new information, though not as full as might be desired, may be regarded as peculiarly trustworthy,

for it rests on a relation made by Auxentius, Bishop of Durostorum, who tells us that he had been from early childhood the ward and pupil of Ulfilas. Having so many things to speak of, we cannot enter into details as to the facts now put in a clearer light, but refer our readers to the little volume about Ulfilas published not long since by Mr. C. A. A. Scott.

III. In the two instances just considered we had not to tell of any importation of new MSS., but only of gains made by a closer examination of the contents of old libraries. Great libraries have not always had learned and intelligent librarians ; and even a learned and intelligent librarian cannot be expected to have leisure and inclination to examine carefully all the books under his charge. Thus it has been quite possible for libraries to contain treasures unknown to their possessors. A curious instance how even a book which is known to be in a library can remain concealed from its custodians is presented by the late Mr. Bradshaw's discovery of a volume in the Cambridge University Library, which had for a long time been supposed to have been lost, but which was actually standing all the time in its proper place on the shelf, only disguised by having been bound with a wrong title. The scholars of a century or two ago had to make laborious travels in order to explore the contents of isolated libraries. The scholars of the present day have their labours immensely lightened not only by greater facilities of travel, but by the work which is actively going on of publishing catalogues of the MS. possessions of different libraries. Thus they know beforehand where what they are in search of is likely to be found ; and as each MS. is brought under the scrutiny of scholars with special knowledge and interest in the subject, peculiarities are discovered which would easily escape the notice of an ordinary cataloguer. We may cite for example Mr. Bensly's discovery that the copy of the Fourth Book of Esdras in the Communal Library at Amiens contained a considerable passage absent from all previously known Latin MSS.

The discovery which we have next to mention was indeed of a volume brought from the East in recent times, but which had yet run a risk of passing into the class of 'unsuspected treasures' of an old library. In the year 1842 a collection of Greek MSS. was brought from the monasteries of Mount Athos to Paris, gathered by a Greek scholar, Mynoides Mynas, who had been commissioned for the purpose by Villemain, then Minister of Public Instruction. Among these MSS. was one which at first attracted no attention. It was not older than the fourteenth century, it bore no author's

name, and it had the uninviting title, 'A Refutation of all Heresies.' But after a few years an official of the Paris Library, Emmanuel Miller, had his attention drawn to the book, in which he imagined that he had discovered a work of Origen. The Clarendon Press at Oxford undertook the publication of the work, which appeared in 1851 under the title *Origenis Philosophumena sive Omnium Hæresium Refutatio*. That the work was as old as the time of Origen all scholars were soon agreed, but equally so that Origen was not the author; for he appears to claim to be a bishop, and certainly to have taken an active part in controversies at Rome. Who the author was became for some time a subject of hot dispute; but a general agreement has now been arrived at that he was Hippolytus, who has commonly been described as Bishop of Portus, and who was at any rate one of the chief representatives of the learning of the Roman Church at the beginning of the third century. Besides the controversy concerning its authorship to which the discovery of this treatise gave rise, there were two other points on which active literary discussion arose.

Two Roman pontiffs, contemporary with the author, Zephyrinus and Callistus, had till then enjoyed an unblemished reputation, and had been honoured with the title of Saint. The memory of the latter has been specially preserved in connexion with his work on the Roman Catacombs. If we were to believe this writer, we must regard these two Popes as men not only of indifferent moral character, but as heretical in doctrine. Zephyrinus is treated with comparative leniency, his errors being attributed to his rustic ignorance, and no worse moral fault being laid to his charge than excessive love of money. But with Callistus the writer had come into personal controversy. The subject in dispute was the union of the two Natures in the Person of our Lord. Hippolytus charged Callistus with countenancing the error of those who removed all distinction between the Father and the Son. Callistus retorted by accusing Hippolytus of having two Gods. There were disputes also as to Church discipline, which seem to indicate that Hippolytus and Callistus were at the heads of rival congregations—the latter, who adopted a laxer discipline, receiving into his communion persons excommunicated by the former. In the treatise of which we speak a scandalous account is given of the life of Callistus, who is described as originally a slave, as a fraudulent bankrupt, as having attempted suicide, as having gained the honour of confessorship on false pretences—the offence for which he was really

punished being not the profession of Christianity but brawling in a Jewish synagogue—and as having imposed on the simplicity of Zephyrinus so as to obtain promotion from him, though he had been treated with marked distrust by the previous bishop, Victor. It is evident what use could be made in the Roman controversy of this third-century evidence that popes were then regarded as neither impeccable nor infallible. The late Bishop Wordsworth published a work in which all the statements of the newly discovered volume were accepted as true, and the obvious inferences were drawn from them. Cardinal Newman was so scandalized that he positively refused to believe that so libellous a story could have been penned by Hippolytus, whom the Church has always honoured as a saint and a martyr. The proof, however, that the *Refutation of all Heresies* is really the work of Hippolytus is too strong to be resisted; and Von Döllinger, then the most learned divine in the Roman Church, made the ingenious defence, which he supported by strong arguments, that whatever sins or errors Hippolytus charged on Callistus he charged none on the Bishop of Rome, for that he did not acknowledge Callistus as such, but claimed to be Bishop of Rome himself. But as Church history does not show the slightest trace of a schism in the popedom at this period, if we accept Von Döllinger's theory we are led to the conclusion that the whole Christian world must at the beginning of the third century have been singularly indifferent who was Bishop of Rome, and that the see could be claimed by rival candidates, one of them the member of the Roman Church whose writings were best known outside of Italy, and yet that no one should appear to be aware of the dispute.

Enough has been said to illustrate the importance and interest of one class of the controversies to which the discovery of this treatise gave rise. To speak now of another, a marked feature of the treatise was that it poured a flood of new light on the Gnostic speculations of the second century. Several Gnostic heresies were among those which the author undertook to refute, and in doing so he gave large quotations from several Gnostic works previously unknown. What value was to be attached to these extracts became the subject of a new class of controversies. For example, the picture of the heresy of Basilides presented in this work of Hippolytus is quite different from that presented in the account of Irenæus; which of them are we to esteem more worthy of credit? But deeper interest attached to another question: almost all these extracts, including those ascribed to the oldest heretics, such as Basilides

and Valentinus, agree in making large use of the fourth Gospel. If we accept the extracts as genuine, the date of that Gospel is established as antecedent to the rise of any of these heresies. In order to escape this conclusion, it was contended that Hippolytus must, either through mistake or through carelessness in writing, have ascribed to the early founders of heretical sects works really written by their followers not long before his time. This would not be the place to discuss that question. We merely wish to give our readers an idea of the importance of the discovery of this little treatise and of the controversies which arose out of it.

IV. The discoveries hitherto described were of isolated MSS. We come now to a larger subject, viz. the collection of Syrian MSS. brought from the Nitrian Desert to the British Museum. As the Nile, coming down from Upper to Middle Egypt, approaches the point of the Delta, the mountain chains which hitherto had closely bounded its course retire to a greater distance, and that on the west side breaks off into isolated heights separated by flat barren tracts, a land of salt and sulphur. The name 'Nitrian Desert'—known to the early Christians as the desert of Scete—is given in a general way to the whole district, though strictly it has a narrower signification. As early as the second century this inhospitable region became the abode of Christian anchorites who sought to withdraw from the society of men. In the fourth century, when the monastic life became fashionable, scores of monasteries were established in this district, of which only four now remain. In one of these, somewhere about the eighth century, a company of Syrian Jacobite monks settled, with the consent of the Coptic Patriarch, with whose doctrine, as Monophysites, they were in unison. In the year A.D. 932 the then Abbot Moses brought back from a journey to Mesopotamia 250 valuable Syriac MSS., partly purchased, partly presented to him. From the second century to the seventh, Syriac-speaking Christians had exhibited considerable literary activity, and had translated into their own language many valuable Greek theological works, including a few now preserved in no other form. But in the course of time the successors of these monks lost the knowledge of the Syriac language, and these treasures became useless to them. In the year 1707 Pope Clement XI., who had been urged by the Maronites settled at Rome to attempt to gain some of the Syriac MSS., which they were able to tell him could be found in Nitrian monasteries, sent Elias Assemani, and eight years later his cousin Joseph Simon Assemani, to the East with this object

in view. The result was the gain of over 150 Syriac MSS. for the Vatican Library, the most important of the contents of which were made known to the world through various publications of the Assemani family, in particular their *Bibliotheca Orientalis*. Not more, however, than about forty of the MSS. brought back by the Assemani came from the Nitrian monasteries of which we have made mention; and the lion's share of that collection finally fell to the lot of the English nation. A small portion was obtained by Archdeacon Tattam, who travelled in Egypt in search of Coptic MSS. in 1839. This led to negotiations for the purchase of the entire library, which was gained in successive instalments, the last in 1851. The late Canon Cureton speedily devoted himself to the study and publication of these Syriac MSS., and his work has been ably carried on by his successor in this department of the British Museum, Professor Wright.¹ Lechler considers Cureton's publications in the chronological order of the authors edited.

(1) First is to be mentioned a discovery of by no means the same importance now as when it was first announced, at which time it excited great interest and raised no little controversy. The genuineness of the letters ascribed to Ignatius had for a couple of centuries been fiercely contested; though the sagacity of Ussher had put out of court the larger collection long current in Latin, and had reduced the question to that of the genuineness of the seven letters recognized by Eusebius. Cureton now found in Syriac three of these seven letters, and these in a shorter form than the corresponding Greek epistles, and he regarded these Syriac letters as representing the original Ignatius out of which the Greek form had been developed. This middle view was neither acceptable to those who had defended, nor to the majority of those who had impugned, the genuineness of the Greek epistles; but it found favour with some very eminent scholars. The fact that the Ignatian letters had been tampered with by a forger in the fourth century is certainly not logically a reason for thinking it likely that a previous forger had been at work on them in the second; but undoubtedly the admitted fact that these letters had been the subject of one forgery made men more inclined to believe that there had been another. However, as investigation proceeded the credit of the Syriac letters

¹ A full and interesting account of the successive acquisitions thus made by the British Museum will be found in Dr. Wright's Preface to the third part of the *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum acquired since the year 1838*, London, 1872. See also an article by Dr. Cureton in the *Quarterly Review*, No. cliii.

declined, and scholars, such as Lipsius in Germany and Lightfoot in England, who had been once disposed to accept their form as the original, now abandon their defence, and the Syriac letters have lost nearly all their importance in being recognized to be only extracts made from a version of the seven letters.

We shall not delay on (2) an Apology bearing the name of Melito of Sardes, who died about 180. Even if genuine, it does not add much to our knowledge of the times when it was written; but it is highly questionable whether the ascription is not erroneous, for Eusebius appears to have known only one Apology by Melito, and he quotes an extract from it which is not found in the Syriac Apology.

Somewhat more interest attaches to (3) a work of which there had been some previous knowledge—a dialogue ascribed to Bardesanes of Edessa, bearing the title of *The Laws of the Countries*, for the dialogue was known to Eusebius and to Epiphanius under the title *Concerning Fate*, and it has also been made use of in the Clementine Recognitions. Of the teaching of Bardesanes we have scarcely any direct knowledge, but according to trustworthy authorities it was tainted with some form of Gnostic heresy. Even the work now recovered is found to have been penned, not by Bardesanes himself, but by a pupil of his. The subject is one not calculated to exhibit any discordance between the writer's views and those of the Church. His object is to refute the doctrine of astrological fate; that is to say, the doctrine that men's character and conduct are determined by the constellations under which they are born. His method of refutation is to show the power of man's freewill to resist all stellar influences. He displays his geographical knowledge by giving a detailed account of the laws and customs of different countries, and then tells how the Jews, in spite of stars or climates, keep the Sabbath day and circumcise their children, whether they are in Edom or Arabia, Greece or Persia, north or south. So likewise the new race of us Christians, wherever we are, hold our Sunday meetings, keep our weekly fasts, and observe none of the evil customs of the country in which we live. Of these a detailed list is given, of which we only note that he states that those who live among the Jews do not use circumcision. The antiquity of the tract is evidenced by the phrase, 'new race,' applied to the Christians, and what is told about their weekly observances is interesting.

(4) If the last work described is by one branded as a heretic, the next to be mentioned is by one of unimpeachable

VOL. XXV.—NO. XLIX.

O

orthodoxy—the great Athanasius. It has been long known that it was the custom of the Bishops of Alexandria to issue circular letters announcing the day on which each coming Easter was to be celebrated. The earliest of whom this is told is Dionysius, fragments of such letters being preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* vii. 20–22). After the Council of Nicæa had laid down the rule that Easter was to be celebrated on the Sunday following the full moon of the vernal equinox, the announcement of the day was made by the Bishop of Alexandria, where astronomical science was most cultivated. It was known that Athanasius had written Festal letters of this kind. Some fragments of them had been preserved, and some spurious Festal letters in the name of Athanasius had been forged. Montfaucon, the Benedictine editor of his works, had expressed a hope of the recovery of something more trustworthy: ‘fortassis adhuc latent in Oriente, ubi bene multa extant.’

This hope has been fulfilled by Cureton’s publication of an old Syriac translation of these Festal letters, not indeed complete, but still very interesting. Besides its doctrinal teaching it enables us to rectify some small errors in the chronology of the life of Athanasius; his accession to the see is found to have been not in 326, as on the authority of Theodoret had been previously supposed, but not until June 8, 328; and the date of the Council of Sardica has to be altered from 347 to 343.

(5) We come close to the limits we had fixed ourselves in the last of Cureton’s publications described by Lechler, the third part of the *Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus*, a Monophysite bishop who lived in the reign of Justinian, and had been employed by him in the conversion of the heathen still numerous in Constantinople and Asia Minor. In this work he had been highly successful, having, as he tells us, baptized 30,000 persons, and built 96 churches. In his later life, during which, like other Monophysites, he had to suffer persecution, he gave his Syrian fellow-countrymen the first Church history in their own language and it was brought down to their own ‘troubled times.’ An interesting piece of contemporary history which he gives is that of the foundation of the Christian Church in Nubia. Assemani had printed in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis* the statement of Bar-Hebræus, a Syrian writer of the thirteenth century, that Nubia had been converted by Monophysites in the time of Justinian; but he had refused to give credence to a story which seemed to him to have been got up in the interests of heretics. It is, however, quite con-

firmed by the newly recovered authority, which tells a curious story of this planting of Christianity in Nubia in the year 550. It appears that Julianus, an Alexandrian Monophysite, had been inspired with zeal for the conversion of the tribes outside the limits of the Roman empire, and had written to the Empress Theodora, a patroness of the Monophysites, requesting her co-operation. When the emperor was informed of the plan he was eager to join in it, only the missionaries must be of the orthodox faith of the Council of Chalcedon. Accordingly he sent an ambassador with presents to the Nubian king, and also letters to the governor of the Thebaid. But Theodora promptly took her measures, and let the governor know that his head should pay the penalty if Julianus did not arrive before those sent with the emperor's authority. The governor dared not disregard the warning ; so he gave the emperor's ambassadors a courteous reception, but told them of the dangers of the desert journey they had to make, and of the necessity of finding the cattle necessary for the journey, and, what was more important and more difficult, really trustworthy guides. While these were being sought Julianus had pushed on, and when after much delay the emperor's ambassadors arrived at their destination they found the king not only converted to Christianity, but pledged to the Monophysite creed.

(6) It does not fall within the plan of this article to speak of the discovery of MSS. of the New Testament text ; but any mention of Cureton's publications would be incomplete without saying something as to his publication of fragments of a Syriac translation of the Gospels which plays an important part in modern textual criticism. Tregelles had remarked that the Peshito, or Syriac vulgate text, instead of conforming to the text attested by the oldest Greek authorities, was in tolerably close accordance with that which became current in the fourth century. He ventured then to assert that there must have been an older form of Syriac text, of which the current Peshito is only a later recension. It seemed like the verification of the calculations of Adams and Le Verrier by the discovery of the planet Neptune when Cureton in 1864 published fragments, found among the Nitrian MSS., of a Syriac version of the Gospels, the text of which has strong affinities with that of the older Western MSS. This is so exactly what had been anticipated, that the version with which we have thus been made acquainted is quoted by Westcott and Hort as *Syriaca vetus*, the Peshito being referred to as *Syriaca vulgata* ; and in this view they have the adherence

of the majority of New Testament critics. But Syriac scholars find it hard to get over the complete absence of other traces of what is held to be the old Syriac, Mr. Gwilliam, for example, who is preparing for publication an edition of the Peshito Gospels founded on MSS. one of which is as old as the fifth century, not being able to find in the oldest MSS. any indication that their text was substantially different from that now current. It is not unreasonable to hope that some as yet unstudied Syriac documents may become known which will put the solution of this question beyond all controversy. At present the most hopeful source of illustration is a comparison with the text of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, to be mentioned presently, which has been found to exhibit a relationship with the Curetonian text. That Tatian, who resided for some time in the West, should use a Western text is quite natural; but with regard to the relations between his work and the Syriac Gospels there are questions not yet fully determined, into which, therefore, we cannot enter.

V. Next in order comes to be mentioned Tischendorf's success in obtaining the great Sinaitic MS. in 1859. We need not repeat the interesting history which he himself has given of his discovery, since it is given in a tract of his, entitled, *When were our Gospels written?* which has been published by the Religious Tract Society for a shilling, and has obtained a wide circulation. We have declined to enter on the history of the discovery of New Testament MSS., but this one contains besides, as an appendix to the canonical books, the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas. It had been known from the testimony of Eusebius that, besides our canonical books, some other writings had, in early times, been admitted into the public reading of some churches. This had been confirmed by the fact that the Alexandrian MS. had been found to contain the two Epistles ascribed to Clement of Rome; and was now further illustrated by the finding of these two early works in a MS. to all appearance intended for church use. The discovery that this new find contained a complete text of the Epistle of Barnabas was the first thing to excite Tischendorf's interest, and the very night when he became acquainted with the MS. he copied out the whole of the epistle. The Greek copies known previously, all derived from a common source, had wanted the first four chapters, for which we had been dependent on a by no means trustworthy Latin version. In one point, however, on which its accuracy had been impugned it turns out to have been quite right. At the end of the fourth chapter Barnabas

says: 'Let us take heed lest we be found, as it is written, many called but few chosen.' Many found it hard to believe that so early a document as the Epistle of Barnabas undoubtedly is, should cite St. Matthew's Gospel as Scripture, and Credner in 1832 suggested that the 'Sicut scriptum est' of the Latin must be a gloss of the translator. It turns out, however, that the Latin translator faithfully represents the *ὡς γέγραπται* of the Greek. In another passage, however, the Greek has enabled us to correct a faulty reading of the Latin, the words 'sicut dicit filius Dei' being now seen to be a transcriber's error for 'sicut decet filios Dei,' and the result being that a supposed saying of our Lord disappears.

VI. Mention has just been made that the Alexandrian MS. of the New Testament contained the two Greek Epistles ascribed to Clement of Rome; and until lately no other copy of these letters was known. Besides sundry small lacunæ in the MS., one whole leaf was lost in the First Epistle, and about the latter half of the Second Epistle. Hopes that had been raised of discovering an independent authority for the text were more than once disappointed. Wetstein in 1752 published two Syriac Clementine Epistles, but they proved to be a different work from the Greek Epistles, and are evidently by a later author. Tischendorf thought to recover the desired authority in a palimpsest heard of as preserved at Ferrara; but he found on examination that it contained merely a legendary relation of the martyrdom of Clement, and was of no value.

Strange to say, after hope had been almost given up, we have come into possession, not of one, but of two, new authorities for the text of these Epistles, which were discovered, we may say, almost simultaneously. The first was found by Bryennius, a learned Greek divine, Metropolitan then of Serræ, now of Nicomedia. It illustrates what we have already said about the possibility of treasures of an old library escaping notice, that the library in which Bryennius found the volume containing these Clementine Epistles, that of the Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople, had already been visited and carefully examined between 1845 and 1853 by more than one Western scholar, none of whom were so fortunate as to anticipate Bryennius's discovery. About a year after Bryennius (in 1875) had published an edition of the Constantinopolitan MS., most creditable to his learning and accuracy, the second authority unexpectedly came to light. At the sale in Paris, early in 1876, of the MSS. of the deceased Orientalist, Julius Mohl, the Cambridge University Library

became possessed of a Syriac MS. which was supposed to be only a copy of the Philoxenian version of the New Testament. But on examination it was found to contain also these two Clementine Letters ; but not, as in the Alexandrian MS., as an appendix to the canonical books, but taking their place with the Catholic Epistles and before the Pauline Letters. The pericope divisions also show that the transcriber completely treated these epistles as canonical Scripture. The two new sources have been made use of by Bishop Lightfoot in the appendix, which he published in 1877, to the edition of the Epistles of Clement which he had brought out eight years before. The newly discovered matter has thus been made so generally known to English readers that we abstain from enlarging on many points on which it would be interesting to dwell, and content ourselves with mentioning that the so-called Second Epistle, which had previously been known to be of different authorship from the First Epistle, now turns out not to be an epistle at all, but a homily intended for church reading.

VII. The year after the publication of Bryennius's *Clement* a book was published in Venice which in great measure reveals to us a work of the second century which had long disappeared, and had been the subject of much controversy. We learn from Eusebius and from Epiphanius that Tatian, the disciple of Justin Martyr, composed a harmony of the Gospels, which he called *Diatessaron* ; but neither of these authorities appears to have had personal acquaintance with the work. We have reason to believe that it was extensively used in Syria, and was in fact the form in which the Gospel history was commonly read in the churches where Syriac was spoken. Theodoret tells that he found in his own diocese two hundred of these books in church use, which he took away and replaced by the Four Gospels. He states that the *Diatessaron* did not contain our Lord's genealogies, and he regarded the omission as made with heretical intent. This was about all that was known of the *Diatessaron* on really ancient testimony. There were those to whom it seemed incredible that so early a writer as Tatian should have known our Four Gospels, and attributed to them such pre-eminent authority as to endeavour to weave them into a harmony. 'The word "*Diatessaron*" must not be supposed to imply *four* sources, or, if it does, the fourth must not be supposed to be St. John's Gospel, but some other Gospel now lost.' Nor were they convinced though Dionysius Bar-Salibi, a Syriac writer of the twelfth century, made known to the West by Assemani, states

that Ephrem Syrus had in the fourth century written a commentary on the *Diatessaron*, and that this harmony had commenced with 'In the beginning was the Word.' Bishop Lightfoot, in the *Contemporary Review* for 1877, exposed the weakness of the pretexts on which the obvious inferences from the word 'Diatessaron' had been evaded. But at the time he wrote, though he was not then aware of it, a new witness had made his appearance. It is in the Armenian language that this testimony has been preserved. Early in the fourth century the Gospel was preached in Armenia by Gregory the Illuminator. In the following century Armenian had become a written language; the Bible was translated into it from the Syriac; and soon after, active work went on in the translation of Syriac and Greek works, over six hundred having been translated before the year 450. In this way have been preserved some writings which otherwise would have been lost; and it may be mentioned in passing that an Armenian translation of the 'Chronicle' of Eusebius, the Greek of which is lost, gives us help in determining whether and how far St. Jerome, in his Latin translation, departed from his original.

The West owes its knowledge of these Armenian writings to a colony of learned Armenians who in 1715 came to Venice under the leading of Mechithar, whose name the society still bears. Mechithar, desirous to introduce Western learning and culture among his countrymen, had been anxious for union with Rome; but he met with so much opposition in the East that at length he came with his scholars to Venice, as we have said. There the Senate gave him the then uninhabited island of St. Lazzaro, where, with the help of rich Armenians in Constantinople, he built a monastery, provided with a printing press and a library, which now contains the richest collection of Armenian manuscripts to be found anywhere. His successors followed in his footsteps, and through their press theological literature has made many acquisitions. In 1836 issued from their press four volumes of an Armenian translation of the exegetical writings of Ephrem Syrus, and among them his Commentary on the *Diatessaron*; but so few in the West are acquainted with the Armenian language that this remained practically unknown until a Latin translation of the Commentary, which had been made in 1841 by Aucher, one of the most diligent and most learned of the Mechitarists, was revised, and at length in 1876 published by a German scholar, Moesinger. There can be no doubt that the Commentary thus made known is that which Bar-Salibi

has described, and that its author was Ephrem Syrus. It is clearly a Commentary on a Gospel Harmony, and it seems unreasonable to question that that Harmony was what was known as the *Diatessaron*, the authorship of which is ascribed to Tatian. It is beyond doubt that this Harmony was based exclusively on our Four Gospels, that according to St. John being largely made use of. Apparently it did not contain the genealogies ; but we find nothing to countenance Theodoret's suspicion that there had been any heretical motive for the omission. Questions have been raised as to the original language of the 'Diatessaron,' and as to its relations with the Curetonian Syriac Gospels already mentioned, which it would be out of place here to discuss.

VIII. Here may briefly be noticed a find of which Lechler makes no mention, but which deserves to be recorded. The attacks on Christianity made by Porphyry and others were so offensive to Christian readers that, as we have said, not only have the works themselves perished, but even the refutations of them have seldom been preserved. One large fragment of a work containing heathen objections and replies to them has recently been recovered. The author's name is given in the title as Macarius Magnes ; internal evidence fixes the date of composition about A.D. 400, and there was a Macarius bishop at that time, to whom the work has reasonably been ascribed. It had, indeed, a very narrow escape of being lost. It was cited in the Iconoclastic controversy in the eighth century, and Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople at the time, who had never heard of the work before, procured a copy with great difficulty. His account will be found in *Spicilegium Solesmense*, i. 305. After that, scarcely any notice seems to have been taken of the work until near the end of the sixteenth century, when the Jesuit Turrianus found a copy of it in St. Mark's Library at Venice, and used some passages in controversy. Then the book disappeared, and it is quite lately that what may very possibly be the same copy was discovered at Athens, through the exertions of the French School in that city. It was published in Paris in 1876. It contains, as we have stated, a collection of heathen objections and replies to them. It is a question whether the objections have been simply taken from a heathen book or whether they are stated by the writer in his own words. In any case it may be presumed that they represent assaults on Christianity then current. The objector is evidently intimately acquainted with the New Testament ; and this gives especial interest to the work as showing what were

the points which were then felt as presenting most difficulty to the unconverted. The answerer frequently escapes the attack by methods of allegorical interpretation in which a modern reader is not disposed to follow him.

IX. Syriac literature offers us another gain which has not yet been fully utilized, in a translation of the Church History of Eusebius. The oldest Greek MSS. of that work are not older than the tenth century ; the Syriac translation is not later than the fifth, and must have been made within a hundred years of the time when the work was written. It need not, therefore, be said what valuable help this translation offers to an editor of the Greek text. Among the MSS. described by Cureton is one containing the first five books of this translation, written in the year 933. But in St. Petersburg there is a MS. containing other portions of the same version, and dated A.D. 462. There is, besides, in the Mechitarist Library an Armenian version of this Syriac translation. Professor Wright is known to be at work on the Syriac version, and Merx on the Armenian ; but we have still to wait for the complete result of their labours. Meanwhile it has been possible to remove suspicions whether certain passages found in the current text of Eusebius might not be later additions, by showing that they were read by the Syriac translator about the end of the fourth century. On the other hand, it has been possible to make some isolated corrections of the Greek text. Thus, for example, in the list which Eusebius gives of the works of Melito of Sardes is one called 'the Key.' Pitra, in his *Spicilegium Solesmense*, published a Latin work, which he fully accepted as being a translation of the *Clavis* of Melito. Though the claim was acknowledged by some, it has been abundantly shown that the work edited by Pitra is really a mediæval production, in which works were made use of centuries later than Melito. What was the subject of Melito's work remained uncertain. But it is an important fact that this title, 'the Key,' is absent from the Syriac version, whether the translator accidentally omitted it or did not find it in his text.

X. Under this head Lechler gives a full description of the early work known as the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, a copy of which was found by Bryennius in the same volume which contained the Epistles of Clement already noticed by us. This new find has excited so much interest, and has given birth to so copious a literature, that it would not be possible to treat of it adequately in the space that remains to us. Nor are we under any temptation so to lengthen this

article, since the Didaché has so recently been the subject of investigation in this Review.

XI. Since Lechler wrote, a new source has been opened, from which we may expect valuable accessions to our knowledge. Volney tells us in his travels that in 1778

‘the Arabs found in a subterranean place near the site of the ancient Memphis fifty volumes written in a language which they understood not. They were inclosed in a case of sycamore wood, and were highly perfumed. The Arabs offered them for sale to a French merchant, but he refused to purchase them all. He fortunately, however, bought one, while the Arabs consumed the rest, cutting them up, and using them for tobacco, for which they served as an admirable substitute on account of their pleasant odour.’¹

What we have lost in this way it is impossible to tell, but the MS. which survived proved to be as old as the second or third century, containing a list of the workmen employed on the canals connecting the Lake Moeris with the Nile. Since then many Greek papyri have been from time to time recovered. A large collection was purchased in 1877 by the German consul at Alexandria, and sent to Berlin; but the greatest treasure of all was gained about four years ago by the Austrian Archduke Renier, who, when travelling in Egypt, purchased a vast quantity of papyri in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Persian, Arabic, Coptic, as well as in the old Egyptian character. This mass of documents has been deposited in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and is undergoing examination by thoroughly competent scholars. Until they have had time to complete their scrutiny, and to publish its results, it would be premature to attempt to count our gains. Probably a large part of the recovered documents will turn out to be of no importance, and classical literature is likely to profit more than theological. But Church history may be largely benefited by the recovery of even quite secular documents. Among these Fayûm MSS., for example, is a collection of edicts and other State documents which will help to put on a firm basis our chronology of early imperial times, even if it should throw no other light on ecclesiastical history. One little fragment from the Fayûm collection has already made some little stir. It is a third-century copy of that part of the Gospel story which relates our Lord’s prediction of Peter’s denial—St. Matt. xxvi. 30–34, Mark xiv. 26–30. But the verbal differences from our present Gospels are so great

¹ Professor G. T. Stokes, in an article on the Fayûm Manuscripts, *Expositor*, May 1885.

that Bickell, a Roman Catholic professor at Innsbruck, holds that it was not taken from them, but preserves a fragment of an earlier Gospel. In this view he has found some distinguished scholars to agree with him ; but Dr. Hort has given what seem to us quite satisfactory reasons for thinking that it is no more than a free quotation from the Gospels we have. Among the Coptic papyri are an original history of the Diocletian persecution as conducted in Egypt, and a Monophysite account of the proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon. The Greek papyri are said to contain portions of St. Cyril's works, and others which we will not delay to enumerate.

We have said enough to show how very large has been the discovery of ancient documents in the course of the present reign ; and that there is good reason to hope that we have not yet come to the end of such discoveries. Two remarks occur to us in conclusion. One is that while the new discoveries have shown the groundlessness of some suspicions that had been expressed as to the antiquity of some of our sacred books, nothing has turned up tending the other way. The second remark is how much our knowledge has gained though the missionary exertions of the Church which, even before the destruction of Jerusalem, the Apostolic seer beheld embracing men of all 'nations and kindreds and peoples and tongues.' From this wide diffusion of Christianity it has resulted that what has been lost in one place has been preserved in another ; and we have seen how from these different tongues, Greek, Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Coptic, united testimony is borne to the history of the progress of that kingdom in which all nations are one.

SHORT NOTICES.

Social Aspects of Christianity. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D. D.C.L., Canon of Westminster and Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. (London and Cambridge : Macmillan and Co. 1887.)

CANON WESTCOTT gives us a series of very able sermons preached in Westminster Abbey. The place for which they were prepared has had, as he tells us, much to do with the choice of his subject. Indeed he is so desirous that this should be remembered that he extracts from a former volume a passage of much beauty in which he describes the effect of 'the Abbey' and its vast congregations upon one called to minister there. We can well conceive it when the heart of the

preacher is so tender and his mind so rich in far-reaching thought as Dr. Westcott's. But we would add to his description of the inspirations of the Abbey the hint that it has also its temptations. The visitor to this glorious church who permits his mind to think of something besides the national history which its monuments and inscriptions commemorate, will confess that in the visible aspect of the place the National Campo Santo somewhat overpowers the church. The crowded statues, with William Pitt dominating their host from the west door, hide from all but the most determined lookers upward the solemn vistas of the roof; much more is the same thing true when the place is transformed into a court chapel for a jubilee. In the same way the earthly history and secular associations, striking as they are to the imagination, might, even because they are so striking, obscure to the thought those eternal verities, independent of time or place, of which a church is the home. The secular influence—secular we mean in the highest and most pure, but therefore subtlest, form—which Westminster Abbey exercises has been before now evident in the case of its highest dignitaries. And could we imagine so lofty a function falling to our lot as that of giving a charge to a dean and canon of Westminster, we should bid him not only keep his heart open to the story of glorious English life, of which his church is the shrine, and to the appeal of those crowds of English faces from all quarters of the world which assemble there, but also to guard himself against losing any part of the spirituality of his message among these imposing but earthly surroundings. How far Canon Westcott has held his presentation of the Gospel high and free from all that is secular, and how far even he has yielded to the influence of the national Pantheon, will appear from the short account we can give of his eloquent work.

He is of opinion that when we regard the main features of the thought of our time we find that the interests of men are passing from the individual to the society. This basis is protected from the narrowness (may the paradox be permitted) of extravagant breadth by the foundation which the author is careful to lay in the person of the Lord. So long as this origin of all social truth and duty is remembered there is no danger of setting either of them in an unhealthy and unreal opposition to the claims of the individual life. For the fact that in the personality of Christ our social obligations find their centre, reminds us that our own personality must advance toward closer union with Him in the same degree in which our altruistic duties to His brethren and ours are performed. Indeed it is of little moment whether you begin with the individual or with the society. If the individual would cultivate his own nature fully and truly he must act outwards upon the society, and the society cannot be what it ought to be unless the persons who compose it develop their mental and moral powers to the full. No moralist of any age or tendency could entirely forget this double aspect of our life, so obvious is it in the very conditions of our existence. It may well be, we allow, that one aspect or the other shall become prominent at particular times, and that in our time the social should claim special

attention. But we cannot make this concession without recalling the fact that so acute an observer as Stuart Mill believed that individuality ran special dangers of being overwhelmed under the mass of modern humanity, and needed at this time special protection. Nowhere could it obtain such protection as from the eternal importance which the Incarnation of the Son of God, followed up by His divine words, attaches to our separate lives.

But Canon Westcott calls us for the present to consider our social relations, and we are well content to follow his guidance. The first of them which presents itself is that of the Family. 'We are not made to live alone : ' true. 'The Family and not the individual is the unit of mankind' (p. 21) : is that true? Well, it is certainly the case that the individual is not an absolute being but exists in relation, and that the primary relationships are those of the family. But to say that the family and not the individual is the unit would seem to us strangely like denying that the individual is the individual.

'The Family,' Canon Westcott says with equal truth and beauty, 'is not only an expression of Divine law. It is, under the conditions of earth, in some sense a reflection of the Divine nature. Every Family, every Fatherhood, derives that in virtue of which it is from the One Father' (p. 23). But whether he is equally right in naming those points in family life which are to be regarded as reflections of the divine nature we are doubtful. 'A perfect Family includes three primary relations, those of husband and wife, of parent and child, of brothers and sisters.' By these last words, we may remark, we are to understand, as the sequel of Canon Westcott's argument shows, not the relation of brothers to sisters, but that of brothers to brothers and sisters, and *vice versa*, or, in one word, brotherhood. But when we are bidden to trace in the relations of husband and wife an earthly reflection of the divine nature we must needs remember that Marriage is ever treated in Holy Scripture not as the reflection of the divine nature in Itself, but as the pattern of the divine connexion with humanity. So taken it is an image sufficiently full of sacred meaning to justify us in calling Marriage a great sacrament, if not in the technical sense of theologians, yet in the broad meaning of those who trace the impress of God upon the world. Yet it does not make Marriage a reflection of the divine nature in Itself. Canon Westcott is on surer ground for finding among earthly relationships the image of the divine nature Itself when he says that Fatherhood is the original sacrament of authority ; sonship of reverence and obedience. And from this follows 'Brotherhood, the original sacrament of equality. But this divine equality is . . . widely different from that external equality which men have looked for in some reconstruction of the world. It is inherent and permanent ; it is manifested in variety ; it is consummated in sacrifice' (p. 28). We restrain ourselves with difficulty from further quotation under this head that we may not leave ourselves quite without room to indicate the further developments of social life in which Canon Westcott traces the divine plan.

The Nation grows from the Family. It grows by God's ordinance and no man's plan or intention. 'All attempts to explain the origin

of states by a primitive contract between their members are idle fictions' (p. 37). The life of the Nation, with its fruits and proofs in language, law, government, and religion, are facts into the possession of which we are born, not manufactures of our ingenuity. To display to us the teaching of this great fact and clear our minds for its due reception is the work of Canon Westcott's sermon upon the Nation :—

'The Nation no less than the Family is organized and controlled by an inherent authority. Through whatever instruments the authority may be administered, it is in itself not of man but of God. Authority is not created but recognized, even in a successful revolution. Authority may be graced or obscured by the character of him who wields it, but essentially it can receive no glory and suffer no loss from man' (p. 43).

And the Nation leads us forward to the Race.

'We find that we are truer men, truer Christians, in proportion as we recognize that the Nation is for the loyal citizen a revelation, blurred and mutilated it may be, but still a revelation of the original will of God. . . . But we cannot rest here. As the teaching of the Family leads us to the idea of the Nation, so the teaching of the Nation leads us while the ages go forward, to the idea of the Race. While the ages go forward : for the old Roman had but one word for stranger and enemy. The Greeks sharply separated themselves from all other peoples as essentially inferior. The Hebrews, alone of ancient peoples, in this respect true children of Abraham, though in others the most exclusive of all, provided from the first for the admission of strangers to a full share of their most sacred privileges' (p. 52).

Canon Westcott makes many wise observations upon the practical development of our consciousness of relations to humanity out of our consciousness of national union. The spirit of domination in which a nation assumes its own habits to be the best, and would impose them upon other peoples, has its reaction in the discovery that other peoples have customs and characteristics admirable in their way though different from ours. When this conviction has been taken into the mind the result is apt to be a contempt for those insular prejudices which once possessed us, and an attempt to copy those foreign fashions which we have learnt to admire ; and upon the further discovery that this is ridiculous, some become citizens of the world, of no nation in particular. We can recognize the truth of this analysis at any continental *table d'hôte*. But through all these passing phases of mind the great idea of a kingdom of God built not upon forgetfulness or neglect of national claims or national history, makes its way. 'Yes ; the work of God will prevail. The universal claims of man upon man, the cause of humanity, will prevail, not perhaps through those to whom it was first committed, and certainly not without suffering. But the issue of the cause is not for us. The cause itself is.' And so our teacher bids us recognize in the idea of the Race as in that of the Nation a revelation of God, an impress of His mind upon human history, which men may regard, accept, and use, or which, at their own peril, they may ignore. The great work of the preacher in treating of the Race as of the Family or the Nation is to divest our minds of the carelessness and narrowness which leave us

either without any thoughts upon the subject or else with thoughts which are prejudiced and perverted. When once the great idea has shone in upon the mind in its reality as the institution of God, it may be trusted to produce its proper effect. St. Paul was content to leave without comment his declaration that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the whole earth.' Prior to all application of this great truth, and more necessary by far, is the apprehension of the fact itself as revealed to us by God and as revealing Him.

We pass from the Race to the Church. And here we find a change in Canon Westcott's treatment of his subject which places what he has to say upon the Church quite out of parallelism with his treatment of the Family, the Nation, and the Race. For in these cases his care has been to teach us that in each several instance the institution is of divine authority, to separate it from other ideas with which it mingles in our minds, and leave us with the consciousness that God has made us members of a Family, a Nation, and a Race to take in this divine lesson and use it. But in the case of the Church he does not show by what signs we are to recognize it or impress on us the responsibility of belonging to it or guard us against the mistakes which obscure it to our minds. He does not 'propose to touch on the organization of the Church, its ministry, its services, its sacraments;' but 'simply to suggest a few thoughts as to its moral office, as to its universal mission, and as to its embodiment among ourselves.' His thoughts upon the social mission of the Church are extremely beautiful, even though sometimes a little obscure. It is the office of the Church to enable men in things visible to see the sacramental image of what is divine, and to be 'the prophet of the eternal in the light of creation;' it is her office to speak the will of God to successive ages and to be 'the Interpreter of the World in the light of the Incarnation;' she is to hold up Christ's example and present His gifts for men's comfort and admonition, and to be 'the quickener and sustainer of life in the light of the Redemption.' And Canon Westcott treats in a kind and thoughtful spirit the controversy upon the national position of the Church. But we can well conceive that many might listen with approval to these sentiments into whose minds the conception of the Church as a divine institution has never sunk. Canon Westcott makes it quite plain what the Family is, what the Nation is, what the Race is, but not what the Church is. He has not been satisfied to leave unsettled for any listener the question whether the Family, the Nation, and the Race are of divine origin or are merely human creations having certain functions which it is desirable they should perform religiously and well. He warns us against the danger in these cases of suffering the definiteness of the idea to melt away into other conceptions true in their own way but insufficient substitutes for the particular idea of the divine society of which he treats. Why, then, is he content to speak of the Church's functions without first making sure that the idea of the Church as a divine institution is well fixed in our minds, and without reminding us of the danger we run of losing the

distinctness of our conception of the Church amidst the other forms of social life? Surely there is far greater danger in these days of an imperfect grasp of the conception of the Church than of a failure to perceive the idea of the Nation; a far greater peril of allowing the supposed claims of charity and largeness of mind to put aside our duty to God's institution of the Church than there is of suffering a cosmopolitan breadth to thrust out of sight our duty to the Nation.

We could willingly dwell upon the interesting discourses which Canon Westcott devotes to the efforts at organizing social life which the history of Christianity records. The life and work of St. Francis of Assisi, which have proved for six hundred years and more a never-failing spring of love and beauty to every one who has contemplated them, lose nothing of their charm in Dr. Westcott's sympathetic treatment. And it is a truly suggestive reading of history which sets beside the picture of St. Francis as its companion, and at the same time its contrast, that of George Fox. For as the one subjects the individual life to God's voice speaking to man through nature and humanity and bidding him lose himself, so the other hears God's voice in the single soul and works upon humanity through the units which compose it. Each work failed at last through its neglect or its imperfect grasp of the truth which the other embodies. And might we not extend the same observation to those larger movements in the midst of which the Franciscans and the Society of Friends had their birth; and say that Romanism and the Reformation have their strength respectively in the ideas of community and individualism, and their weakness in the excess and exclusiveness with which each holds to its own view?

We understand Canon Westcott in his concluding sermon to propose the establishment of a new society: a 'fellowship of brethren and sisters of the common hope;' freer than the Franciscans, less self-conscious than the Friends. It is to be English, to be comprehensive, to be social, to be open, to be rational, to be spiritual. A noble conception; but we cannot see that any such fellowship could possess these various qualifications in a higher and more distinctive degree than the divine society of the Church. And if we be told that the Church is too wide to afford that distinct sense of purpose and mutual support which a smaller society can offer to its members, we reply that in these days belief in the Church and the determination to embody that belief in the life sets a difference only too sharp between those who hold it and the secular society around them, and unites them of itself in a company which, alas! is by no means too large for distinctness of purpose and action.

Faculties and Difficulties for Belief and Disbelief. By the Rev. FRANCIS PAGET, D.D., Canon of Christ Church and Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology; sometime Vicar of Bromsgrove. (London: Rivingtons, 1887.)

THIS title would perhaps lead us to expect a formal treatise on the internal evidences of religion. The volume does not quite bear that character. It is the result of a request to Dr. Paget that he should publish a volume of sermons. In giving effect to this

suggestion he has arranged the discourses in two classes—the first devoted to the facts of our mental and moral nature which compel us to want the Gospel and fit us to receive it ; the second to the difficulties which a mind that positively rejects the Gospel will meet in living out its creed of negation. The author acknowledges that the sermons are very loosely consecutive. Still they fall without forcing into these two denominations. And the fact that the discourses of the Professor of Pastoral Theology should class themselves easily under so psychological a title indicates to us the introspective or, so to speak, anthropological character which theology is taking in our day, even better than if the work had been a deliberate treatise.

We are very far from complaining that Dr. Paget should adopt this tone in sermons which, coming from him, will be regarded as indicating the kind of pastoral instruction which he holds to be adapted to the times. We are well convinced that belief has a stronghold in the necessary tendencies of human nature from which it is not likely to be displaced. And though man's faculty of disbelief assumes in certain cases, and even in certain classes, the air of a dominating principle which must carry all before it, yet when its victory is gained and it seeks to rest it will find hostile powers within the soul which will seem to have waited for the hour of its triumph to make rebellious protest against it.

The reader will notice the presence in the title of the term Disbelief instead of the more usual word Unbelief. This indicates the author's acceptance of a principle which he adopts from the Lectures on the Efficacy of Prayer of the present Provost of Trinity College, Dublin : that it is usually impossible practically to take up the attitude of unbelief when we take that term to express a practical neglect of a subject founded on an uncertainty whether what is said of it is true or false. Unbelief, therefore, which leaves the problem of Christianity unsolved and the whole question in abeyance, is rejected in Dr. Paget's analysis as having no right to exist. It refuses the demand of Christianity on the life and so denies the Christian Creed, without justification for the denial in a mental certainty that the Creed is false. No doubt in logic this is a just stricture on unbelief. But how much Christian teaching from the Bible downwards, addressed both to the mind and the affections, is directed against the position of those who either believe or at least do not disbelieve, yet act as if they believed not ! They reduce the volume and force of their belief to suit their habits and desires. Archbishop Whately was wont to illustrate the position of unbelief by the notions of a future state prevalent among the Greeks and Romans. They were not sure whether there was any future life or not, and they expressed this uncertainty by a conception of future existence which was neither quite real nor quite unreal, but shadowy. Such is the mental state of many nominal adherents of Christianity. No doubt as the social censure upon absolute disbelief grows more lenient and a larger weight of example encourages men to profess it, practical unbelief will more easily pass into formal disbelief. But the possibilities of the former condition are too well rooted in human nature

to allow us to suppose that it will ever disappear, or that encouragements to carry into practice a faith which lies dormant, or to improve into earnestness a faith which is weak, will cease to be needed.

Dr. Paget begins at the true beginning of all reflection on man's inward life—with his personality, his self; and first in the action of the intellect. He shows how the great Christian ideas of sin, of eternal life, and of God, demand for their acceptance a realization on our own part of our personal existence. It is a great mistake, he tells us, to think that every one realizes his personality as a matter of course. We may very easily forget it, and lose the thought of ourselves in that of external things and of the mass of humanity. But as the sense of what we are in ourselves grows clear to us we learn how different we are from what we should wish ourselves to be; we long for a larger life than that which this world gives us, and, above all, we discern our need of God as at once the cause and origin of our personality, and the hope and help of its improvement.

A second sermon upon the virtue of self-assertion follows. It treats of the self-assertion of the will, taking for its example of moral strength and determination the ever fresh story of Abraham's sacrifice. The third treats of the social instinct. And here we have an opportunity of comparing the mental attitude of the Oxford Professor with that of his accomplished senior at Cambridge, whose sermons at Westminster we have just passed in review. We trust we have not shown ourselves insensible to the merit of Professor Westcott's treatment of social life, but we shall confess that in some ways we prefer Dr. Paget's. In the first place, he regards social life as issuing from the instincts of the individual, looks on personal existence as the primary question, and all true recognition of social duty as dependent on personal virtues and sympathies. And in the second place he shows how our sympathies, which receive their best satisfaction here not in the crowd, but in the home, can find their true sphere only in the Church of God. 'I believe in the Communion of Saints. This is the answer of the Christian Church. She and she alone still clings to the hope and promise of a fellowship and sympathy which shall be at once deeper than any depth which a man can fathom in his own soul, and wider than the world itself; a brotherhood into which the most ignorant and outcast and sinful may through penitence find entrance—a brotherhood in which the most sensitive and thoughtful and exacting soul shall never feel or fear the touch of cruelty or stupidity, but ever be led on from height to height, from strength to strength, from glory to glory, by the answer of a love which is never out of sight, and yet never can be outstripped. . . But if thus we find the unlooked-for blessing of mutual trust growing, we know not how, out of our common allegiance to any earthly object, how can we measure the love which might spread from heart to heart if all were wholly set upon the selfsame Lord who ever pours towards all the selfsame everlasting Love? We shall better understand what the Communion of Saints may be in proportion as we can give our hearts, our strength, our lives to Him who gave Himself for us; to Him who, since He was

lifted up from the earth, alone can draw all to Himself, and link them in the one sufficient sympathy of one unending Love.'

The sermon upon the 'Reasonableness of Life' is designed to show how a conviction that 'the main lines of human life are reasonable and righteous' necessarily leads us to belief in a life to come, while, on the other hand, the doubt or disbelief in the reasonableness of life is a suspicion which we ought not to allow to enter our minds. It is of the nature of criminality. 'We have no right to say to ourselves or to others that our humanity is naturally vile or brutal. We have no right even in thought so to jeer at ourselves as to imagine our life to be unreal and meaningless, a thing to be mocked at and despised, its interests and issues held in the relentless grip of a blind or cruel force.' These words start a subject which it would be well worth Dr. Paget's while to treat at length and weigh in all its aspects, but which is not exhausted by the paragraphs which he has devoted to it here. Have we any right to say that any belief which is true is criminal? Suppose that a man did become convinced by discourse of reason that our life is in the grip of a blind and cruel force, what is he to do? Can he by mere force of will dismiss the conviction as criminal from his mind and substitute another? You will say to him that true is not a term which can be used of a conviction which is morally degrading. But he is likely to reply that we are imperfect judges of what is morally degrading, and that many beliefs which have appeared to very wise men in that light have afterwards prevailed and proved in the long run to be far more elevating than those which they supplanted. And if you once allow yourself to act upon the theory that what is true may be criminal, there is no knowing where you will stop. You may call men in the interests of morality not merely to reject the theory that man is vile or brutal, but to support this or that organization in Church or State which your education has led you to think morally necessary. You may persuade yourself not merely that it is necessary for you to smother your own conviction as immoral or degrading, but to hinder by force, even to the infliction of death, the propagation of such convictions by others. So a man might argue in favour of dismissing all questions of reasonableness or rightness when the question is what is true. On the other hand, it seems undoubted that moral tendency has its weight in determining belief, and still more in deciding whether it is our duty to propagate it. The pursuit of truth is obligatory only because it is part of the code of human morality, and it cuts its own foundation from under it when it demands to be followed when it teaches what is immoral.

In the sermon upon the 'Love of Beauty in Nature,' Dr. Paget confesses his obligation to Dr. Mozley's great discourse upon Nature, and to Mr. St. J. Tyrwhitt's *Natural Theology of Natural Beauty*; but he has made their thoughts his own. His treatment rests on the thought that our perception of beauty in nature is inseparable from a conviction that the Power which made nature beautiful knows what beauty is. The sermon on 'Beauty in Art' might, we think, have been better called a sermon on beauty in human life. The wondrous contrast of

the Messiah as the King in His beauty with the Messiah who hath no form nor comeliness does indeed give a law to any art which pretends to a comprehensive grasp of true beauty. But a more important fact is that it gives a law for human life, which vainly seeks for beauty in rejecting the stern facts amid which it must live, and finds true beauty only in endurance. Such a reading of the purport of this sermon would by no means render superfluous the fine discourse which follows upon 'Beauty in Character.' The sermon upon the 'Place of the Intellect' has a special interest from its references to Dr. Pusey, who seems to share with Dr. Mozley the chief place in Dr. Paget's affectionate reverence.

But we must pass on to say a few words, before we conclude, upon the second part of Dr. Paget's work, which concerns itself with the difficulties of disbelief. If the reader expects under this title any formal statement of the intellectual difficulties which the creed of negation must face in framing a life in accordance with its dreary articles, he will find himself disappointed. There is no such formal statement in the book, but a series of excellent discourses upon the fitness of Christianity to cure the woes of the human soul. That upon the 'Miracle of Repair' recalls to us the work of Professor Drummond.¹ 'It seems certain that below the level of the simplest life, recovery and repair are effected by processes analogous at least to those which we may trace in man' (p. 175). And so Dr. Paget argues, 'in the moral and spiritual life of mankind there has been achieved a work of repair and renewal which at once resembles and utterly transcends the highest and best ordered methods of the body's renewal.' And those who are able to contemplate with the eye of faith the contrast between Christianity and heathenism, and regard the high hopes and spiritual peace of the Christian creed as so much undoubted gain, will accept the analogy as well justified. But, as the recent work of Mr. Cotter Morison shows, the disbeliever will see in all this supposed repair only a vain appearance of amendment, which is of no moral value and less than none. And even if the reader were but a doubter instead of a disbeliever, we can well think that Dr. Paget's estimate of repair and gain would become shadowy and uncertain in the very proportion in which absolute trust was wanting. The argument depends so much upon values which only exist for faith that it would not possess any overwhelming power for the work of restoring a shaken belief. But, indeed, in the succeeding sermon upon 'The Reality of Grace' Dr. Paget shows himself quite conscious that he is 'moving upon ground which may be resolutely denied' to him. And he furnishes an answer not indeed impossible to reject, but such as a reverent observer of life will find sufficient. Grace in itself cannot be seen, but neither, as Bishop Berkeley argues, can Force; the one must be studied in its effects as well as the other. And these

¹ See also an eloquent passage which forms the peroration of a lecture by Sir James Paget on 'The repair and reproduction of injured and lost parts' (*Lectures on Surgical Pathology delivered at the Royal College of Surgeons by Sir James Paget, Bart.*, 4th edition, London, 1876. Lecture vii. p. 128).

effects, the phenomena of Grace, are stated in the striking words of the Dean of St. Paul's :—

‘It seems to me that the exultation apparent in early Christian literature, beginning with the Apostolic epistles, at the prospect now at length disclosed within the bounds of a sober hope, of a great moral revolution in human life—that the rapturous confidence which pervades those Christian ages that at last the routine of vice and sin has met its match, that a new and astonishing possibility has come within view, that men, not here and there, but on a large scale, might attain to that hitherto hopeless thing to the multitude, goodness—is one of the most singular and solemn things in history.’

The sermon on the ‘Transformation of Pity’ displays to us the change which was made in the whole conception and practice of this virtue through the discovery opened up by Christ that pity is divine and is felt by God Himself. And here we may note that one of the most prominent features in Dr. Paget’s work is the excellent use which he is able to make of his stores of classical learning. We ever find the attainments of Greek and Roman morality set in the fairest light, yet without conceding to them the imagined superiority in gaiety and healthiness of tone which has been attributed, against the plainest history, to heathenism for the purpose of depreciating Christianity. In the ‘Records of the Past’ will be found some sober judgments upon the Reformation in the Church of England; and a mournful picture, only too authentic, of the state of religion in those early days of Queen Elizabeth which some look back on as the palmy time when well-deserved hatred of Rome was fresh and active. ‘The Force of Faith’ is a very admirable sermon, showing how wonderful are the effects of faith in oneself and one’s fellow-men, and then in necessary sequence how much greater will be the power of faith in God. We do not quite see why this excellent sermon should have been placed among those upon the difficulties of disbelief; it seems to us more appropriately to belong to the subject of the faculties of positive religion. And the same remark suggests itself regarding the concluding discourse of the volume, one of the best of the whole series, the deeply spiritual exposition of the nature of the Inner Life as tested by its love. We have to thank Dr. Paget for a volume which perhaps those who love sensational writing may find too reflective for their taste, but which we are sure none can read without acquiring a stronger conviction that in Christ Jesus every want of the soul is supplied.

Rational Aspects of some Revealed Truths. By EDWARD B. OTTLEY, M.A. (London : Rivingtons, 1887.)

‘THESE six essays ‘were delivered as addresses to a mixed congregation’ at St. Peter’s, Eaton Square, in the Holy Week of 1883. ‘They make no claim whatever to originality. They are meant to help persons of average intelligence, for whom most of the apologetic literature of the day is, in one or another sense, inaccessible. The writer has found by experience that some of the lines of argument suggested have brought comfort to earnest seekers after truth.’ (*Pref.*

Note.) We think that they are well calculated to do so, and that this small volume will do good, although its style in parts appears to us too rhetorical, and although, on such a question as that of 'the sequence of the orders of life,' the discrepancy between the first chapter of Genesis and the actual conclusions of science appears to be understated (p. 68). Mr. Ottley traces *popular* unbelief, in large measure, to social discontent, which, if fully developed, would mean Nihilism: in philosophical unbelief he discerns (and rightly, as far as we can judge) the imperious sway of a 'materialism which has no logical connexion with science, but co-operates with other tendencies to blind men's eyes to the claims of moral and spiritual truth,' which 'characterises our culture and our barbarism as well, has shown itself in shallow and one-sided philosophy, has drawn a film of sensuality over our æstheticism . . . has lowered the aims and the efforts of philanthropic reformers . . . has most disastrously affected our ethical standards,' &c. He might well, we think, have encouraged his readers to hope that the very magnitude of the evil would to a great extent work its own cure. The fact that, in Dr. Flint's words, 'when materialism comes to deal with mind it simply breaks down,' that it cannot explain personal 'self-consciousness,' and that it 'is irreconcilable with the moral feelings of human nature,' or, as the Duke of Argyll has expressed it, that 'there are two great enemies to materialism, one rooted in the affections, the other in the intellect,' is a sufficient proof that, even if the present Bishop of Manchester was over-sanguine when he said last year that its 'knell had been rung in Europe,' it cannot ultimately dominate the mind of a being who feels himself to be a person and a moral agent. It is, after all, in this indestructible sense of the spiritual element in human nature—of that which, in the fullest sense, makes man to be what he is—that religious faith will find its recuperative power. Nor is it paradoxical to say that positive atheism is at once a more respectable and more hopeful condition of mind than the flabby 'agnosticism' which disguises from itself the true character of its own standing-ground. One who has made up his mind that there is no God is more likely, by virtue of his seriousness and his coherence of thought, to work himself right some day on the question of all questions, than one who contents himself with saying, 'I don't know, and you don't know, and it does not matter.' The atheist who retains a respect for his own humanity may come to see that its true interest and dignity are involved in the existence and the sovereignty of God; and in proportion as he cares for morality, he may come to feel that the abnegation of God is, as Dr. Arnold said long ago, too great a 'moral sacrifice' for any man who really loves goodness. But we may seem to be forgetting Mr. Ottley. The larger part of his volume is taken up with the enforcement of the position, that genuine Christianity is based on the Divine Incarnation. Here, as is natural, he follows the argument of Dr. Liddon's famous lectures, including the consideration from our Lord's emphatic self-assertion and His manifest consciousness of a sinless sanctity. It is interesting to remember that the American revivalist, Mr. Moody, so well known to thousands in

England, is here of one mind with the most accomplished of Anglican theologians and the most impressive of Anglican preachers. 'I did not know,' he says in a volume of *Addresses*, 'where to place Christ, or what to do with Him, if He were not Divine. . . . If He were not Divine, for that very reason He ought not to be called a good man, for He laid claim to an honour and dignity which those very people who say that He was merely the best man that ever lived declare He had no right to.' Mr. Ottley quotes the trenchant formula, 'Christus, aut Deus aut non bonus,' as if from St. Augustine, but without giving any reference. In a somewhat different wording—'Christus si non Deus, non bonus'—it forms a page heading in the fourth of Dr. Liddon's *Bampton Lectures* (ed. xi. p. 206), but it is not there ascribed to the 'Doctor of Grace.' Mr. Ottley draws out (pp. 137-163) the evidence for our Lord's Deity from (1) the Evangelists' description of His 'Person and work, His character and His actions ;' (2) His own 'representations of His relations to God and to mankind ;' (3) the 'convictions' of those 'who were in close contact with Christ,' including him who could ask, 'Have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord?' He adds that 'the Christianity of history—of force and of fact—has been simply the worship of a Divine Christ,' clearly using 'worship' in a large sense, as involving the activities of a practical and loyal self-devotion. We have only space to allude further to the suggestive pages in the last address, in which Mr. Ottley treats of the attempt to de-spiritualise Christian morality, and detach it from Christian doctrine ; and also of that yet more pitiable enterprise which would present artistic culture as a sort of religion, a worship neglected by Christianity. Churchmen who are disposed to accept dilutions of, or substitutes for, the historic religion of Christendom, in order to win over the 'alienated,' may gain some useful hints from Mr. Ottley. He will set them thinking whether fruits can be had apart from their proper roots ; whether an eviscerated Christianity, bereft of what, for want of a better term, we may call its supernaturalism, will not be seen through and despised by hostile philosophy ; whether much of the current 'philanthropy,' avowedly secular in its aim and scope, is not animated by an excessive regard for mere physical gain or 'social advancement ;' whether art can really touch the deepest needs of human experience ; whether 'culture' in *that* sense may not be a superficial varnish ; whether, in short, there can be any living 'in the whole, the good, the beautiful,' otherwise than by living 'in the Lord.'

Sermons on Subjects from the New Testament. By J. R. WOODFORD, D.D., sometime Lord Bishop of Ely. Edited by H. M. LUCKOCK, D.D. (London : Rivingtons, 1887.)

THIS volume exhibits those characteristics of Bishop Woodford's power as a preacher which we lately noticed in its predecessor, the *Sermons on Old Testament Subjects*. But it exhibits them, we think, in a yet more perfect form : it is, on the whole, a richer book, more beautiful, more eloquent, more suggestive. The Bishop's style was liable to occasional excess of amplification ; but here we find an

unusual frequency of terse sayings which condense much into few words. 'Truth embodied in outward institutions lives. . . . Christ embedded, as it were, the main points of His religion in external ordinances' (pp. 6, 8); 'The world likes a *little* religion' (p. 38); 'Religious instruction, when not honestly carried out, becomes itself a snare' (p. 39); 'The tremendous peril of playing with spiritual convictions' (p. 41); 'Wherever there is no belief in the Son of God, there is little belief in the Personality of God' (p. 110); 'The Incarnation is the great breakwater against Atheism' (p. 150);— which last two statements may summarize the argument in Dr. Liddon's *Bampton Lectures* as to the extent to which 'Theistic truth is protected by the doctrine of Christ's Divinity.' We have fresh evidence of Bishop Woodford's care to set forth truth in all its aspects. The Incarnation is emphasized on its Divine side, but also repeatedly on its human, as involving the permanence of our Lord's complete humanity (pp. 104, 141, 192, 205); and it is even suggested that the slow progress of His cause amid hindrances may mean that His mediatorial kingship, as Son of Man, has to work under conditions of human instrumentality (p. 108). The Church is presented as no mere 'association of men agreeing in certain opinions and combining together' (p. 10), not 'a mere congregation of men to which we may belong or not as we like' (p. 50), but 'Christ's own kingdom, a community having certain fixed laws of order and rules of living' (for 'Christianity from the very beginning manifested itself a thing of order, rule, system' (p. 207), 'a principle of continuity by a ministerial succession,' and as founded and endowed with 'His own Presence, for the purpose of maintaining certain truths and dispensing certain heavenly gifts' (p. 10). Yet, withal, the individual's responsibility is set forth as having been first fully brought out by the Gospel (p. 162), and Christ's discriminating love is described as contemplating and providing for the most intimate needs of every single Christian soul (p. 172). By the effectiveness of 'even the shadow of Peter' we are reminded of Divine love 'overflowing the prescribed' sacramental 'channels' of its operation (p. 88). Various points of Christian truth or duty are set in fresh light; we do not remember, for instance, to have elsewhere seen Acts ii. 11, as preceding Peter's discourse, employed to suggest that 'hearty worship of God' must, in the due order of things, precede 'hearty work for others' (p. 76). This vividness, this sense of reality, are features of the volume. Bishop Woodford, we feel, had his eye on the actual phenomena of modern Christian life. He speaks plainly of the vagueness and thinness of much that passes for belief. He knows how many, consciously or unconsciously, are paring down their creed, putting Christian motives for moral conduct into the background, trying to conciliate the outsiders who have no taste for religion by making Christianity as little of a religion as may be. Nothing easier than to 'follow the leading of Christ' when it prescribes uprightness, benevolence, or other social virtues; the test comes 'when He would lead' men 'further, to the acceptance of truths which cannot be demonstrated,' in the strict sense of that term.

'The whole sacramental system, the new birth in baptism, the Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist, the communion of saints, the ministration of angels, the gift of the Spirit in confirmation, the real force of the absolution pronounced, as it is affirmed, with power and authority every morning and evening in our holy places—how many are utterly indifferent about them ! Besides those to whom these doctrines are simple matters of unbelief, there is a large body of well-informed, well-intentioned Christian men, who have heard of these things, who see them written in their Prayer-books, and who yet cast them from their minds. They do not trouble themselves to ascertain whether they have Scripture warrant or not. . . . There are, it will be urged by such, certain plain verities in religion which are enough for them ; other points may suitably occupy the minds of the clergy ; they, as practical men, feel exonerated from attending to them,' &c. (P. 179.)

We may mention two other points on which Bishop Woodford's teaching is specially opportune. One is that hell is not simple 'infliction of torment' by God on the lost, but is 'the ceasing of all opportunity of amendment and recovery' in the way of 'natural consequence' (p. 18) ; the other is that the saved will be 'no meagre assembly, no scanty few rescued from an almost universal ruin ; such a notion irremediably derogates from the Redeemer's work' (p. 178). We do not quite follow the Bishop in his interpretation of 2 Cor. v. 2-4, where he says that 'the resurrection-body is represented as a mantle of glory put on over the present raiment of corruption ;' it is surely rather to be 'put on over' the disembodied spirit. Though he has given some attractiveness to that sense of 2 Tim. i. 12 which Bishop Ellicott prefers in his commentary, and according to which the Apostle, at the close of his ministry, 'solemnly commends to Christ Jesus upon His throne the guardianship of the faith which for so many years he had been preaching,' and thereby excludes all timorous solicitude as to its fortunes (p. 129), we cannot but think it unnatural and confused. At p. 136 there is an error of the press—'There is no more difficult subject of thought than *our* relationship to God . . . of the thousands in our great towns and distant settlements who stand wholly aloof from religion.' Clearly we should read '*the* relationship.' The Bishop reminds us that Christ's 'wisdom and mercy may have a wide field for action in regard to those of whom man's ministry has no account to give.'

The Church and the Roman Empire. By the Rev. ARTHUR CARR, M.A.
(London : Longmans, 1887.)

THIS volume, forming part of the series entitled *Epochs of Church History*, under the editorship of Professor Creighton, is a useful manual on 'the external growth of the Church,' and on its relations to the Imperial government 'during the fourth and fifth centuries.' Mr. Carr begins by striking the true note : 'The first leading idea implanted by Christ in the minds of His followers was the idea of a kingdom.' This suggested at once a comparison between the Church and the Empire ; even when earthly conceptions of Christ's kingdom were cleared away, there remained the indisputable fact of a claim to dominate human life, to exercise a supreme jurisdiction over con-

science, to supersede all existing secular authorities when they came into collision with the transcendent rights of an unseen Lord. As Archbishop Trench has well expressed it (*Huls. Lect.* p. 273) :—

‘The practical Roman saw at a glance that the question at issue between Christ and the world was not a question of one notion and another, but of one kingdom and another, and therefore he came at once to the point, “Art thou a king, then?” And that empire which tolerated all other religions would have tolerated the Christian, but that it instinctively felt that this, however its first seat and home might seem to be in the hearts of men, yet could not remain there, but would demand an outward expression for itself, must go forth into the world and conquer a dominion of its own.’

Hence the Roman persecutions : or, as Mr. Carr puts it, ‘in this way Cæsarism and Christianity clashed.’ And surely we may add that the concentrated energy and determination of the Church in that great conflict form a difficulty in the way of that disintegrating hypothesis which regards her organization as a thing, so to speak, accidental, external to her real life, and not traceable to any Divine appointment. Mr Carr occupies throughout the standpoint of a Churchman. He thus does homage to the greatest name in this period :—

‘Undoubtedly no figure in ecclesiastical history stands out with more impressive grandeur . . . than that of Athanasius ; no one has rendered higher or more difficult and varied service to the cause of truth and of Christ. Other leaders in a great crisis may have been more learned, more powerful in speech and argument, of quicker intuition, of deeper contemplation ; but no one, since St. Paul, had singly filled a wider space in contemporary Church history ; no one had risen nearer to the apostolic ideal in zeal for Christ, in activity of service, and in courageous defence of the faith as delivered to the saints.’ (P. 55.)

With regard to ‘intuition,’ we have always considered that it was one of the special gifts of Athanasius to see into the heart of a question, to distinguish what was verbal from what was essential, and to do justice to diverse aspects of the truth. Of St. Ambrose Mr. Carr says (somewhat too stringently) that his principles

‘on the relations of Church and State would, if actually put in force, destroy the just balance between civil and ecclesiastical government. But’ (it is added) ‘the practical assertion of the supreme authority of . . . moral right in the government of the world, and the limitation thereby imposed on the imperial rule, gives a supreme importance to his episcopate.’ (P. 101.)

We may also refer to the estimate taken (p. 130) of St. Augustine’s *De Civitate Dei* :—

‘It is at once a review of history and an exposition of the doctrine and discipline of the Catholic Church. There are few things finer in literature than the comprehensive sweep of St. Augustine’s intellect in his criticism of the events and politics of the pagan past, of all philosophy, and of all aspects of life, in his *City of God*. Nothing can be gentler or more generous than his attitude towards mistaken beliefs. Nothing can exceed his readiness to recognize what is beautiful and noble in character or in nationality, or his eagerness to claim it for Christianity.’

So, again, the effect of St. Chrysostom's preaching is described as 'a beginning of that Christian influence on vast urban populations which it has always been the just ambition of the Church to secure;' but yet 'we are compelled to see darker lines in the picture. Christianity has not been able, as enthusiasts might have hoped, to sweep away the selfishness, the lust, the cruelty of the pagan world. Society was still unpurged; every page of Chrysostom's homilies teaches this.' (P. 139.)

This disappointment of a sanguine idealism, this limitation of the successes of the Divine kingdom, this tenacious 'vitality' of paganism in the face of Christianity, itself enthroned and imperialized, is one of the facts which Mr. Carr brings home with special vividness to the mind of a reader. Under Constantine, Christianity succeeded in softening the hardness of pagan legislation; and yet 'it had lost as well as gained by the revolution, and the change of imperial favour had clashed with many interests.' Christian life was exposed to secularizing influences; paganism was biding its time, and 'in Rome especially it continued to prosper;' penal measures against it, under the sons of Constantine, procured for 'thoughtful and philosophic paganism' the credit of unworldly disinterestedness; the unhappy prince who is popularly entitled the Apostate 'had been forced into a service which had been misrepresented to him, and which he found irksome,' and therefore 'never gave his heart to Christ;' heathen scholars were instructors of a future ecclesiastical historian; a brilliant Roman poet could pointedly ignore Christianity; a pagan commander under Honorius 'displayed the qualities which a prosperous Christianity was in danger of losing,—he refused to be restored to his rank in the army by a *privilegium*' (p. 160).

There are a few oversights in this attractive book which can be corrected in a second edition. The date of the Council of Sardica is now known to be 343, not 347; that of George's murder is December 361; Ulilas is proved, by the evidence recently laid before English readers in Mr. Charles Scott's volume, to have been a 'declared' Arian from the beginning of his ministry; Constantine's argument for Arianism at Milan was delivered, not in the full 'assemblage,' but behind the curtain of the presence-chamber, —*intra velum*, as Lucifer tells us (*Moriendum*, 1.); and Lucifer's references to Old Testament history appear to have been made, not in his oral reply to the Emperor, but in one of his vehement pamphlets (*De non pariendo*, &c.). The charge against Athanasius as to Alexandrian corn-ships is mentioned too early in p. 45, but comes in its right place in p. 46; and the reader who meets with an account of Galla Placidia's Church work at Ravenna in p. 153 is not told who she was until he comes to p. 167.

Acta Pontificum Romanorum inedita; Urkunden der Päpste vom Jahre 590 bis zum Jahre 1197, gesammelt und herausgegeben von Dr. P. v. Pflugk-Harttung. Band III. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1886.)

THE majority of the *Acta* in the present, as in each preceding, volume of Dr. Pflugk-Harttung's magnificent undertaking belong to

Italy and to the twelfth century. The reason will be apparent to those who have read his *Iter Italicum*. During the last few years the State archives of the Italian cities have been brought into better order, and most of the Italian capitular libraries have been opened more freely to scholars. The editor was commissioned by the Berlin Academy of Sciences to explore and report upon the hitherto unused documentary treasures of the cities, cathedrals, and monasteries of Italy. An alphabetical list of the Italian archives and libraries, with the names of their librarians, and a general account of the documentary treasures in each, will be found in the work which we have mentioned. Dr. Pflugk-Hartung was astonished at the enormous mass of papal documents still lying unused in them. He came upon numbers which had escaped the persistent scrutiny of Jaffé; and during the progress of this work he has printed several of which Jaffé has only recorded the place and the subject. During the twelfth century three powers were contending for secular supremacy in Italy: (1) The Emperor, who was still technically regarded as a sort of temporal head of Western Europe, and who took his chief title from Rome; (2) the Republican cities—amongst which Rome itself was included, under the short-lived triumph of Arnold of Brescia; and (3) the Roman Pontiff. The Republican cities, while contending for local liberty and self-government, conceded a certain degree of sovereignty to the distant Cæsar across the Alps, as the divinely appointed 'Caput mundi,' and as the secular 'Caput totius Latinitatis;' while neither the Cæsar nor the Republics questioned for an instant the spiritual supremacy of the Popes. Nothing contributed more to the self-aggrandisement of the papacy than the way in which the Emperor and the Italian Republican cities tried to subsidise the spiritual power against one another. Hence it is that the Popes of the twelfth century, at least in Italy, appear at one time as Imperialists, and at another almost as Republicans. The Emperors had indeed a dangerous weapon in their power of indirectly creating a Pope of their own, by the votes of their party among the Roman cardinals; and it must often have been a hard problem for the individual Christian conscience in the English and other National Churches, which had no interest in the Italian territorial squabbles, to know who was rightly the Pope and who the anti-Pope. The ultimate decision, at all events for the National Churches, was almost always purely Erastian. The rival Popes appealed to the kings, rather than to the bishops of England and France, to decide which of the two was the undoubted successor of S. Peter. The great contest whether Rome itself was to be imperial, republican, or papal, was virtually decided during the stirring pontificate of the only Englishman who was ever Bishop of Rome. The documents of Hadrian IV. in this volume are numerous, though there is not one amongst them which has any direct interest for the Church of his native land. They all concern local Italian monasteries and churches, and consist mostly of 'faculties' taking a monastery 'under the protection of S. Peter and the Roman bishop,' and 'confirming' it 'in the enjoyment of its possessions and privileges.' These documents richly

illustrate the steady policy of the papacy to depress the Italian episcopate, and to reduce the '*venerabilis frater*,' the local bishop, into the mere lieutenant of the Pope. Exemption from episcopal authority, and from the obligation of appearing at the bishop's synod, was a petition incessantly applied for by the heads of the monasteries, and always readily granted. Concessions to an abbot or prior to wear the mitre or ring and bear the pastoral staff are equally numerous. This symbolical elevation of the president of a body of monks or collegiate canons to an equality with the diocesan bishop was also a part of the traditional policy of the Roman bishops to depress and humiliate their Italian brother bishops. In all cases these papal grants of the twelfth century state in their opening sentences that the quasi-episcopal dignity is conferred upon the abbot or prior as an acknowledgment of his singular devotion to S. Peter and the Roman Chair, and they close as invariably with a threat of 'the anger of Almighty God, and of His blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, upon any persons soever, ecclesiastical or secular, who shall presume to violate this apostolical constitution.'

Nearly a fourth of the volume is occupied by hitherto unedited documents of Hadrian's successor, Alexander III., whose pontificate was of far greater importance to the Church of England than that of his English predecessor. He was the canoniser of King Edward the Confessor, and the patron of S. Thomas of Canterbury. Although Alexander eagerly supported the archbishops and bishops of foreign Churches against emperors and kings, he was himself a great 'repressor' of the Italian episcopate. In his grants of exemption to Italian monasteries, as to the abbot and monks of Santa Maria della Pomposa (1160), and to the abbot and monks of San Fruttuoso in Genoa (1162), we find the words '*Decernimus, ut nulli archiepiscopo, nulli episcopo liceat monasterio vestro gravamen inferre, nec in ipso aut ejus rebus potestatem exercere.*' The frequent grants to Italian abbots of the right of wearing the episcopal mitre, ring, sandals, are described in different letters as a '*facultas*,' an '*indulgentia*,' a '*beneficium*.' They were always rewards for the 'popery' of the receiver. Thus Vivianus, the prior of San Salvatore in Venice, is informed by Alexander III. that he and his successors are privileged 'by apostolical authority' to wear the mitre as 'a reward for devotion and constancy of faith toward the holy Roman Church and our person;' while Roger, the abbot of San Severino in Naples, is told that 'the Apostolic See knows how to reward those who are devout and faithful toward it, and loves to decorate them with some ecclesiastical honour;' and Walter, abbot of San Bartolomeo in Carpineto, is told that 'it is the custom of the Roman Church to decorate those prelates who honour her, that they may become even more devoted to her.'

The relations of Alexander III. to the Church of England during the contest between the King and the Archbishop do not find much illustration in the present volume. There are only six letters of Alexander III. to England in the collection. The first, dated from Anagni, February 7, 1161, is to the Abbot Laurence and the Chapter

of Westminster, stating that he has granted their petition and the petition of 'our most dear son,' Henry (II.), 'the illustrious King of the English,' by canonising and inscribing in the Catalogue of the Saints, Edward, the late glorious King of the English.' His rival, Victor IV., was acknowledged as Pope by the Emperor and the German bishops, and Alexander was anxious to get the support of the King of England to his own claims. The other letters of Alexander III. are all concerned with the interests of a certain 'Magister David.' First, Alexander wrote in 1171 to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln informing them that as the Church of Lincoln was without a bishop [it was vacant from 1168 to 1173] he himself, 'acting in the plenitude of the power conferred on him by the Lord, and by the authority of blessed Peter,' by this faculty instituted Master David a canon of their Church, and conceded to him the first vacant prebend: 'Instituimus et concedimus,' he says, 'statuentes, ut si episcopus, vel alius quislibet contra hoc venire presumpserit, ejus in hac parte factum nullas vires optineat.' This was a papal blow at episcopal liberty and jurisdiction in the Church of England. The Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, however, appear to have been very slow in obeying the 'apostolical' command, for Pflugk-Harttung prints a second letter to them, in which the Pope repeats his command. 'It specially pertains to our office,' he tells them, 'to assign to honest and learned men fit places in the Church of God.' Hence he 'provides' Master David with a canonry in their Church, declaring the said David to be worthy 'non solum canonicatui sed episcopali etiam dignitati.' For this reason, he says, 'we constitute him by apostolical authority a canon of your Church, and by the same power we assign to him the first prebend which shall fall vacant.' The Pope adds that the Dean and Chapter are 'to be greatly congratulated upon the fellowship of such a man.' He next informs them that 'if any bishop, or other person, shall presume or attempt to assign the next vacant prebend to anyone else,' the act will have no force, but will be 'irritum et vacuum,' and that, until a prebend becomes vacant, the Chapter must find for Master David 'aliquod beneficium annuum, pro beati Petri et nostra reverentia.' The aggressions of this Pope upon the domestic rights and liberties of the local Churches in England on behalf of this 'Magister David' do not seem to have ended at Lincoln. There is a letter from Alexander III. to the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's, London, scolding them for their behaviour to 'their fellow-canon Magister David,' in keeping back part of his dues, and the Pope orders the Dean to pay him all arrears. It is probable that the Dean of S. Paul's was as slow as the Dean of Lincoln in complying with the 'apostolical injunction,' for the next following letter is addressed to Gilbert (Foliot), Bishop of London—Becket's adversary, whom the Primate had shortly before excommunicated—saying that 'Master Gilbert, canon of thy Church, has been faithful concerning thy business, in secret and in public,' and warning the bishop against giving credit 'adversus eum pravis aliquorum suggestionibus,' but to see that he is duly remunerated. There is a letter of the same date

(April, 1171) to King Henry II., in which the Pope tells the King that Archdeacon Reginald of Salisbury and 'Magister David' have been zealous in their representation of his business at the Roman *curia*. The only other document concerning the Church of England is a letter from the same Pope (undated, but about 1170-1172) to the English bishops Bartholomew of Exeter and Roger of Worcester, ordering them to inquire into the causes of the decay 'in temporalibus et spiritualibus' of S. Augustine's at Canterbury. They are to demand from the monks the 'nudam et simplicem veritatem.' If they find the monks past reformation, the two bishops are empowered, by 'this apostolical letter,' to turn them all out, and to fill their places with monks of the same order from other monasteries.

Chrysostom: a Study in the History of Biblical Interpretation. By FREDERIC HENRY CHASE, M.A. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co., 1887.)

THIS monograph is an essay which gained a University prize at Cambridge, and which has been published after three years' further labour has been spent upon it. Certainly no one will think that either the prize was undeserved or the labour ill bestowed. We have unfortunately to read many books which are equally destitute of learning and ability; we have hailed with delight one which is conspicuous for both.

There are two ways in which Chrysostom's work as an exegete may be treated. The one is that adopted by Archdeacon Farrar. It dashes him off in a couple of pages, and of this space devotes a considerable portion to his general life. It contains the quotation from Dante which is indispensable for everyone who wishes to be 'in touch' with the times. There is also the equally indispensable sneer at dogmatism and sacerdotalism. The supposed subject of the discourse is alluded to incidentally in a few magniloquent periods. We can earnestly commend this course to anyone who aspires to the position of a sophist or popular preacher. Mr. Chase has chosen the second way. He prefers to write about the subject he has in hand; he has the self-denial not to insert a single period on Chrysostom against the court. He is learned, industrious, careful, and philosophical, and has thus succeeded in producing a work of real value, and one which may rival a German monograph in learning, while it is far superior in lucidity and clearness of arrangement.

In the first chapter he traces the growth of the Antiochene school of interpretation, and shows how reaction against Origenism was the basis of its sound common sense and freedom from allegorism. A well-trained Cambridge scholar can hardly be expected to bring out the element of truth there is in Newman's paradox of the danger of an excessive devotion to pure literalism. We may condemn the 'mysticism' of the early Fathers; but though a fault it is—yet it is one which arises from an excess of spiritual earnestness. Which is the truest, the criticism of a German specialist who considers the Bible an interesting subject for anatomical study, or the spiritual insight of a commentator whose whole life is filled with the Divine

teaching of the book, even if the latter has a mystical interpretation of the number of Abraham's household?

On the Old Testament Chrysostom had much of the difficulty which some modern theologians feel. How was he to defend or meet the attacks on its morality and teaching which certain heretics were so fond of making? He might have wandered off into Origenistic mazes of allegorism. As a matter of fact he adopted principles of interpretation which showed a decided approach to the most modern answers. The Bible owes its very existence to the condescension of God to man (*συγκατάβασις*), and hence revelation must be conditioned by the instruments through which it came. God, to make His meaning clear to man, uses the language of man. When anthropomorphic expressions occur they are used relatively and not absolutely. 'Do not interpret the expression in a merely human sense, but account the grossness of the phrase as due to human weakness.' And similarly with moral ideas, he partially recognizes what would be modern explanations. The law of revenge was necessary for a primitive state of society. 'The lawgiver who lays down no law of vengeance against evildoers simply equips them with the armour of impunity, and is as one who puts swords into their hands.' And the law was made as lofty in its philanthropy as the times allowed. It is of the utmost importance in the present day to recognize that on such subjects as the moral ideas of the Old Testament thoughtful men among early Christians had the same difficulties as we have, and opponents of the faith brought the same objections. It is equally important both for estimating the exegetical value of the Fathers, and also to corroborate our own convictions, to realize that they too understood the progressiveness of the Scriptural revelation and the gradual education of the world. Of course in many of his interpretations Chrysostom does not completely carry out this idea. Sometimes he drifts into allegorism, sometimes he shows the blunted moral vision which had influenced his conduct in his early life. We do not wish to deny his faults; we only ask that his merits too may be recognized.

We must pass over much that is interesting. In the chapter on Criticism and Scholarship Mr. Chase collects evidence to show that in Chrysostom's day the Syrian text had been settled by an authoritative revision. Passing to the New Testament, we find that it is as an interpreter of St. Paul's Epistles that Chrysostom is at his best. Here he has the 'enthusiasm of sympathy.' 'I do not understand the Apostle by reason of any intellectual ability or acuteness of my own, but because I keep continually in his company and love him much.' But this is not his only, though his greatest merit. He recognizes the importance of understanding the position of the writer and recipient of the epistle; he recognizes the importance of interpreting a passage by its context. 'Paul himself interprets his meaning in the words which follow.' We must go further than this. 'We must not examine the words as bare words, else many absurdities will follow, nor must we investigate the language by itself, *but we must mark the mind of the writer.*'

We are sometimes asked, Why is it you lay such stress on the Fathers as interpreters of Scripture? You allow that they knew little or no Hebrew; you allow that very often they are demonstrably wrong. What, then, are their merits? To those who know them no answer is required; for those who do not a very short one will suffice. Chrysostom may have many faults, but his genius enabled him to seize at once the mind of St. Paul, and he, as no one else, can interpret the epistles from the point of view of their writer. Augustine is the one writer whose theological intuition enabled him to grasp the full meaning of faith. Origen lived in regions of Divine contemplation to which few can approach. These are merits which will outweigh many defects. The merits of modern criticism are the results of industry, of cultivated leisure, and of the growth of a scientific spirit; the merits of a Chrysostom or Augustine come from genius—almost from inspiration.

We have said enough, we hope, on the merits of patristic interpretation, of Augustine, and of Mr. Chase. We can only add that, as far as we know, Mr. Chase's book is remarkably free from errors. We must honestly confess that his learning is often too varied and minute for us to be able to speak authoritatively. We can thoroughly recommend the book, and hope it will not be the last that Mr. Chase writes.

The Acts of the Apostles, with Notes Critical and Practical. By M. F. Sadler, Rector of Honiton and Prebendary of Wells. (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1887.)

WE are always glad to welcome a new book from the pen of Mr. Sadler. There is a vigour and freshness about his writings which makes it a pleasure to read them, while there is certain to be much that is instructive, and their tone and tendency are equally certain to be sound and edifying. This short Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles is no exception to the rule, and it well supports the established reputation of its author. The spirit in which it is written may be correctly gathered from a note on one of the opening verses:—

‘The work of Jesus while on earth was but the beginning of His work. It was a work done under difficulties. “I have a Baptism,” He says, “to be baptized with, and how am I straitened till it be accomplished.” The work before the Ascension was but the beginning. The work after the Ascension was the continuance and the application. While on earth He worked on a few, and under the restraints of a human sphere. After the Ascension He worked on the world from a Divine sphere. The Acts, while they are the Acts of human instruments, are yet the Acts of Jesus glorified. He chooses the apostle who is to fill the place of the traitor. He baptizes with the Holy Ghost at Pentecost (ii. 33). His Name, through faith in His Name, makes the lame man strong. God, though He had raised up Jesus out of the sight of men, had none the less sent Him to bless them. The Lord personally appears to Saul and converts him. Peter says to Dorcas “Jesus Christ maketh thee whole.” So that the Book of the Acts is the account of the Risen Lord working through His Spirit by the hands of His servants; and yet with all this the Acts may be called the Gospel of the Holy Ghost; for in it the Holy Spirit is

in the forefront, personally present, baptizing, teaching, directing, restraining, forbidding—all but personally appearing' (p. 2).

These words may be taken as the key-note of the volume. They tell of the power to which everything is referred, the point of view from which everything is regarded. The Acts are not a mere human history, a correct account of what was done by our Lord's Apostles after He left the world; they are much more than this. They contain a revelation from on high just as the Gospels do, and therefore we need not say there is no toning down of miraculous agency, or attempts to explain it away. The tendency is all the other way, to make the most of what is said about supernatural power and unseen influences. Thus, in speaking of the sin of Ananias and Sapphira, Mr. Sadler says it 'was hypocrisy and a tempting of the Spirit akin to blasphemy against Him. The excess of its guilt depended on the clear manifestation of the Spirit as acting in the Apostles, and so it seems to me it ought never to be used as a warning against common lying.' 'All bodies of Christians put those who adhere to them in great danger of this sin who encourage a profession of spirituality in prayer meetings, or meetings for the exhibition of what is called Christian experience. Those who take part in such things would be scarcely human if they did not bring forward what they consider to be the best state of things within them, and "keep back" that which would be to their spiritual or even moral discredit.' Then in commenting upon xvii. 26, 'And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation,' he insists upon the fullest and most literal interpretation of the latter clause of the sentence. He contends that by these words we are taught that God had not only preordained the place upon the earth of each race of men, but also 'those epochs in the history of each which were beyond man's control, but which contributed to make them what they were, such as the appearance of certain teachers among them, their conquest of other nations, or their being conquered by others.' Writing from the point of view named above, he shrinks from admitting the inaccuracies which are sometimes charged against portions of the Acts, notably the speech of St. Stephen before the Council. Thus, when the protomartyr says 'I will carry you away beyond Babylon,' Mr. Sadler reminds us that

'the Hebrew and Septuagint both read "beyond Damascus." This may be an inaccuracy in the original defence of Stephen. In which case, as I have said more than once, his inspiration was only for spiritual purposes, to give the spiritual application of the Old Testament, and not to preserve him from mere slips of memory. It may, however, have been an intentional correction of the statement of the prophet; for the Israelites were carried away beyond both Damascus and Babylon, when, as related in 2 Kings xvii. 6, they were placed in the cities of the Medes, so that the vengeance executed upon them was beyond that foretold.' (P. 132.)

To turn to another and different side of the principle on which this Commentary is written. In speaking of St. Paul taking the Nazarite vow upon him, he writes:—

'The fact that St. Paul should not merely have submitted, but should have voluntarily chosen to offer to God such a service as this, is of the utmost significance. It shows us how very different his religion (taking religion to be religious observance) was to what many of us suppose that it must have been. The general idea among ultra-Protestants is that he was a man so wholly taken up with preaching Christ crucified that he regarded all formal observances as being utterly beneath his notice. And yet, when we come to look into the facts of his life, we find that he rather preached Christ risen, and that, prompted by his own will, he desired to express his gratitude to God by what was as formal a piece of religious ritual as is to be found in the whole Bible. It has often been said that he did this to please the Jews, by showing them that Christianity had not absolutely alienated him from the Law in its ceremonial aspect. But such a view is to be energetically repudiated; for it makes him perform an act of religious devotion, not with the view of being acceptable to God, but of being pleasing to men. There can be no doubt that St. Paul took this view, and performed its (to us) strange obligations with the view of expressing his gratitude to God by something which was over and above his daily sacrifice of himself. . . . He already did as much as he could in that way. But there was another way open to him—the way of the Nazarite, a way frequently adopted by his countrymen under the direction of God's word; and he not only chose this, but apparently ordered his journeyings so that he might in due form fulfil it at Jerusalem.' (P. 348.)

On the oft-quoted passage of the people of Berea being more noble than those of Thessalonica because they searched the Scriptures daily, whether 'these things were' as stated by the Apostle, Mr. Sadler has some words of caution. He bids those who search the Scriptures in a jealous, self-asserting spirit remember that the Fathers and Doctors of the Church 'seem to have known the letter and been permeated with the spirit of the Scriptures as much as, or more, as a rule, than modern expositors,' and that these Fathers and Doctors were infinitely more likely to be right in their interpretations than any private person who depends wholly or chiefly upon his own unaided private judgment; and he also bids such persons remember that not only such expositors, but their own teachers, read Scripture as carefully and intelligently as they do, and are at least as likely to arrive at its correct interpretation. In opposition to the general consent of commentators, Mr. Sadler thinks that St. Paul's visit to Jerusalem, of which he speaks in the Epistle to the Galatians (ii. 1), was not the same as that in which the first Council at Jerusalem made a decree relative to circumcision, but that it took place some time previously. And he gives us his reasons for this view, that there is no mention made in the Galatians of the Council, which there presumably would have been if it had then taken place, and that Paul the Apostle speaks in it of privately consulting with Peter, James, and John, and not of a public conference. Then in an elaborate note upon circumcision, in which he points out that for one who was baptized to be circumcised would be a practical abandonment of what he had received, he says:—

'Such going back was the sign of real unbelief, and so the Apostle treated it as apostasy. The sign of the new covenant and the sign of the

old could not possibly exist together in the same system—for if the one was the sacrament of faith, the other was the sign of the opposite of true faith ruling in the soul, because he who received it by doing so declared his unbelief in the all-sufficing Christ.

It would be easy to illustrate the principles on which this Commentary is written at greater length, but what we have said will show our readers what they may expect if they should purchase this volume, as we trust many of them will do. Mr. Sadler's remarks on evening communions in connexion with the restoration of Eutychus to life ; the baptism of Apollos ; the influence of St. James at the Council in Jerusalem ; St. Paul's ordination,—are interesting, and in some cases original. At the end of the volume there are short essays on the later years of St. Paul ; on the medical language of St. Luke, and on the gift of tongues ; which are instructive, and will be found helpful to students of this part of Holy Scripture.

The Epistle to the Ephesians : its Doctrine and Ethics. By R. W. DALE, M.A., LL.D., Birmingham. Third edition. (London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1887.)

DR. DALE is well known as a theologian whose fame has travelled far beyond the limits of the sect to which he belongs. His lectures on the Atonement are largely used by theological students of very various opinions. Both his ability and his reputation demand a careful consideration from us of whatever he writes, and a careful examination of points in which we differ from him.

His lectures on the *Epistle to the Ephesians*, the third edition of which lies before us, are in many ways admirable. In the first place they are thoroughly theological in tone. They rise above 'the geography of the Holy Land, the crimes of the family of Herod, the laws of Roman municipalities, &c.,' which, as he complains, absorb such an undue amount of attention, and confer only subsidiary aid to apprehend the Christian revelation. Dr. Dale recognizes the necessity of theology as the root of the spiritual life.

'If at the present time the religious life of the Church is languid, and if in its enterprises there is little of audacity and of vehemence, a partial explanation is to be found in that decline of intellectual interest in the contents of the Christian Faith which has characterized the last hundred or hundred and fifty years of our history.' (P. 237.)

These lectures, therefore, assuming the necessary antiquarian and grammatical knowledge, are devoted to elucidating the theological and ethical teaching of the Epistle.

In the next place Dr. Dale has all the literary qualities necessary for the task he has undertaken. His style is lucid, vigorous, and often eloquent ; his arrangement is clear, and he has, too, a wide knowledge of human nature. He has deep spiritual insight, and handles theological problems ably and reverently.

It is just because of these merits, which make Dr. Dale the foremost theologian of the sects, and which make his theology much more palatable to us than that of many who profess to be churchmen, that we feel bound to devote some space to the points on which we

differ from him. And our readers will have no difficulty in understanding what they are. On the Person and work of the Redeemer the Protestant churches have inherited the teaching of the Church; on the doctrines of grace and election the errors of the Reformers are posts of warning to our author. Though we may not agree with all he says, we recognize with pleasure his appreciation of the fact that 'Justification by Faith' represents only one side of the truth against one class of unbelievers, and that 'that beautiful word Grace has been soiled by unclean hands, tainted by contact with corrupt and pernicious forms of religious thought' (p. 177).

But it is on the doctrine of the Church that both theoretically and practically Dr. Dale is divorced from the Christianity of history and the teaching of St. Paul. Few in reading the Epistle to the Ephesians can help feeling that the key-note to the Epistle is the Church suffering and stained with corrupt elements on earth, glorified and purified in heaven. It is this conception which links together the minute practical regulations and the lofty doctrinal and mystical teaching. That this lofty idea of the Church is a correct interpretation of the Epistle, and not a mere prejudice of our own, the best witness we can refer to is Pfleiderer (*Paulinism*, vol. ii. p. 162), who assigns so late a date to the Epistle that he does not find it necessary to distort its meaning, and who cannot be accused of prejudices in favour of sacerdotalism.

We will now examine Dr. Dale's views of the *Unity* of the Church. In St. Paul's time, he tells us, 'every separate church had authority over its own affairs. . . . There was no confederation of these independent societies under any central ecclesiastical authority.' We presume that Dr. Dale assigns some historical value to the Acts of the Apostles, and also to the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and we really find it difficult to understand how he can avoid seeing in the position of the Apostles some central authority, and in the relation of St. Paul to the churches he had founded decidedly strict ecclesiastical discipline. When the Apostles had died, need was soon found of some new mode of expressing and preserving external unity, so meetings of bishops and synods speedily became common.

But we soon find that external unity of any kind is looked at by Dr. Dale as quite unnecessary. He considers the present divisions of Christendom by no means deplorable, and does not seem to desire union on any basis. But not only is this his own opinion; he is unhistorical enough to ascribe it to St. Paul. 'The unity of the Church, according to Paul's conception of it, is a unity of life, not of external organization. It actually exists, notwithstanding differences of polity and differences of creed. Christian men belong to different churches, but "the body" of Christ is "one," &c.' (p. 290). The whole paragraph teems with fallacies. Just imagine for one moment a visit of St. Paul to this country. If he were to come to any town and see many churches all bearing the names of many different parties, he would naturally make inquiries. One person in answer would assert, I am of Peter, I am a Roman Catholic; another, I am of John Wesley; another, I am of Christ; I am a Christian who objects

to any other designation, and so on. And imagine then the indignant remonstrance which would break out from the Apostle's lips, 'Is Christ divided?' The dissensions of the churches, the beautiful variety of their creeds, the divisions and the schisms of the present day, the democratic prevalence of individual self-assertion, may be a lofty ideal, but it would certainly have been as distasteful to St. Paul as the variegated field of contemporary politics was to Plato.

It is not merely on theoretical grounds that we lament Dr. Dale's disregard of external unity. It is because we see constantly how the spread of Christianity is hampered by its divisions, that they weaken it in the eyes of infidelity, that they seriously hinder missionary work in places like India, that though we may be thankful there is, as he points out, considerable unity of doctrine among 'the immense majority of those who have called themselves Christians,' and though they have to a large extent a 'common ideal of ethical perfection,' yet this spiritual unity is obscured, and its action in the world hindered, by the absence of that unity of the Church which was guaranteed to St. Paul by 'one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all.'

We have said enough to show both our admiration of much of Dr. Dale's work, and our dissent from him on his interpretation of what is practically the key to the Epistle. In the absence of a good modern work of this character on the Epistle, we can recommend these lectures, together with the chapter of Pfleiderer to which we have referred. They will correct one another.

The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges: The Epistle to the Ephesians, with Introduction and Notes. By the Rev. H. C. G. MOULE, M.A., Principal of Ridley Hall, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1886.)

THE second book before us on the Epistle to the Ephesians is of less importance. It belongs to a series which is carefully edited, and, like so much modern exegetical work, is characterized by great industry. The first two chapters of the introduction on Ephesus and St. Paul at Rome are carefully written; that on the authenticity of the Epistle had better have been omitted, or the question should have been properly discussed. A mere assertion that 'St. Paul must have written the Epistle' is of no value from a scientific point of view.

The notes are good, but we occasionally find lapses into pietistic language, which is particularly out of place in writing for schoolboys. For instance, in discussing the final 'Amen,' he says, 'Some very important MSS. omit it. What reader will not supply it from his own spirit?' Such a remark will meet with nothing but ridicule from a schoolboy, and will deserve it. Occasionally we detect the writer's theological opinions in an unnecessary place—the note on page 101 protesting against disproportionate theories of the Sacraments, and drawing attention to the silence concerning Holy Communion, is as much out of place as would be a note drawing attention to the absence of any allusion to Justification by Faith in the theological portion of the epistle.

Vital Orthodoxy. By the Rev. JOSEPH COOK. 'Boston Monday Lectures, Preludes, &c.,' for 1886. (London: R. D. Dickinson, 1886.)

THE well-known author of the *Boston Monday Lectures* is not seen to advantage in the present series. As an apologist Mr. Cook has done, and we trust will continue to do, excellent service in the Christian cause. Despite his mannerisms, and what we fear must be called his affectations, his apologetic lectures are well worth reading. There is always something to be learned from their clear logic and fearless appeal to the teaching of genuine science and philosophy. But Churchmen must not expect to find much that is satisfactory in Mr. Cook's utterances on the doctrines which distinguish them from the sects.

The central question announced for discussion in the eight lectures before us is, 'What saves men, and why?' Mr. Cook is clear in asserting the necessity of regeneration, and is careful not to confuse this with conversion. 'Regeneration,' he says, 'is the gift of God; conversion is the act of man.' He adds, however, that 'they are inseparable sides of the one great change of the new birth' (p. 17). We do not wish to quarrel about the use of terms, but it would be surely more accurate to say that 'regeneration' and the 'new birth' are merely different names for the same thing, and that conversion, which Mr. Cook defines as 'the turning of the will from supreme love of self and the world to supreme love of God,' is the necessary complement of the new birth if this is to issue in life and growth. But when we look a little more closely, we find that Mr. Cook's notion of regeneration is very incomplete. He defines it as 'such a change in the sinner's nature as results in his first holy choice' (p. 16). And he seems to think that the difference between 'regeneration' and 'prevenient grace' is merely one of phraseology (pp. 16, 18). He says further:—

'It is not safe to assert that man is the sole cause of conversion, defined even in the narrow way as distinct from regeneration. He is a secondary cause of it, an instrumental cause of it; but the first cause even of conversion is God; and no one, of course, can put forth a holy choice until his nature is regenerated.' (P. 17.)

Here we have at any rate a clear assertion of the need of grace. But our confidence in the clearness of the author's view is shaken when we find him quoting with apparent acceptance the statement that 'man's nature itself is grace' (pp. 16, 17). And there is nothing to indicate that he regards the sacraments as anything more than commemorative symbols. He says:—

'The two chief sacraments instituted by Christ were Baptism and the Lord's Supper. These are the oldest Gospels. What doctrines lie behind these institutions? The doctrine of the New Birth behind that of baptism; the doctrine of the Atonement behind that of the Lord's supper.' (P. 56.)

But we gather that all that is here meant is that the sacraments imply or presuppose these doctrines, just as they also imply 'the perpetual reign of the Holy Spirit,' and 'the necessity of immediate repentance.'

Mr. Cook disclaims the attempt to exhibit a perfect theory of the Atonement, but we can hardly think that his discussion of this mysterious subject throws any real light upon it. He repudiates as insufficient the view that the death of Christ is effectual only by virtue of its moral influence. He asserts that it was a vicarious death, an expiation, a sacrifice. But he does little to clear up the difficulties which cluster round these terms. Our personal demerit, he says, is not transferred to Christ, but our guilt 'in the sense of liability to suffer to maintain the honour of a violated law' is so transferred. And he adds: 'It is by looking on Him who has made the transference that we are melted, lifted out of a life of sin, by seeing that a way has been provided to deliver us from the guilt of it' (pp. 50, 51). Thus the moral influence is, after all, relied upon for the deliverance of man *from his sin*.

Mr. Cook, it must be added, has evidently no conception of the Church as a society founded by Christ on a definite basis of organization, and with an apostolic mission, guaranteed by continuity in the succession of its duly appointed ministers. He remarks that 'the Evangelical hand has these five fingers: Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians,' and adds, 'We think in one way on fundamental questions of theology. Let us maintain Evangelical unity' (pp. 109, 110). In the lecture entitled 'The Church for the Times,' Mr. Cook points to Mr. Spurgeon's Tabernacle as one of the best examples of such an institution, and urges that 'the Churches' should 'maintain the five orders of religious labourers—apostles, prophets, evangelists, preachers, and teachers' (p. 97). He gives no hint as to the manner in which these are to be appointed, or their functions defined.

To the lectures are appended, as usual, Mr. Cook's 'Preludes,' most of which are merely of local interest. One, however, contains a sketch of the life of Mr. J. B. Gough; and another, entitled 'Low Morals in High Places,' deals with the subjects brought before the public by 'Mr. Stead, the heroic editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*,' who, according to Mr. Cook, was 'thrown into prison on the flimsiest technicality' (p. 175).

At the end of the volume is also printed a singularly uninteresting 'Symposium on the Christian Soteriology.' We do not know, by the way, why the answers given by a number of American theological professors and others to a question circulated among them should be called a 'Symposium.'

A Comparative View of Church Organization, Primitive and Protestant. By the Rev. JAMES H. RIGG, D.D. (London: Woolmer, 1887.)

It cannot certainly be complained that Dr. Rigg's defence of Wesleyan Methodism is not of a most comprehensive character. The Primitive Church, Anglicanism, Presbyterianism, and Congregationalism are successively passed under review with the aim of showing that no communion whatever had rightly grasped the principles of the teaching of Christ and the Apostles until Wesleyanism arose in the eighteenth

century. Dr. Rigg does not indeed condescend to argue the question as against the Church of Rome. But whatever he lacks in breadth of scope he makes up in thoroughness ; for the last chapter of his book explains that this singular distinction of having alone preserved free from admixture the vital essence of Christianity is limited to what we may call the orthodox Methodists—that is, Wesleyans strictly so called—as opposed to the numerous sects which have split from the parent stem while retaining in one form or another the name of Methodism.

The one prominent feature in the Apostolic Church of Dr. Rigg's conception is its 'fellowship ;' the one test by which he measures the respective claims of Churches to allegiance is the recognition of this 'fellowship' as an integral element in their presentation of Christianity. The organization of the Church of England, even 'on any evangelical or spiritual ground'—even, that is, if the High Church position is abandoned in favour of a minimizing estimate of the Church—is 'exceedingly defective—defective because the Church as organized is devoid of a godly lay-fellowship.' The 'unevangelical and unprimitive condition of things' in the Church of England is 'the direct result of the want of a spiritual and truly mutual lay-fellowship. And almost every other disability and evil under which the Church suffers arises from the same cause.' Nor is it the Church of England only which fails to fulfil the test. 'So far as official recognition and organized provision for spiritual service and co-operation were concerned, the claims and laws of lay-fellowship were as completely ignored in Presbyterianism as in Anglican Episcopacy.' 'We would fain hope that in that respect in which it has been especially wanting in the past . . . in respect of free and mutual spiritual fellowship for its members, the enfranchised Presbyterianism of the future will conform to primitive principles.' But if Dr. Rigg thus cherishes some anticipations of an improvement in this vital respect on the original principles of Presbyterianism, the case stands in exactly the reverse position with the Congregationalists. 'The Church organization of Congregational Independency rests far less on a basis of spiritual character and experience at the present time than it did eighty, or even fifty, years ago. . . . The experimental religious qualification has in many congregations diminished with a steady continuity. . . . Under these circumstances, what is to become in future of the spiritual qualification of the Church member?'

But it is time to ask more definitely what it is that Dr. Rigg means by his doctrine of 'fellowship,' and on what ground he bases his appeal on its behalf to Apostolic Christianity? And it soon becomes evident that this doctrine, as it unfolds itself before Dr. Rigg's imagination, is not a simple, but rather an excessively complex, one. It is essentially lay : 'Where the members of the fellowship are all merely passive, where none teach or speak or offer vocal prayer but the priest, pastor, or minister, there is no trace left of likeness to the original fellowship of Christian believers.' It is experimental : 'Experience—vivid and inspiring experience—is essential to the life and character of Methodism,' just as 'experimental witness-bearing' was

at the foundation of all the primitive charismata. It is godly, that is to say, it has no relation to the ordinary baptized Christian as such, but is based on a Church within the Church, an aristocracy of converted and specially professed believers; which in turn 'implies' (what we are led to understand the Church of England does not possess) 'converted and spiritual ministers.' It will be observed that we have here three distinct characteristics, each of which it is necessary, on Dr. Rigg's theory of the universal obligation of the system, that we should find foreshadowed in the Apostolic Age; but, strangely enough, not more than part of one short chapter of twenty pages is devoted to the question, and only the first of the three points is really grappled with, and even that inadequately.

'It is impossible to read the account given in Acts iv. 23-31 with attention and an open mind without perceiving that "their own company," to which Peter and John, with the healed cripple, returned after their dismissal from before the Sanhedrim, were not only "all filled with the Holy Ghost," but all "spake the word with boldness." As on the Day of Pentecost, so afterwards in that Church, the Spirit of testimony rested on all the believers without regard to office or ordination. So when persecution broke out, and the disciples were all "scattered abroad," they "went everywhere preaching the Word."'

Now for ourselves we are equally ready to assert it to be 'impossible to read' the account 'with attention and an open mind' without seeing that since 'all' they which spoke at Pentecost were Galileans, they must have been the Apostles only, and that since those 'who were "all" filled with the Holy Ghost and spake the word with boldness' are contrasted with 'the multitude of them that believe' of the next verse (iv. 32)—just as they 'all' who were in Solomon's Porch are contrasted with 'the rest' in verse 12—the reference is again to the Twelve and to the Twelve alone. And when the Acts proceed to tell us that they were 'all' scattered except the Apostles, since it is plainly impossible that the whole body of Christians were struck at and the leaders alone spared, we take St. Luke to mean simply that all the officers of the Church, except the Apostles, whose conservative standpoint secured for them the toleration of the Pharisees, were dispersed by the persecution.

On the other two points Dr. Rigg is brief, and we shall follow his example. He tells us that experimental witness-bearing 'formed the staple of the uttered fellowship of these first believers;' but whatever 'a psalm, a teaching, a revelation, a tongue, or an interpretation' were, experimental or subjective was just what we may safely say they were not. He states again that the treatment of the Donatist controversy shows that the idea of the godly lay-fellowship had died out before that time, since St. Augustine assumes that 'the great majority of the members of the Church were notoriously men of ungodly character and evil lives.' We do not understand Dr. Rigg to be supporting the Donatist theory that none but the godly might be members of the Church, a view which might indubitably appeal to some primitive authority; but we gather that he distinguishes 'the organized body of godly communicants' from the mass of baptized

Christians, a view which we venture to say cannot appeal to a shred of Scriptural witness or a particle of apostolic tradition. Even the gnosism and faith of the Alexandrines, itself a later development, is a classification of a different character, and certainly implies no moral slur on the less highly gifted Christian.

The second chapter on the organization of the Primitive Church, together with the two chapters of Anglicanism which it introduces, will, of course, contain the matter of most interest to English Churchmen. And although Dr. Rigg's tone towards the Church of England as a whole is one of cordial sympathy—although he expresses unstinted admiration of her good works and ungrudging recognition of her claim to be the most learned Church in Christendom—although he distinctly disclaims opposition to her retention of the threefold ministry—although there is little that he urges of Church reform that we could not welcome—there is with all this a reservation that vitiates his entire attitude. Anything which he can construe into an exclusive claim on the Church's behalf rouses at once his bitterest animadversion, and he singles out High Churchmen (though we are confident he would not get much comfort from many who would yet not style themselves High Churchmen) as the obvious recipients for his anathemas. It does not appear to occur to him that the claims of one Church can possibly exclude those of another, or that if one is right the other must be wrong. That Christ founded a society which He meant to last to the end of the world, that He provided for its permanent government through the Apostles, that His great prayer was that His disciples should be one; that they who rend the seamless garment take on themselves any responsibility, or that there is such a sin as schism—all this, which is the A B C of every instructed Churchman, is foreign to the sphere of Dr. Rigg's religious conceptions, and the absence of it necessarily colours his whole treatment, whether of diverse sects or of the subdivisions of Methodism itself. Necessarily thus the *doctrine* of the apostolic succession is distasteful to him, but still he need not have committed himself to the unhistorical denial of the *fact*. Whether the ministry can only be validly transmitted by those who have themselves received the laying on of hands (and so right back to the beginning), and whether, if so, the succession must be Episcopal or may be Presbyterian, these are questions, of course, on which men may differ. But that 'the clergy of the Church of England can trace their connexion with the Apostles by links, not one of which is wanting, from the times of St. Paul and St. Peter to our own,' seems to us, as a matter of history, at the very least so much more probable than not, that we can but suppose Dr. Rigg's prejudices have, in this instance, overcome his candour. He supports himself, indeed, on the authority of Macaulay; but Macaulay, though he had read a great deal on theology, understood, we are bound to say, very little of it, and the celebrated passage in the essay on Mr. Gladstone's *Church and State*¹ contains at least three gross errors. 'If no evidence were admitted but that which is

¹ Pp. 486-488 of the *Critical and Historical Essays*.

furnished by the genuine Christian literature of the first two centuries, judgment would not go in favour of prelacy.' It almost takes away one's breath when we read that Macaulay is persuaded that his opponent would agree with him in this estimate, but then (though we do not know whether he similarly obviated the witness of Irenæus) we fancy we remember some passage in Macaulay's writings where he assumes the spuriousness of Ignatius. In the second place Macaulay was clearly of opinion that the unworthiness of the minister affected the validity of the orders he imparted, and that an interlude of Arian bishops would destroy the claim of succession from the Apostles. Thirdly, we gather from his quotation from Chillingworth that Macaulay either forgot the rule (dating at the latest from Nicæa) of consecration by three bishops, or if he knew it, as we doubt not he did, erroneously believed that the lack of true episcopacy in any one of them would vitiate the ceremony. If Dr. Rigg shares the misconceptions of Lord Macaulay we can understand his language, but on that supposition only.

We have left ourselves no space to speak at length of the rest of Dr. Rigg's work, but we cannot conclude our account without calling attention to what is really an extremely able criticism of the chief principles of Congregational Independency (p. 172, *sqq.*), the confusion of the Kingdom of Christ with human commonwealths, the inconsistent position of the ministry, and the isolation of congregations and entire lack of organic unity. When Dr. Rigg criticizes he is well worth reading, and that Churchmen at least are not afraid of criticism or ashamed to profit by it the whole history of the last few years will testify; but unfortunately when Dr. Rigg has to speak of that side of the Church of England which is represented in the *Church Quarterly Review* he abandons criticism and degenerates into abuse.

Les Sentiments Moraux au Seizième Siècle. Par ALBERT DESJARDINS. (Paris : Pedone-Lauriell, 1887.)

ALTHOUGH the history of the Reformation and of the causes which led to it has often been described by competent writers, the interest it has excited seems rather to gain in strength than otherwise, if it was only from the fact that in the opinion of many thinkers a further reformation both in the religious world, and in the sphere of thought generally, is not only necessary but imminent. M. Albert Desjardins is the most recent Frenchman who has grappled with the subject, and although he has confined his researches to his own country, his volume deserves to be read by all who take an interest in the welfare of society.

The state of France at the beginning of the sixteenth century, viewed in the family, the government, the court, the various branches of the public service—such are the topics which M. Desjardins has undertaken to treat, and which it seems to us he has treated with much success, and before entering into details he makes two or three general observations, the only ones upon which we propose dwelling here.

Till the outbreak of the Reformation, Rome had been regarded as the centre of the moral world, and it was towards the Vatican all

eyes were turned for the solution of the manifold problems which affect the life of man. Now, however, that by the means of war, diplomacy, and commercial enterprise easy intercourse was established between France and Italy, the prestige which had for so many ages surrounded Roman Catholicism had begun to wear away. What right, some enquirers boldly asked, has the Pope to put forth his pretensions as the Vicar of God on earth? Why should we feel bound to obey blindly the dictates of men who often lead the most scandalous lives, and whose conduct is actuated in many cases by the grossest ambition and the most unblushing rapacity? What intellectual benefit (to take no higher ground) can we derive from a teaching the outcome of which is the scholastic nonsense of an Ockham and a Gabriel Biel?

The questions thus put by M. Desjardins are, everyone must acknowledge, difficult to be answered and well calculated to perplex the weak and the unlearned. Further, there was the fact that the Papacy visited with its excommunications many a sincere Christian who ventured to think for himself, to read the Scriptures, and to cultivate habits of practical piety in what the Church regarded as an unauthorized fashion.

The Renaissance movement, coming just at that time, added a fresh element of doubt to an apparently insoluble problem. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Epictetus, Seneca, Cicero began to be studied and appreciated. Now the question would naturally suggest itself, Were all these men, patterns of virtue and wisdom, condemned to everlasting destruction just because they were born beyond the influence of Christianity? Further, are not the principles which actuated them in their noble lives sufficient for us, and need we go to other sources for direction and advice? The field of discussion had thus become considerably widened, and from challenging the authority of the Pope men had ventured to call in question the authority of Christianity itself.

This state of confusion, this moral and intellectual chaos, explains the character of the sixteenth century not only in France, but throughout Europe; M. Desjardins has not touched upon the Reformation, and so far his volume, pre-eminently interesting as it is, lacks completeness; he gives us only one side of the picture.

Études sur la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes. Par F. PUAUX et A. SABATIER. (Paris: Granart, 1886.)

THE Revocation of the Edict of Nantes is one of those events on which there cannot be now two opinions, and there are few members of the Roman Catholic clergy themselves who would hesitate to stamp it as one of the most fatal and ill-judged measures that ever were devised. The commemoration of it in the course of last year could not but suggest a number of publications; no writer, so far as we know, attempted to defend it, and, on the Protestant side, several *brochures* and goodly volumes appeared, in which it was the intention of the authors to point out (1) the iniquitous character of the measure; (2) its failure; (3) the disastrous results it produced

for France ; and, finally, the terrible responsibility which rests upon the Gallican clergy. One of these volumes, contributed by MM. Puaux and Sabatier, is now before us, and deserves a brief notice here.

It is curious to remark what a variety of opinions there exists on the question, Who is answerable for the Revocation? Some say Bossuet, others Louvois ; a few name the Pope, most Louis XIV. and Madame de Maintenon. M. Puaux pronounces a sentence of condemnation against the Roman Catholic clergy. Whilst adopting this opinion we must add that they found in Louis XIV. a tool quite ready to encourage and support them in their fanaticism ; that monarch tells us himself in his Memoirs that ever since he ascended the throne he had firmly resolved upon establishing uniformity of religion through his dominions, and there is no doubt that the recollection of the Fronde, whilst it made him detest political opposition of any kind, led him to suppose that in matters of conscience he had also the right of enforcing obedience. Two points are especially dwelt upon by M. Puaux—first, the scrupulous desire which the King entertained of seeming to aid within the strict limits of legality in suppressing one by one all the rights granted by Henry IV. to the Huguenots ; and, secondly, the care he took, on his death bed, of making the prelates answerable for all the religious measures adopted during his reign.

M. Sabatier deals particularly with the Jesuits, and traces back to their action not only the ruin of Protestantism in France, but all the social and political convulsions which have disturbed the country for the last century and a half, and which cannot be said to have yet disappeared.

The third and last piece which makes up the volume we have reviewed is a reprint of the final petition addressed to Louis XIV. by his Protestant subjects. It has only been recently discovered amongst the MSS. of the Paris Archives Nationales, and is now published by M. Puaux with an introduction and notes.

Symbolæ ad illustrandam Historiam Ecclesiæ Orientalis in Terris Coronæ Sancti Stephani. Auct. NICOL. NILLES, S.J. (Enipontæ : F. Rauch, 1886.)

THE curious work for which we are indebted to Father Nilles does not address itself to the common run of readers ; not only has it no literary pretensions whatever, but it is so clumsily and so imperfectly put together that, were it not for the copious index by which it is completed, the student would have some difficulty in finding his way through it. We are justified in looking at it as a collection of materials to be subsequently arranged and reduced into shape ; and we earnestly wish that our hopes may be realized, for the *Symbolæ* treat of a subject which is now more than ever in everyone's mind—we mean the Balkan peninsula. Any document, any book which bears upon the Eastern question must needs be popular ; and although Father Nilles has not had the slightest idea of writing what our French neighbours call an *ouvrage de circonstance*, yet we are anxious

to know all that can be known respecting the ancient history of the Danubian provinces, considered from the religious as well as the strictly political point of view.

By what train of circumstances were these provinces brought under the authority of the Church of Rome? What have their relations been with the Vatican from the earliest times to the present day? Such is the plan of the *Symbolæ*; the second and third books are devoted to the Roumanians, the fourth to the Servians, the fifth to the Ruthenians and the Armenians, the sixth and last being taken up by the addenda and corrigenda. We have not named the first book, because it serves as an introduction to the rest, and is a discussion on the best means of bringing about a fusion between the Eastern and Latin Churches. We have nothing to say on this question, but merely to remark that the *Latinizing* of the Oriental Christians has for some time and is now more than ever regarded by Roman Catholics as a mistake. Many theologians maintain that the best course for missionaries who work amongst the populations of the Danubian provinces, and generally in the East, would be to conform to the religious rites of those in whose midst they live and labour. Whatever view the reader may adopt on this particular question, he cannot fail to be interested by the mass of information accumulated in the *Symbolæ*, and which, we venture to repeat, would be much more valuable if it was more artistic in form.

Les Œuvres de Hugues de Saint-Victor: Essai Critique. Par B. HAURÉAU, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Hachette, 1886.)

WE earnestly wish that some competent scholar would give us a good edition of the works of Hugues de Saint-Victor. They have been six times reprinted, but the last edition, that of 1648, is very slovenly done; and although several of the philosopher's treatises have appeared separately, yet we do not possess even now a really trustworthy edition of the complete writings of a man who by the depth of his learning, the genuine piety which animated him, and the neatness of his style, must ever be regarded as one of the most favourable representatives of mediæval divinity. If ever the task we are now alluding to should be attempted, M. B. Hauréau's monograph would be a great help; Hugues de Saint-Victor's biography is there given with the minutest care, the authenticity of his works is fully discussed, and the erroneous assertions which we find both in the *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiæ Antiquis* of Oudin and in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* are refuted as they deserve. M. Hauréau is an admirable scholar, but we cannot apply the same epithet to his divinity. Mysticism has its shoals and its quicksands, it is true, and the whole school of Saint-Victor too often leans towards pantheism; but our author, on the other hand, whilst denouncing the tendencies of the Mystics, not unfrequently attacks Christianity.

Histoire Littéraire des Vaudois du Piémont. Par EDOUARD MONTET. (Paris: Fischbacher, 1887.)

DR. MONTET's volume, so far as it goes, deserves nothing but praise; at the same time it scarcely justifies its title. Where we expect to

find a history of literature, we are brought into contact with religious teaching and an account of the forerunners of Protestantism. Dr. Montet begins by giving us a description of the Vaudois MSS. at present extant, the most ancient of which, now at the Munich library, dates as far back as the thirteenth century; it is written in Latin, whereas the others are in the dialect generally designated by the name of *langue vaudoise*. Here our author enters into a number of interesting details on the grammatical peculiarities of that language, or rather dialect, which, Provençal in its origin, differs from those of the troubadours and of the Albigenes, and was subsequently modified by the influence of Italian. So far the *literary* part of Dr. Montet's book; it constitutes the introduction, and prepares us for the theological account which forms the bulk of the work. All historians are agreed that Peter Waldo, or Waldez, who lived during the twelfth century, was the founder of the Waldensian Church: the members of it protested firmly that they were staunch Churchmen; their only aim was to spread the knowledge of the Scriptures, to conform more strictly with the usages and customs of primitive Christianity, and particularly to observe the law of poverty. With the view of carrying on these ideas they maintained the complete liberty of preaching, and did not believe that an official commission granted by the Pope and his delegates was necessary for anyone whose sense of duty led him to expound the Word of God in public. Dr. Montet divides the history of the Waldensian Church into three parts—(1) the Catholic, (2) the Hussite, (3) the Protestant—and he grounds the division not only on the authority of contemporary MSS. but on the alterations which, at various epochs, were made by copyists in transcribing those documents.

Le Talmud de Jérusalem traduit en Français pour la première fois.

Par MOÏSE SCHWAB. Vol. IX. (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1887.)

Two more volumes will suffice for M. Moïse Schwab to complete his French translation of the Talmud; the ninth instalment, which has reached us lately, comprises the end of the treatise *Guitin* and the whole of the treatises *Nadir* and *Qiddouschin*. There is nothing very special to note in this fasciculus except the provoking uncertainty which exists as to the classification of the various parts of the Talmud, some MSS. giving one order, and others adopting an altogether different arrangement. M. Schwab also takes the opportunity of pointing out the advantage of comparing the Talmudic legislation not so much with that of the Romans as with the laws of the Mahometans, the Turks, Arabs, Persians, and the Eastern nations. As an illustration of this fact he refers us to the *Minhadj-al-Talebin* ('Guide of the Zealous Believers'), a manual of Mussulman jurisprudence according to the rite of Chaf'i. An edition of this work containing the Arabic text, translation, and notes was published in three volumes by the Dutch Government at Batavia in 1882-84.

Œuvres complètes de Blaise Pascal. Publiées par M. P. FAUGÈRE.

8vo, vol. i. (Paris and London: L. Hachette & Co., 1887.)

It is much to be regretted that M. Prosper Faugère, who had under-

taken to publish this new edition of Pascal for M. Hachette's excellent collection, *Les Grands Ecrivains*, should be removed from amongst us before completing his task. No one in the whole range of contemporary French critics was more familiar with Jansenism and Jansenist literature. He may have left behind him the necessary materials for finishing his task, and we earnestly hope he has, because it would be difficult to find out any person more capable to do justice to Pascal. However, we have at present to examine the volume he has edited, and we shall endeavour in a few words to give some idea of its contents, and of the plan according to which the whole edition was conceived.

All those amongst our readers who remember the late M. Cousin's striking report on the necessity of publishing a revised and *correct* text of the illustrious Port Royalist, know well that M. Faugère was the first to give us an *exact* reproduction of the original manuscript of the *Pensées*. He had moreover brought to light the writings of Jacqueline Pascal and Madame Périer, and published the correspondence of La Mère Agnès Arnauld. Encouraged by the success he had met with in these various literary speculations, he resolved upon devoting all his energies to the re-editing of Pascal, and with that view he accumulated a store of materials of which we have now the first instalment. M. Faugère's plan was not to give a general review of Pascal's works, but to prefix to each division—*Provincial Letters*, *Pensées*, *Mathematical and Scientific Treatises*—a separate introduction. It is not too much to say that the disquisition which opens this volume is a masterpiece of criticism; it gives the whole history of the *Provinciales*, the incredible difficulties with which their composition and publication were attended, their bibliography, &c. &c. The first really good edition of Pascal was that of the Abbé Bossut, brought out in 1779 at Paris in five octavo volumes; but even that edition was far from being blameless, for the simple reason that the influence of the Jesuits prevented the learned abbé from giving the actual text, and he had to be satisfied with presenting to the readers of the last century a Pascal toned down, to use a familiar phrase, so as to calm the susceptibilities of the 'reverend fathers.' Now, fortunately, the case is totally different, and we shall have one of the greatest of French thinkers introduced to us in his original dress.

We have already spoken of the preface to the *Lettres Provinciales*; the first twelve of these immortal pamphlets come next, followed by the celebrated *défense*, which, as every one knows, is the work of Nicole, who likewise published, under the name of Wendrock, a Latin translation of the whole series. Each letter, in M. Faugère's volume, is accompanied by brief summaries, elucidated by notes, various readings, and other valuable matter. The editor has also taken care to verify all the passages from the casuists quoted by Pascal, in order to refute the absurd and calumnious accusation brought against him of having garbled these passages and dealt unfairly with them.

La France Protestante. Nouvelle édition. Sixième volume, première partie. 8vo. (Paris : Fischbacher, 1887.)

LIKE M. de Boislisle's *Saint-Simon*, the new edition of the *France Protestante*, at the slow rate of its publication, will be completed only when the present generation has passed away ; in the meanwhile it is a pleasure for us to announce each fresh instalment as it comes from the press, and to note the abundant light it throws, not only upon the history of religion, but upon the progress of literature, science, and art, as well as the political annals of France during the epoch included between the dawn of the Reformation and the present day. The first *livraison* of the sixth volume, quite recently given to the public, is particularly rich in biographical notices of illustrious characters, such as the Estienne, the Farel, Ferry, Eynard, Fontanès, &c. &c. With respect to the Estienne, due attention has been paid not merely to the services they rendered as editors and commentators of the Greek and Latin classics, but as composers and pamphlet writers. Respecting the famous *Discours merveilleux de la vie, actions, et déportements de Catherine de Médicis*, which has long been, and is still by some, ascribed to Robert Estienne, our author, following the opinion of M. Sayous, believes that it is not his work ; and although not positively asserting that Theodore Beza wrote it, he is inclined to adopt this supposition. If, he remarks, we examine other well-known pamphlets of Robert Estienne, namely, the *Apologie pour Hérodote*, we cannot help feeling convinced that the same author is not responsible for both works. It is extremely probable that the *Discours merveilleux* was composed by some *littérateur* belonging to what was then designated as the *parti des politiques*, that is to say, the moderate group of Protestants and Catholics combined who, assembled round the Duke d'Alençon, wanted to destroy the baneful influence of Catherine de' Medici, and with that view represented her as aiming to *Italianize* France, and to hoist up the banner of Ultramontanism.

Spiritualisme et Libéralisme. Par M. FERRAZ. 8vo.
(Paris : Perrin et Cie., 1887.)

M. FERRAZ is a well-known French metaphysician, whose work on St. Augustine, published some years ago, created a considerable amount of attention as soon as it appeared. A decided and eloquent champion of *spiritualism*, that is to say of theism, he is equally opposed to the doctrines of the materialists of the last century and to the traditionalism of Joseph de Maistre, M. de Bonald, and the Lamennais of the *Essai sur l'Indifférence*. He endorses the programme of the liberal party, and aims throughout his writings at showing that theists are the only true champions of freedom in the best and noblest sense of the word.

The volume we are now noticing is a gallery of portraits, beginning with Madame de Staël, and ending with M. Emile Saisset, who died a comparatively short time ago. Four persons have especially struck us in this collection as being distinctly philosophers, and having devoted their energies and their talent to the *instauratio magna* of religious truth which the Revolutionists of 1793 had vainly

endeavoured to destroy. The first was Laromiguière, originally a disciple of Condillac, but who soon perceived that the apparent simplicity of materialistic views leaves the problem of man's nature and destiny absolutely unsolved. *Condillacism* is a complete, exclusive system which must be either taken or rejected in its entirety, and admits of no compromise; hence, in Laromiguière's teaching, certain contradictions arising from the author's endeavour to reconcile the better views suggested to him by his reflections with the sophistry of the materialist school. Laromiguière believed in the Deity; Maine de Biran and Ampère went much further—they were decided Christians, and their religious opinions had a *nuance* of mysticism which is evident to those who have read the journal of the former and the biography of the latter, so beautifully written by Madame Cheuvreux. Practical Christianity was M. Guizot's standpoint; it is rather an exaggeration to class him amongst *philosophers*, properly so called, if we limit the meaning of the expression, as they do in France, to thinkers who write *ex professo* on psychology, ontology, and pneumatology. With reference to M. Cousin and M. Jouffroy the case is quite different. The great champion of eclecticism did not trouble himself much about religion, except to assert that it occupied a parallel position to the one held by philosophy, and that it aimed at identical results, though by different means. As to M. Jouffroy, he repudiated Christianity altogether; in his famous essay, *Comment les Dogmes finissent*, for instance, where he took leave of religion, not with the savage spite of a d'Holbach or a Diderot, but with the melancholy feeling of a man who finds himself obliged to give up the dreams of his youth.

The book of M. Ferraz is an excellent guide to the history of French metaphysics during the last fifty years, and it is useful, if only to show us how futile is the attempt to substitute instead of Christianity even the most refined of metaphysical systems.

Revue des Études Juives. Livraison pour Avril-Juin, 1887. 8vo. (Paris: Durlache, 1887.)

THE recent *livraison* of the *Revue des Études Juives* is quite as interesting as any of the preceding ones. In the domain of history we have observed some notes on the condition of the Jews in Spain; these notes refer chiefly to the persecution which the Israelitish population had to undergo towards the end of the fourteenth century, the districts in which they were allowed to reside, their schools, magistrates, and the position of those amongst them who had under threats received the sacrament of baptism.

The philological part of this *brochure* contains a critical examination of the treatise of Pora preserved amongst the treasures of the Bodleian Library. The manuscript of which this treatise forms a part is the *Pérusch Hammischna* of Moses Maimonides written in the Arabic text; it is evidently very old, for, according to a note inserted at the end of each volume, it was revised and corrected from Maimonides' original. If we may believe M. Lambert, author of the article we are now examining, the scribe who is responsible for this

copy of the Pora treatise does not seem to have been very learned, and he did not invariably understand his text, as will appear quite evident from the blunders he makes in the use of vowel points; this drawback, however, is compensated by the fact that the copyist was not a prejudiced person, wedded to a particular system, and we are quite sure of having the pronunciation of the Mishna as it was current in the Yemen—the province where, most probably, the *codex* in question was written.

Under the heading *actes et conférences* we have remarked two interesting lectures delivered in Paris during the course of last spring: the one, by M. Sacher-Masoch, treats of the Jewish sects in Galicia; the other, by the celebrated Egyptian scholar, M. Maspero, refers to the state of Syria before the arrival of the Israelites. It is particularly important because it shows in what a satisfactory manner the literature of hieroglyphs completes and supplements the details given by the Holy Scriptures on the nationalities with which the people of God were brought into contact.

L'Allemagne et la Réforme. Par JEAN JANSSEN. Traduit de l'Allemand sur la quatorzième édition, avec une préface de M. G. A. Heinrich. 8vo. (Paris: Plon, 1887.)

THIS French translation of M. Janssen's celebrated work is admirably done, and it commends itself to our attention in consequence of the preface added to it by M. Heinrich, late senior professor of the Lyons *Faculté des Lettres*. Every reader interested in ecclesiastical history has heard of the sensation caused by M. Janssen's monograph, and the fact of its having reached a fourteenth edition within the space of a few years shows that the author had touched upon a sore point in the present state of Germany. Fancy a son of the *Fatherland* boldly asserting that the Reformation of the sixteenth century was not a principle of new life, the commencement of a bright era, a stage of progress; but, on the contrary, a perturbation, a lowering both of the intellectual and the moral level, a diminution of the general well-being and of national prosperity. Such an hypothesis was simply scandalous, and a whole legion of critics rose up to refute it. There is no denying the fact that, as M. Emile de Laveleye demonstrated a few years ago, the Protestant nations of Europe are, in every respect, far in advance of the Catholic ones; but the question is whether this progress contains the elements of durability, whether it is likely to last. M. Heinrich, following in the wake of M. Janssen, thinks not. The Protestants, sincerely attached to the doctrines of Luther and the reformed faith, find themselves now backed by the apostles of freethought and the revolutionists of every *nuance*. The unconscious pioneers who threw overboard the tenets of the Catholic Church fondly believed that they were by so doing merely clearing a road for the progress of the unadulterated Gospel; they have, on the contrary, as a matter of fact, helped on the triumph of *philosophy*, and freed mankind from faith in a revelation. The singular mixture of unintelligible mysticism and of rash negation which constitutes the leading characteristic of the German mind.

found in the sixteenth-century Reformation its true embodiment ; hence the perfect storm which M. Janssen's book created on its first appearance. M. Heinrich compares it to M. Taine's *Origines de la France contemporaine*, and shows that the tendency of both works is exactly the same. As in the opinion of most Frenchmen that country dates properly from 1789, so the great majority of Germans cannot see any *Fatherland* before the meeting of the Diet of Worms in 1521. At the commencement of both crises there was no intention on the part of the innovators to destroy the edifice, but merely to introduce a few necessary reforms ; however, as each one began experiments on it at a separate part, the building, undermined on all sides at once, easily gave way and covered the ground with ruins.

It seems to us perfectly clear that the time has come at last for giving up a good many notions amidst which we have been brought up respecting both the Reformation and the French Revolution. The sensation created by the works of M. Janssen and M. Taine proves this in the most irresistible manner, and shows that the best causes are frequently spoilt through the imprudence of those who originated them.

Correspondence between Goethe and Carlyle. Edited by CHARLES ELIOT NORTON. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1887.)

WHEN in 1826 Carlyle found that he had at last 'conquered all his scepticisms,' and overthrown, for his own part, the 'soul-murdering Mud-gods' of the epoch, it was to Goethe that he looked with gratitude for this great deliverance. But what Goethe had to give Carlyle that could be of service to his special form of mental malady it is not at first sight easy to see. Goethe, indeed, had also had his period of spiritual anguish and conflict, but with him the inward strife was waged between passion and law—with Carlyle between doubt and belief, the word of the understanding and the word of the reason. This Kantian phraseology will recur again and again to anyone who tries to express the course of Carlyle's mental history, and, in fact, were it not for his own constant and direct testimony to the services rendered him by Goethe, it might be easily supposed that the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* had far more to do than *Faust* or *Wilhelm Meister* with that notable victory over the mud-gods. Thus in Carlyle's essay on Novalis (1829) he distinctly claims for Kant's philosophy that it had cut away the standing-ground of Atheism, and made possible that high spiritual faith which he discerned in the new German literature. And yet it is an historical fact that of all the eminent figures in that literature, not one was apparently less influenced by Kant than the most eminent of them all. All metaphysicians were, as such, more or less obnoxious to Goethe : for Kant in particular even Schiller tried in vain to win his interest. How different must have been the services which these two teachers rendered to Carlyle ! And if Kant confuted Atheism for him, what then did Goethe do ? What could Goethe do more ? The fact seems to be that their services, different as they must have been, and in fact were, were yet complementary. Kant gave Carlyle

a creed ; Goethe gave him a gospel. And Goethe's gospel was simply the revelation of himself. He showed to Carlyle what Carlyle needed not merely to know by demonstration, but to see realized in a living example, that the attitude of reverence for what is above, around, and beneath us, was still possible to a thinking man of that epoch. What greater service could be rendered to a noble yet distracted soul? and yet one feels that there is something immoderate in the gratitude which Carlyle expresses so fervently throughout his works, and still more unrestrainedly in this correspondence. Religion with Goethe never became more than a sentiment, an *αἰσθησις*. By such a religion such a man in such circumstances as his could live and work without moral shipwreck ; yet his excessive love of 'quiet culture ;' his studied indifference to all that was catastrophic, violent, abnormal ; utterances like his 'Niemand wandelt ungestraft unter Palmen'—are these not signs of a weakness, a limitation? In an orderly familiar world where seedtime is visibly followed by harvest, and men are seen to thrive or fail by their own qualities, it may be possible to live by sentiment, by *Ehrfurcht*, without the intellectual conviction on which this should properly be based. . But without such an intellectual conviction of Deity, impregnable and supreme, forming an appellate court of infinite jurisdiction, could sincere souls ever have given us such presentations of victorious failure as we have in Shakespeare's Cordelia, in Carlyle's Madame Roland, or, to take a much less tragic instance, in the *Life of John Sterling*? This conviction Carlyle assuredly had, and assuredly he did not gain it from Goethe. Yet he may well have thought he did. It is a noteworthy fact that twice at least—once in the correspondence before us—Carlyle misquotes Goethe's famous maxim, 'Im Ganzen, Guten, Schönen, resolut zu leben,' by writing *Wahren* for *Schönen*. The misquotation was doubtless in both cases unintentional, but it is all the more significant.

As to these *Letters* it cannot be said that they throw much new light on the relations between the writers—much light that an attentive student of the works of both could not already have gained. But certainly to listen to the interchange of thought and affection between two such men is to breathe a high and ennobling atmosphere. The correspondence was carried on, with occasional long intervals of silence, during the last six years of Goethe's life. It had its rise in the presentation to him by Carlyle of a copy of the latter's translation of *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre*. The message of homage and admiration with which it was accompanied awakened a ready response in Goethe, who soon perceived that this young Scotch essayist was 'a moral force of great significance.'¹ The first clear manifestation of this marvellous force was in the manner in which Carlyle revolutionized English public opinion on the subject of German literature. The progress of this revolution in taste can be traced very clearly by the help of these *Letters*, and of the comments and extracts judiciously given

¹ *Eckermann.*

us by their editor. It is interesting, too, to observe how Carlyle's mission of *Vermittler*, or interpreter, once faithfully fulfilled, gave place to the new mission of the seer. 'When I look at the wonderful chaos within me,' writes Carlyle (August 31, 1830), 'full of natural Supernaturalism, and all manner of Antediluvian fragments; and how the Universe is daily growing more mysterious as well as more august, and the influences from without more heterogeneous and perplexing; I see not well what is to come of it all, and only conjecture from the violence of the fermentation that something strange may come.' Strange enough truly! *Sartor Resartus* was the first thing that came.

Let no reader of these *Letters* fail to render due gratitude to Mr. Norton for his invaluable work as editor and translator. So little does his own personality appear therein, that one is in danger of underestimating the toil, the learning and the accuracy with which the needful help and information are given. Goethe's letters are presented both in the original and in a careful and fluent translation; and, in short, it may be said that nothing has been left undone to render the book intelligible and useful to English readers.

The Life of John Wesley. By JOHN TELFORD, B.A.
(London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1886.)

THIS book might be most aptly described as a cento of anecdotes and extracts. The author has apparently also written a work called *Wesley Anecdotes*, and the volume before us is of much the same character. The Introduction, on Wesley's position, consists, not of an attempt to estimate it, but of a series of extracts from eminent historians which remind one of nothing so much as the opinions of the press inserted in advertisements of books—'the greatest historian of the eighteenth century says,' 'the late lamented J. R. Green says,' and so on.

The literary value of the remainder of the book is about on the same level. The reader will find no adequate statement of Wesley's theological position; his ecclesiastical position is very scantily treated. We are left in considerable doubt as to the teaching of Law, of the Moravians, of the other influences which helped to shape his career. Of his teaching on most points we learn nothing. Nor again do we learn much about his personal character.

On the other hand, the book is crowded with facts which show indeed considerable industry in compilation, but not much skill in arrangement. The usual custom is to begin each paragraph in some such way as this: 'In April 1770, when he was in the highlands,' and then follows an anecdote. So many anecdotes go to the chapter.

One great merit the book has on which we must heartily commend the author. Though he clearly writes from a Dissenting point of view, he shows a large amount of self-restraint in writing about the Church. There are passages undoubtedly which a churchman will hardly agree with, but there are none which can offend him. The state of the Church in the last century (though the evils have been very much exaggerated) unquestionably affords plenty of oppor-

tunity for attacks on it. Mr. Telford shows no tendency to be led astray. He never indulges in one acrimonious word or one uncharitable remark, and he exercises considerable reserve in the praise he bestows on the Wesleyan body.

The book adds little or nothing either to our knowledge or appreciation of Wesley; it is not distinguished for literary skill: but there is no doubt that for readers whom it suits, *i.e.* those persons who find an anecdote about Wesley an unfailing resource in sermons and speeches, it will be a most convenient book.

Selections from Papers of the Twining Family. Edited by RICHARD TWINING. (London: John Murray, 1887.)

IN a former number of this *Review* (vol. xv. p. 499) we called attention to a very interesting volume of *Recreations and Studies* of the Rev. Thomas Twining. We rejoice to find that his descendant, Mr. Richard Twining, has been encouraged to give us a yet further selection from the Twining papers. The book is not very learned or very witty or very exciting: it is a refined and lifelike account of travelling when travelling was not so common as it is now, in a stage of society which has completely passed away. We do not know any book which we could so heartily commend for whiling away a spare half-hour.

The Rev. Thomas Twining is known as a scholar at the end of the last century of some reputation, who published a translation and notes to Aristotle's *Poetics* which are still in more regular use than most old editions of the classics. The present book contains extracts from the journals that he kept while travelling on the Continent, before the old society of the small States of Germany had been washed away by the French Revolution. He visited many places of interest, and travelling with good introductions saw many interesting persons. He visits Spa and gives a lifelike description of the very mixed society of the place. He travelled through various parts of England. He was in Paris in 1786; at Göttingen and Brunswick in 1788. Another member of the family was for many years in India in the Bengal Civil Service, and under his guidance we are introduced to the Great Mogul. We also make the acquaintance of the German scholar Heyne, and the English Dr. Parr; of many German princes who took advantage of the independence of their position to develop the peculiarities of their character; and of other interesting persons.

The following extract may amuse some of our readers:—

‘I was engaged in looking at these fine people when a gentleman and lady came whirling by and had almost overwhelmed me. I could not imagine what they were about. I could scarcely extricate myself from the danger with which they threatened me, when another and another couple came twisting by in like manner. I found on inquiry that this is a favourite German dance—called a waltz.’

He then goes on to describe what it is like.

Altogether we can recommend this book as a very good example of a pleasant form of light literature. We may add that it is not so interesting towards the end.

The Autobiography of an Independent Minister.

(London : Williams and Norgate, 1887.)

IN its present form the work before us is, like a greater Apologia, a history, and, because a history, a defence of the process of abandoning the ministry of one communion for the ministry of another. But it differs from its famous counterpart in having been for the most part written, although not published, before the author had taken the decisive step of secession; indeed, when, about the end of 1881—more than two years after he had finally exchanged Congregationalism for the Church of England—the first part of this Autobiography was given (anonymously, we suppose) to the public, one reviewer remarked that ‘the “Independent Minister” . . . has written an interesting book, not the less so because he has not in the least lost faith in his system.’ Such a mistake is of course impossible now, when the progress of events is carried down to the actual resignation of the writer’s pastorate, and the disguise, transparent enough before, we should think, to those who knew him, is entirely dropped in the preface, which Mr. Martyn—who is now, we believe, licensed in the diocese of Rochester—signs in full, while the newspaper extracts there quoted show that ‘Langton,’ the scene of his labours, ‘a large manufacturing town in the north of England,’ of a population ‘little short of 100,000 souls,’ and of ‘true blue’ politics, represents, as indeed these data might have enabled us to guess, Preston in Lancashire.

The history of Mr. Martyn’s—or perhaps we ought to say Mr. ‘Wilkinson’s’—troubles has almost a pathetic interest. We shall pass over the earlier chapters, which describe his life at an Independent college and his first pastorate (at Newport, in the Isle of Wight), and turn at once to the account of his fifteen years’ stay at Preston, and the terrible experience of the evils of Congregational Independency which it brought with it. That Mr. Martyn possessed in an increasing degree during his whole stay the confidence of his own people and the respect of his townsmen, is proved by the testimonials of the leading newspapers on the occasion of his resignation, and by the steady growth alike in the income, the congregation, and the communicants of his church. Here were all the elements of harmonious work. Yet during the greater part of the time the pastor was the victim of a relentless persecution on the part of a small minority of his community, which was only terminated in the end by resort to the extreme process of expulsion of the leading malcontents. We of the Church of England have often been accused, and with too much justice, of discouraging the co-operation of the faithful laity with the clergy; and we are doing our best to clear ourselves of the reproach. But whatever steps we may take to attain our end, Mr. Martyn’s experience of Independency will supply us with some useful hints as how *not* to do it. Theoretically the Congregational principle is most desirable, which co-ordinates with the minister for the purposes of financial and general management certain elected representatives of the church members; but a system is eminently unsatisfactory in practice if it enables objectionable individuals to maintain this representative position for an unnamed period of time against the all but

unanimous feeling of those whom they are supposed to represent, and provides, apparently, no machinery for getting rid of them short of actual exclusion from the community. Theoretically there is something not unattractive in entrusting every member of the congregation of each church with a voice in its affairs; practically it becomes an intolerable nuisance when even men who have failed, hopelessly failed, in so far winning the confidence of their fellow members as to obtain election into the body of 'deacons' can still utilize the 'church meeting' to worry their minister's life out of him.

Mr. Martyn suffered in both these ways. His 'diaconate' included from the first two worthies who appear under the appropriate *noms de plume* of 'Mr. Teazer' and 'Mr. Rowdyson.' Mr. Teazer was the typical Dissenter, who having started life as a tailor had married money and his master's daughter, and set up in the woollen-drapery business, posing on the strength of it all as the indispensable patron of the church. Mr. Rowdyson was a gentleman whose intelligence was just sufficient to qualify him to second Mr. Teazer; and his kindly feeling to his minister was illustrated by his remark of a former pastor, that he would 'sooner work with the Devil than with Mr. Davids.' What Mr. Martyn endured at their hands we must leave it to his own narrative to tell. But his people were with him, and when the Teazer faction (with the exception of Mr. Teazer himself, too wary to run the risk) withdrew from the diaconate, in the expectation that their resignations would be promptly refused by the church, they were astonished to find them accepted without hesitation. But there still remained the 'church meeting,' and the ex-members of the 'diaconate' and the unsuccessful candidates found it could be worked as a very fairly effective substitute for the official position they had ceased to hold or failed to gain. An ingenious course of persecution, in the shape of accusations brought forward against members of the families of Mr. Martyn's leading adherents, succeeded at last in securing their grand aim, the resignation of the minister. But the crisis led to a *dénouement* considerably other than they had anticipated, for, if some one must go, the congregation preferred to lose the agitators to the minister, and so Mr. Teazer and his particular friends were 'relieved of church membership.'

Mr. Martyn does not say, and we should of course not wish to suggest, that such a state of things as this is normal in Congregationalism. But that it should be possible, and curable only at the expense of a definite schism, is a grave charge to lay at the door of any religious body; and that it is not unique is shown, for instance, by a very similar case reported in the *Guardian* for August 31.

'Mr. Webb, an Independent minister at North Shields, made a written statement in bidding farewell to his congregation. He said that he was led in a moment of moral cowardice to say that he would leave the church as soon as he could, solely because the spirit manifested by two who remained was unbearable. . . . The prospect of the deacons' meetings made him miserable, and the meetings themselves deprived him of hours of sleep. . . . Although the two men referred to had not been alone, they had been the ringleaders in the opposition, as they had in similar circumstances for the last twenty-five years.'

It is not, indeed, exactly for us to complain of this, for the chance of such treatment; especially in a communion intellectually so respectable as Independency, must be a powerful factor in the extraordinary leakage manifest at present from the Nonconformist ministry to the Church of England, and illustrated throughout Mr. Martyn's book, but particularly by the interview he records with the (late) Bishop of Manchester and the categorical statement of the Bishop, that by acceding to all the applications for orders made to him by Nonconformist ministers 'I think I could almost supply this large diocese with curates from their ranks.'

In Mr. Martyn's own case his Preston experiences were doubtless the moving spring of his ultimate secession; for although he enjoyed, after the forcible termination of the disputes, complete immunity from such external troubles, we have his own testimony that they had 'for ever dispelled my illusions concerning Congregationalism.' But it is noteworthy to learn that his doctrinal dissatisfaction with his position arose from a study of the Acts of the Apostles. We have never found it easy to understand how some Nonconformists can appeal so glibly to a book which German rationalists declare cannot certainly be primitive because it is so certainly hierarchical, and it is consoling that in one case at least deeper inquiry has borne its natural fruit.

It is only right to say before we part, as we do with regret, from Mr. Martyn's book, that its humour, though undeniably vigorous—there are several good stories scattered up and down its pages—is not always perfectly refined, and also that it is impossible occasionally not to feel a little irritated at Mr. Martyn's irritation. But it is, no doubt, easier to preach patience under calumny than to practise it.

We note a misprint on p. 288, where the late Ultramontane Bishop of Poitiers, Mgr. Pie, appears as 'Monsignor Fie.'

1. *Revelation, Universal and Special.* By the Rev. WILLIAM W. OLSEN, S.T.D., Professor of Greek and Hebrew, St. Stephen's College, New York. (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1885.)
2. *Religion, a Revelation and a Rule of Life.* By the Rev. WILLIAM KIRKUS, M.A., LL.B., University of London, Rector of the Church of St. Michael and All Angels, Baltimore. (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1886.)

WE have received two books from America, both dealing with the subject of Revelation. The object of Dr. Olssen is to find a new argument in support of revelation. He begins by depreciating the old arguments, and showing their inadequacy. He then goes on to show 'that the basis upon which a belief in divine revelation rests is precisely the same as that upon which all knowledge rests.'

When a writer begins his work by exposing the inadequacy of his predecessor's arguments, we naturally demand something which will take their place, and we have consequently examined Dr. Olssen's arguments with considerable care in hopes of finding some contributions of value to Christian apologetics. We are sorry to say we are disappointed.

His aim is to prove that all knowledge comes to us by Revelation, which, he says, is either general or special ; while special Revelation is again divided into objective and subjective. The basis of all knowledge is primarily intuition, which is the source from which we learn our simple moral and social duties, and those beliefs which belong to natural religion. Special revelation rests equally on 'intuition founded on human experience.' It is to it that the nations of the East owe their religious systems ; and the analogy is traced from these up to the Christian Revelation.

Now the whole of this argument is based upon a false analogy and confusion of ideas. Either the Christian Revelation is the same in kind as other Revelations : in that case Dr. Olssen's argument is valid ; but then the special and unique position of Christianity as the direct Revelation of the 'Son of God' on earth must go : or the Christian Revelation is not the same in kind as the other revelations, then there is no real analogy, and Dr. Olssen's argument is invalid. In fact this book is only valuable if Christianity be untrue ; in that case the argument would tend to show that it was the highest and best form of Theism, and deserved a superior position to other religions, which it would resemble in its temporary character and its origin.

Besides, the singular ease with which the author is led astray by false analogies is shown by the chapter on Written Revelations. The first form of this is, according to him, the 'written revelation of the rocks.' Here a metaphorical expression is the cause of the confusion which is fatal to the pretensions of the book.

In his chapter on Intuition he shows that he decidedly misunderstands modern philosophy. He confuses 'right and wrong' with the 'truly beneficial and really injurious.' He triumphantly proves that Herbert Spencer identifies the two (being apparently ignorant of the fact that this is the object of his system) ; he then claims him as a supporter of his views because he admits 'pleasure' to be a necessary intuition. He does not understand that the identification of morality and pleasure destroys morality.

The second book on Revelation which we have received from America appears to us to be much more valuable. In an Appendix on the meaning of the word Revelation the writer shows that, according to correct usage as well as doctrinally, the word ought to be confined to Revelations of God to man, such as that implied by the Christian religion. The main body of the work is intended to show that revelation is necessary to religion, and then to develop the revelation of God in Christ Jesus, revelation in the Christian Church, and revelation as the guide of individual life. In sermons which follow he applies, with considerable vigour and common sense, the principles of revelation. We especially commend to consideration the caution in the sermon on Confession concerning the practical dangers of confession as an unauthorized institution : his remarks show that, if it is to be practised, the safeguards with which Rome has hedged it round are very necessary.

1. *Studies in Italian Literature, Classical and Modern*; also *The Legend of Il Cenacolo*, a Poem. By CATHERINE MARY PHILLIMORE, Writer of the *Life of Fra Angelico*, &c. (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1887.)
2. *The Warrior Medici, Giovanni delle Bande Nere*. An Historical Study in Florence. From the *Archivio Storico* and Original MSS. in the Magliabecchiana Library. By CATHERINE MARY PHILLIMORE. (London: London Literary Society, 1887.)

MISS PHILLIMORE'S *Studies in Italian Literature* comprises chapters upon Dante, Petrarch, and Tasso amongst the classical, and Manzoni, Aleardi, Arrivabene, and Edoardo Fusco amongst modern authors, besides an account of the Prince Printers of Italy and an elaborate and very interesting sketch of the Italian drama. The book, although entirely composed of papers that have appeared in different periodicals, does not lack unity of subject or lasting interest; and we can cordially recommend it as containing just the amount of information, conveyed in a pleasant style, which many readers would wish to have about the topics which the authoress handles. In comparing the 'Studies' we are disposed to give the palm to the articles on Aleardi and Arrivabene, which were originally published in our own pages; and this opinion is shared by the writer of a thoughtful criticism in the *Academy*.

It is perhaps inevitable that the paper on Dante, although confined to the elucidation of the *Paradiso*, should be hardly as satisfactory as its fellows. The subject is a large one, and requires ample and masterly treatment, such as was impossible within the space permitted by that most despotic of modern autocrats—an editor. Nor do we think that Miss Phillimore has made as much as the subject would have allowed of 'the Prince Printers of Italy.' Two points of minor criticism in this part of the book may be worth attention in view of a subsequent edition. (1) The writer dismisses as erroneous (p. 105 n.) the story of silver types; but it is positively asserted that such types were cast by Guillaume Le Bé for Francis I.¹ (2) The great cost of the Vatican printing press is explained (p. 123) by the statement that, *above all*, the most learned men of the age were paid *high salaries* to supervise and correct the editions which issued from it. This does not accord with the detailed accounts of the wretched remuneration commonly paid at this period for similar work throughout Europe.

It can hardly fail to strike the reader of the 'Studies' how mournful was the experience of life which most of the authors, classical and modern alike, were called to traverse. Of the older poets, almost without exception it might be said, 'Fecit indignatio versum;' and whilst literature enjoyed a large measure of courtly patronage in the luxurious petty Italian states, and the drama owed its active existence to the lavish expenditure of princes, and its

¹ It must, however, be owned that the statement has been treated as apocryphal by Renouard in his *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Estienne*, p. 288.

form to the controlling influence of learned Academies, it is unquestionable that the poets, whose undying fame sheds so brilliant a glory over the Italian Peninsula, suffered far more than they benefited at the hands of their capricious masters. Nor did a brighter day dawn for Italian authorship until the establishment of national unity and independence under the gallant house of Savoy.

The varied fortunes of the Italian poets and dramatists are portrayed in these sketches with sympathy and skill, and the interest of the 'Studies' is greatly heightened by spirited translations from the pen of the late Sir Robert Phillimore. It would have been better to have added an English rendering of the other Italian phrases which the volume contains. Few things are more mortifying to the reader than to have the pith and point of a whole paragraph now and again buried beneath the words of an unknown tongue.

Miss Phillimore's second book—*The Warrior Medici*—is a brief and bright historical brochure. The life of Giovanni delle Bande Nere stands out in pleasant relief to the darkness which covers for the most part the period of the hero's career. Craft rather than courage had been the most conspicuous quality of the Medici; but the son of Catarina Sforza inherited no ordinary hardihood. Bold to audacity, dauntless in disaster, the soul of honour, Giovanni is a specimen of the very best stamp of Condottieri chieftains; yet he did not deem it unbecoming his standard of moral rectitude that his sword should be at the command of either side alternately in the struggle of France and Spain upon the field of Italy. It would seem that the code of honour prevalent in his day allowed a partisan captain to hold his military skill as a modern barrister does his forensic ability—at the call of any client who needed his services. With the singular shortsightedness which has bereft the Papacy of many a willing champion, the jealousy of his kinsman Clement VII. deprived the Papal throne and capital of the only general who could have saved them, and effectually marred the greatness which Giovanni might have achieved. We must refer our readers to Miss Phillimore's pages for the details of his gallantry, of the brave succour afforded him by his noble-hearted wife, and of his premature death at the early age of twenty-nine. One feature—unhappily but too rare at that period—of his noble character deserves special mention: his tender regard for the lives of his soldiers. He would never expose them to any danger in which he was not himself the foremost.

We have only to add that both volumes are daintily and attractively got up. We have already said enough to show that the jewels are worthy of their setting.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS, NEW EDITIONS, SERMONS, PAMPHLETS, ETC.

Outlines of Theological Study, compiled and published with the approval of the Committee of the Conference upon the Training of Candidates for Holy Orders, 1881-1887 (London: George Bell, and Sons, 1887) contains 'Suggestions for the Study of Holy Scripture' and five Syllabuses or Outlines of Theological Study in the Depart-

ments of Dogmatic Theology, Church History, Church Worship, Apologetics, and Christian Ethics. The Conference and Committee more or less directly—but none of them individually—responsible for this publication comprise all the Theological Professors of Cambridge, Oxford, and Durham, the Principal of King's College, London (whose *Boyle Lectures*, we observe, are one of the far too few books recommended as aids to study), and sundry officers of Theological Colleges. A pamphlet of sixty pages seems at first sight to be a somewhat feeble result of a conference of so many specialists during a period of not less than six years. A closer examination, however, will show that such an impression would be hasty and unjust. The work is one which has evidently required and secured no small amount of thoughtful labour. We can only regret, as we have already intimated, that more assistance has not been given to the student in the way of indicating suitable books for mastering each section of the Outlines. In this connection we may express a hope that the useful and able articles which have appeared during the present year in the columns of the *Church Times* on theological aids to study may be reprinted in a separate form.

The Hunterian Oration, delivered at the Royal College of Surgeons of England, February 14, 1887, by William Savory, F.R.S., President of the College, surgeon of St. Bartholomew's Hospital (London, J. and A. Churchill), is an eloquent tribute to the memory of the Father of English Surgery, and a powerful answer to the question with which the oration opens—'What has Hunter done?' Few countries, we imagine, can boast of having two great surgeons who exhibit such high literary skill as Sir James Paget and Mr. Savory. At p. 30 are some admirable remarks on 'specialism'—the false and the true—with which we cordially agree. The point which Mr. Savory seeks to establish is that 'the greatness of John Hunter is to be estimated, not only by what he discovered, *but rather by the lesson and example of his work.*'

The Ancient and Modern Library of Theological Literature (London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden, and Welsh, 1887) consists of a marvellously cheap reproduction of some of the masterpieces of Christian theology and literature at one shilling each. Among those already issued we find the *De Imitatione* (in a revised and adapted translation), Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living*, the quaint and saintly Andrewes' *Sermons on the Nativity*, and Wilberforce's *Five Empires*. *Ignatius*, *Chrysostom*, *Athanasius* are to be laid under contribution in subsequent volumes. There is no doubt that this series will render accessible to the many, works which have hitherto been beyond the reach of any but the few. The type and paper are good, and a cloth binding will for a long time dispense with any other. *Indifference to Religion, and its Cause*, by the Rev. J. Ll. Roberts (London: Church of England Pulpit Office), is a thoughtful and temperate sermon, on the dangers of the 'subtle universalism, a disposition to take it for granted that no soul can be lost,' to which Canon Roberts very justly attributes the growing indifference, if not absolute hostility to religion.

Those who are interested—and shame on those who are not interested—in the penitentiary work of the Church will read with great profit *Twenty-three Years in a House of Mercy*, by H. N. (London: Rivingtons, 1887). It is an account of the Kent Penitentiary, known as St. Mary's Home, Stone, Dartford, which practically owes its origin to the Christian zeal and piety of Mr. J. G. Talbot, M.P. This little book, written by the superintendent of the Home, is full of deeply interesting facts and stories relating to the unfortunate girls who came under her kind tutelage, and of wise and sober counsels to those who are engaged in or who contemplate undertaking work of the same nature. The Home (which has recently established a branch at Margate) holds sixty penitents, and it is worked by a community of seven or eight ladies, who must have their hands full. Among the wise words with which the volume is jewelled, we note the following: 'To deal successfully with penitents, you want especially *devotion and refinement*' (p. 66). 'Next to the grace of God, *few things are more helpful than a keen sense of humour*' (*ibid.*). Then, as regards the choice of workers, 'Those who "don't get on at home" are the last people one wants in a penitentiary' (p. 65). 'The great need of all our penitentiaries is *classification as to age*' (p. 80). To those who urge the greater importance of preventive work, to the disparagement of penitentiaries, H. N. retorts, 'If your friends and neighbours are struck down by fever, you do not leave them to die while you look after the drains which you know have caused the mischief' (p. 49). We hope this book will meet with a wide circulation.

The Agricultural Depression and the Sufferings of the Clergy, by R. E. Prothero (London: Guardian Office, 1887), is a pamphlet reprinted from our excellent contemporary, the *Guardian*, on a subject of most absorbing interest to all Churchmen. It is written with singular vigour of style, and displays a thorough mastery of facts.

This Church and Realm: a Sermon preached in the Church of All Saints, Margaret Street, at the Anniversary Festival of the English Church Union, on June 16, 1887, by Francis Paget, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, and sometime Vicar of Bromsgrove (London: Rivingtons, 1887), is replete with that elevation of tone and severity of style which marks all the utterances of the Professor of Pastoral Theology at the University of Oxford. The object of the sermon is not so much to vindicate the principles and the practice of the English Church Union—which are indeed passed over in silence—as to assert the position of the great Church of England as the historic Church of this country. Dr. Paget thinks that the power of that Church is largely due to the fact that she 'is fearlessly and unapologetically supernatural.' Of the Church this is certainly true, but of a large and we fear increasing number of the clergy it is not less certainly the reverse of the truth.

THE
CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

N^o L. JANUARY 1888.

ART. I.—CHRISTIANITY AND THE SERVICE
OF MAN.

The Service of Man: an Essay towards the Religion of the Future. By JAMES COTTER MORISON. (London, 1887.)

SIX months ago we noticed this work in an article upon 'Substitutes for Christianity.' But we deferred to future consideration¹ the only portion of the subject which is worked out by Mr. Morison with any degree of completeness: we mean his strictures on the moral influence of Christianity. This is not the most important part of the case in itself. If Mr. Morison had indeed offered us what his title promised, a constructive essay towards the religion of the future, it would have been of little moment to consider his criticisms on the religion of the past. A religion for which there is really room and demand will displace its predecessors not so much by criticism as by its own positive power. Christianity, for example, though ready when occasion came to show the moral defects of Judaism and heathenism, placed little dependence on such negative arguments; and rightly, for controversies would have contributed but little to its success if it had not displayed a positive power to give better employment to the religious faculties than these faiths had provided, and to furnish better support to the moral necessities of souls and of societies than they. If Christianity had been less emphatic or less successful in its negations than its affirmations, it would have beckoned in vain either to Jew or to heathen. Its reasonings would not of necessity have gone for nothing, but they would, in spite of whatever protests on their own part, have taken their place with the philosophies of pure religious scepticism which were prevalent at the time. And such is

¹ *Church Quarterly*, vol. xxiv. p. 379.

the proper classification of Mr. Morison's so-called 'essay towards the religion of the future.' Were his clear-sightedness equal to the goodwill and earnestness which we cheerfully ascribe to him, he would not have given an affirmative title to a negative book. A man who cannot read the lives of Agnes Jones and Sister Dora without tears,¹ and who allows that 'the mass of Englishmen are not yet satisfied in their hearts that an improved substitute for Christianity can be found,'² must have some sympathy with positive religious wants, and a conception of the unearthly power which a religion must exert. He must know that even if religion, as positivism tells us, be constructed out of earthly materials, it must, in order to deserve its name, lift itself for human imagination above the everyday circle of common pleasures and pains. This was what Comte in his *Catechism of Positive Religion* tried to enable it to do. And he failed. The balloon, instead of rising, fell flat upon the ground, and there remains. And what right, we ask, has Mr. Morison to entitle a work, which admits an utter inability to produce a religion, by the name of 'an essay towards the religion of the future'? The Unionists accuse Mr. Gladstone of asking the nation to destroy the existing constitution while he declines to produce the scheme which is to replace it. But Mr. Morison demands greater confidence still, for he pronounces Christianity already moribund or dead, and writes a book to dry the tears of its mourners by the assurance that, after all, it is no great loss; and at the same time he not only offers no substitute, but declares it impossible to devise one. 'When we are asked what religion we propose to substitute in place of the old one now threatened with extinction, the answer is that no such pretension is entertained for a moment. Religions are organic growths, and are no more capable of fabrication than animals or plants.'³ An essay showing that Westminster Abbey is falling to pieces, and that there is no reason to regret it, could only by a great stretch of language be called an essay towards the reconstruction of that ancient building.

Enough said, however, about the religion of the future towards which Mr. Morison's title promises help while his work declines to give any. We proceed to the proper subject of this article, which is the negative criticism of Mr. Morison upon the moral value of Christianity. Although this criticism is of no value for constructing the religion of the future, it is nevertheless of interest to Christians who believe that, so far

¹ *The Service of Man*, p. 232.

² *Ibid.* p. 51.

³ *Ibid.* p. 248.

from being moribund or dead, their religion never showed more life than at present.

Yet the question of the moral value of Christianity is one on which a humble believer cannot enter with a light heart. It is, we sorrowfully allow, a matter not beyond argument. When we study the moral effects of Christianity, whether in Christian populations at large or in our own lives, it is useless to claim that they are adequate to what might be expected from the moral powers and aids which the religion proclaims. Virtues existed and still exist among unbelievers, and vice in appalling volume exists among Christians. Christianity has not hindered the growth and propagation even of forms of vice which are peculiar to Christian nations, and which the heathen must learn from them: such as the drunkenness of England. Considering what the helps to morality are which Christianity asserts to exist, it ought to have been impossible for a serious person like Mr. Morison to doubt its moral value. But it is not impossible; and when under his guidance we enter upon this inquiry we feel so little disposition to dismiss his arguments as preposterous that, on the contrary, we need to scrutinize them carefully and weigh the principles on which they rest.

Now a defect in Mr. Morison's book almost as serious as the want of any hint of the alternative religion which he presages is the absence of any statement of the philosophical basis on which his work rests. His building wants, not only the roof, but the foundation. Positivism is assumed throughout the volume without ever having been asserted beforehand. And, before we submit Christian morals to the judgment of positivism, it is necessary we should consider the qualifications of positivism to do the office of a judge. It is impossible that one who lays down his laws on a positivist basis can form the same estimate of facts and characters, we do not say as a Christian, but as one who even doubts whether positivism be true. The essential principle of positivism is this: that 'in the final, the positive state, the mind has given over the vain search after absolute notions, the origin and destination of the universe and the causes of phenomena, and applies itself to the study of their laws—that is, their invariable relations of succession and resemblance.'¹ The intervention of God in human things is, by this philosophy, absolutely excluded as a notion which our faculties do not enable us to entertain. And whatever conceptions of this sort have

¹ *Comte's Positive Philosophy*, by Martineau, vol. i. p. 2.

been held by men in time past, present themselves to the philosophical observer of to-day as not true, nor even as conceivably true, considered as theories of the reality of things. Now, a man who holds this philosophy must inevitably be influenced by it in his conception of the facts of man's moral history. Supernatural intervention is not to him a *vera causa*; he will not allow it to be even a possible account of moral phenomena. And he for whose mind God exists even as a remote suspicion or distant imaginable influence in things, will find in a very large department of the moral life of individuals and of the race, that he differs from the positivist, not merely upon the character of the facts, but upon the question what were the facts. For instance: Mr. Morison says that 'Strauss, F. Ch. Baur, Keim, and Hausrath have made the early history of Christianity at least as intelligible as other scholars have made the early history of Rome' (p. 32). Now these are authorities whose proposed solutions of the problem are inconsistent with one another, and each of them testifies that none of the others are satisfactory. The wholesale citation of them simply shows the foregone conclusion in Mr. Morison's mind that there is a natural explanation of the rise of Christianity. He thinks there is such an explanation, and therefore believes that somebody must have given it. Even an unbeliever in miracle ought in candour to allow that the natural explanation of Christianity has not yet been found, sure as he may be that there is one. But one to whom the supernatural presents itself as in any way possible will be still more ready to pronounce the claim to have found the 'natural and regular' solution a gross exaggeration. None of the competing explanations is natural except to those who are antecedently convinced that a natural one exists. The very same thing is true in its degree of all the moral phenomena which Mr. Morison considers, and of multitudes of facts, inward and outward, which are of everyday occurrence in our moral lives. The most rigorous proof of positivism as a philosophy of human life and history is requisite before we can assume that the facts are of that purely natural character which Mr. Morison takes for granted. We do not believe that society is prepared to follow him in the assumption. Whatever unformed tendencies to materialism the age may display, the rigorous acceptance of Mr. Morison's philosophy is so uncommon that scarce a handful of thoroughgoing adherents to it could be found.

And this is the more important because the positivist's moral judgments of the facts will differ as much as his decision

what were the facts, from that of the most hesitating believer. For instance: with all Mr. Morison's appreciation of religion, his grudging estimate of the service of man rendered by the martyrs is, that by martyrdom 'no benefit is ever supposed to be conferred by men, except, perhaps, the example left for imitation by others' (p. 204). But what greater benefit can possibly be conferred on mankind than an example of constancy to the faith that is in us? Mr. Morison would see it at once in the case of Giordano Bruno. Even on special positivist principles the man who dies for a theological faith, when a theological faith is that for which the world is fit, is advancing truth in the very highest sense which the philosopher knows, and rendering to men the greatest service conceivable. Mr. Morison's low view of the social benefits of martyrdom proves, what we might well have anticipated, that, however fair a positivist may wish to be, it is impossible that his moral estimate can agree with that of those whose faith is spiritual. Let the positivist say what he will of including the beliefs of the past in a general view of the necessary progress of the race, and of retaining their noble characteristics in the better religion of the future, he cannot, now that he has left them behind, regard them as anything but errors and delusions. And the tears with which he reads of the beautiful characters they produced are not tears of triumphant sympathy, but of eternal farewell to the thoughts and feelings by which such fruits are yielded.

'The speculative interest,' says Mr. Morison, 'pales before the momentous practical interest of the crisis. A transfer of allegiance from one set of first principles to another, especially on subjects relating to morals and conduct, cannot be effected without considerable loss of continuity and order by the way' (p. 9).

He is right; but we fear that we differ from him on the very meaning of this word 'morals'; and though our allegiance in morals is to be transferred from one set of first principles to another, that cannot change the meaning of the term 'morals' to us, nor the essential conditions for which principles of morals must provide. You may alter your whole way of living and the nature of your food, but you cannot change the original meaning of health and disease, nor the nature of nourishment. It is in our own individual lives that we meet the experience which gives those words their meaning wherever we use or hear them; we are incapable of substituting any other meaning of health and disease, of pain or pleasure, for that which we find in our own nature. It is so with morality. Morals and

morality are words to which a meaning is given by what we find in our own experience, and unless we can give ourselves other minds than those we possess, we are incapable of attaching to them any other import than that which is thus given to us. And what is this meaning? It is that of a conflict and a choice. If there were not a better and a worse, a higher and a lower, either of which we may conceivably pursue, and between which we choose, morals and morality as we now understand them would have no existence for us. Let the reader consider if he is not compelled to understand the words so; we have no doubt at all of our own incapacity to understand them otherwise. Every application and combination of the words implies conflict and choice. Moral evidence, moral sanctions, good morals, bad morals, immoral, non-moral—all have reference to the progress or the results, to the presence or the absence, of conflict and choice. Whenever a process goes on in our mind or in our body in which cause and effect are directly and peremptorily connected, leaving no room for conflict or choice, then we consider the term morality inapplicable; there is nothing either moral or immoral in the growth of the hair or the beating of the heart. These invariable sequences are, indeed, never unconnected with morality; there is room for choice and conflict as to the manner in which we submit to or use the unchangeable laws of our life; but when it appears that any law of our life is unchangeable, or, as we say, physical or natural, it is removed *ipso facto* from the sphere of morality.

This seems to us obviously true; and it ought not to be denied even by a positivist. Even if, in some point of view higher (or lower, as the case may be) than that of ordinary practice our life and acts could appear to us as phenomena linked together by 'invariable relations of succession' in a series which human will cannot change, it would still be undeniable that in practice conflict and struggle present themselves as inward facts of which we cannot cease to be conscious; and to this consciousness, be it delusion or not, morality is attached and cannot be disunited from it. Therefore, direct teaching and assistance given to men in carrying on this conflict and making this choice is alone proper to be called moral teaching or moral help. Yet the aspect in which Christianity is habitually treated by Mr. Morison is that of a cause operating among the forces of nature, not that of an element in the moral conflict of man.

The way in which religion is connected with morality is this—that all the faculties on which the maintenance of

morality and its growth depend seek further and higher applications than this world can give them. Love is a powerful agent of morality, and so is hope, and so is fear, and so is conscience; but the world cannot supply us with objects of love sufficiently universal or lasting or attractive to dominate the whole nature of all men at all times. Nor are the objects of hope and fear, or the light for the conscience, which the world presents great or real enough to supply all that morality wants. We do not make little of what this life has to offer in any of these respects, nor depreciate its use and power in morality. But the general agreement and experience of men is that what life offers is not enough. It requires extension. The moral faculties must be well attached above to enable the weaving of our moral life to go on. If they hang loose it cannot proceed, and even the part of the web which seemed already complete, the moral habits already formed, may be loosened again and fall into confusion. How to find some means of attaching the faculties which give the moralizing power to something well above the ordinary life is the problem for those who cast away the aid for this purpose which Christianity has afforded to millions.

The problem is not that of providing a satisfactory object of the religious sentiment. For our part we consider the term religious sentiment a very poor expression indeed of man's faculty of religion and his need of it. He needs religion, not sentimentally, but morally. Without religion no one has yet found the secret which Jesus Christ knew: how to teach, not merely something about morality, but morality itself. To teach us about pleasure and pain is a different thing from teaching us to feel them; to teach us what beauty and ugliness are is a different thing from teaching us to feel what is beautiful and what is not. Aristotle has taught us a good deal about virtue, but Jesus has taught virtue. And we are sorry to say that Mr. Morison must not only renounce for his book the claim to have proposed a religion for the future but also the claim to have given us any help to virtue. He has said a good deal about the service of man, but nothing which imparts a new stimulus to enlist in it. Man in search of a religion which will help him to be good resembles one who seeks a physician for some malady of his own or in his household. He feels in himself an evil element to be expelled and a recuperative power which requires to be aided and helped. Lectures on medicine give him little help; he wants a doctor. If there be but one in the place, the patient will require very strong proof of his insufficiency before he

refuses to employ him. He will naturally say that those who depreciate the physician should provide a better or hold their tongues. To be sure, a physician might conceivably be so bad that it would be better to trust to nature than to employ him. But as it is conceded in medicine and in morals that nature wants aid, and is not enough of itself, this is not a doctrine which men will be very forward to accept. But then, it is urged, your physician has in a very large number of previous cases failed to effect cures. Well, we should answer, it may be so. But we have always in such cases to consider, not only the skill of the doctor, but also the subject and the circumstances: failures may come through the strength of a disease or disobedience to orders, even though the medical skill was the greatest that could be displayed.

We cannot limit the conflict and choice in which we seek moral help, to the service of man. The sphere of morality extends over all active life and into every relation which we hold to any one or any thing, whether in the outward visible life or the inward and spiritual. Everywhere throughout this field there is room for a higher and a lower, for a right and for a wrong. And to prove that the service of man is not the whole of morality, we need only ask whether our relations to man are the only relations that exist for us. The answer obviously is that they are not. We bear relations also to ourselves, to other creatures besides man, and above all to the source of our being, were it even an unconscious or unknowable source. But the service of man is so large a part of morality, and affords so complete an example of the action of moral principle, that we feel no disposition to raise any question with Mr. Morison upon this ground. We proceed, then, to consider his inquiry into the value of Christianity as a help in this service, with the understanding that reason and nature compel us to conduct the investigation not as philosophers considering an abstract question, but as men seeking assistance in our moral struggle.

Mr. Morison's introductory chapter treats of the universal change and decay of all human handiwork, religion among the rest. Mr. Spencer begins his *First Principles* by similar reflections; only that what strikes him most is the proof which the obstinate permanence of religion, in spite of the constant change in its form, affords of the fact that religion is a necessary part of man's mental furniture. It is true that the religion which Mr. Spencer believes in is the formless religion of the unknowable; but to our minds it is demonstrably impossible for a man to have a religion without in

some sense knowing its object and giving it a form for his thought. And we apply his argument to show that the determination of man to have a religion proves that there must be a true and permanent form of religion. The changes of man's astronomical notions do not prove—though a rash scepticism might easily think that it did prove—a true and permanent astronomical belief to be an impossibility; but the reverse. And if there is to be a final and permanent form of religion, Christianity holds the field as a claimant to the description. But even if Christianity were to fall, it is a perfectly unauthorized assumption of Mr. Morison that the transition would be 'from theology to positivism, from the service of God to the service of man,' or that if we 'honestly take our side and admit that the *Civitas Dei* is a dream of the past,' our alternative would be to realize that *Regnum Hominis* which Bacon foresaw and predicted.' Bacon, as Mr. Morison must be well aware, predicted no kingdom of man erected on the ruins of the kingdom of God. He must know that this *Regnum Hominis* of which positivists dream is rejected, not only by Christians, but by agnostics and believers in the unconscious, comprehending the larger mass of modern unbelief. And reason good why it should be rejected. Neither in the aggregate nor individually does man possess any qualities enabling him to fill a throne from which God is to be displaced.

The second chapter is devoted to the Decay of Belief. It contains many things which a Christian must recognize as true and lament as evidence of a loss of faith on the part of many among us; other things which he must regard as a divine call to examine his own creed and to cast out of it anything which the course of thought and inquiry have proved erroneous. But every symptom which Mr. Morison names might be conceived, not only to show itself for a season but even to abide and continue in a man's mind without leading to the rejection of Christianity. It was really not worth his while to mention Dr. Clarke's mistakes about the history of creation. Does he mean to say that the correction of these imperils our belief in a creator? Can he possibly imagine that belief in design is got rid of when we recognize the existence of useless and meaningless organs? One case such as that of the human eye, for the unguided development of which the geologic periods do not afford time, is more than sufficient to outweigh the doubts of design which any amount of useless organs suggest. We do not suppose Mr. Morison's argument against miracles that they would be far

more useful now than at the time they are presumed to have been done will weigh much with anyone who reflects what errors and disasters we should be led to in worldly matters if we took for granted that we had a right to prescribe to nature how and when she will work her wonders. Mr. Morison has more than once repeated in his book that the Christian conception of God bears marks of the tyranny and misery of the times in which the creeds were settled. This theory has nothing whatever to recommend it except the positivist presumption that man is dominated by the circumstances of the period in which he lives. The largest and most important part of the period during which Christian theology developed was no period of tyranny and misery, but one of great peace and good government. And even had it been otherwise, the evidence is abundant that Christians lived in a sphere of faith so absorbing and so apart from the world that its events could have little influence on the course of their thoughts. It is, indeed, true that frightful things have been said about hell torments, and bloodthirsty notions on propitiation and atonement have been imagined. But even when widely spread they have formed part of the Church's changing attire, not limbs of its body; and the wisest theologians with the mass of Christian people have ever felt they knew little of the future life, while the propitiation of an angry Deity is a travesty of the atonement. Mr. Morison would consider it highly absurd in anyone to identify positivism with the particular notions of the section who adopt the religion of Comte. Much less should Christianity and its moral influence be held responsible for the utterances of Boston. The same is to be said of the extreme predestinarian theology which Mr. Morison, by a large assumption, attributes to St. Paul; and what is it, after all, in comparison to what Mr. Huxley calls the Calvinism of nature which remains when theology is surrendered?

Mr. Morison derides the assertion that the objections now made to Christianity are all old. They may not be old in their form, but so long as a substitute for Christianity is not provided the state of the argument remains essentially unaltered from what it was in Butler's time. The old sovereign, he thinks, admits that she has been discrowned. It will be time enough for Mr. Morison to make so extravagant an assertion when he has succeeded in discovering a pretender to the crown. Even then, as experience shows, the result would probably be that the claimant would be speedily put to death by his own followers. But as it is the case stands thus: Not

one of the theories either of physical science or of Biblical criticism has succeeded in proving anything inconsistent with a belief in Christianity so real as to dominate the life. It is admitted that Christianity has attractions so great that unbelievers hasten to compliment it; and the more respectful attitude of religion to unbelief is more than equalled by the bearing of unbelief to religion. It is admitted that a man must have religion, and that none better than Christianity is produced. 'Lord, to whom shall we go?' is the utterance, not of sentiment, but of necessity; and if, under such circumstances, belief decays, can we either justify the process or rejoice at it? What is to be done with men's religious faculties during the interval between the demolition of the old religion and the preparation of the new? Like the disbanded troops of a fallen government, they will infallibly do mischief unless they are employed.

But, to say truth, this decay of belief is something which we cannot wholly believe. Particular objections to religion, or particular religious conclusions, are only of importance as elements in the general state of our minds. And the general state of the mind of our society does not seem to us less favourable to religion than that of Butler's time, but far more so. The positive work of religion in our society is immeasurably greater than it was then: is this consistent with decay? What we do perceive is that there are a larger number of persons among us living so artificial a life, either of over-stimulated intellect or of over-pampered desires, that we cannot trust them to display the spiritual wants of human nature in a healthy form. Mr. Morison himself believes, as we see by his preface, that there is much in the constitution of modern society which is unhealthy and doomed to fall. Can he, then, regard the religious conclusions of this society (were they what he believes them to be) as marks of the steady irreversible progress of the human soul?

In the next chapter Mr. Morison propounds the question, Why men hesitate. He rejects, as we should expect from his honesty, the solution of the question which attributes the still remaining power of religion in England to mere conservatism. The true reason is found, he thinks, first in a certain slow-footed sureness in the national character; and, secondly, in the fact that Christianity has been of late so inoffensive to dissidents. Agnosticism has had a fair stage to propound its substitute for the Gospel, without any of the adventitious favour which would have resulted from an attempt to persecute it. Not being succoured by any enthusiasm derived from

the Englishman's love of liberty and fair play, and being thrown back upon such enthusiasm as properly belongs to its own inherent merits, agnosticism has proved entirely unable to evoke any enthusiasm at all; and we think Mr. Morison might have very truly added that, of all forms of agnosticism, that which is called positivism is entitled to the lowest depth of deadness among these abortions, each of which is proclaimed as the religion of the future, but never becomes anybody's religion in the present. And so there is really no claimant but Christianity to the longing which men have for a Deity who has some capacity for sympathy with them, and for a religion which shall help their morality. Mr. Morison is right enough: those are true reasons why men hesitate; and they are likely to hesitate long. But his account of the merely negative attitude which he supposes our nation to hold towards Christianity, is obviously incorrect. Christianity not only holds its own as an object beloved a little for old habit's sake, and because no rival is at hand, but makes reactions, reconquers lost ground, forces more men to weep and pray and deny their pleasure in many a small parish in England, than agnosticism or positivism has ever done in the whole world, or ever will do to the end of time. The office of de-traction, which Mr. Morison assumes in the absence of any power of rivalry, is not a lofty one; but as he has chosen it we shall carefully consider what he has to urge. He promises to inquire (1) If religion has really been in the past the solace and consolation it is asserted to be; (2) Whether Christianity is such a stay and support to morality as it is said to be; and (3) Whether an outbreak of crime and debauchery may be expected on the disappearance of the established theology. We cannot find that the third head is dealt with; but the two first are treated at large.

The first point is not of prime importance in itself. The true contest will never turn upon the amount of the spiritual pleasure of religion. Christianity did not win its converts by appeals to their desire for happiness, but by setting itself before them as truth. And the individual or generation which comes to retain its Christian profession only for the sake of consolations has *ipso facto* ceased to believe. But though consolation is not the first gift of Christianity, nor the first aim of Christians, yet it comes to them without being aimed at. He that loseth his life shall find it; and the same Lord who came not to send peace but a sword proclaims, 'My peace I give unto you.' Herein Christ's religion corresponds entirely with the nature of the human soul, which never finds

happiness except in self-forgetfulness, and never makes happiness its object without losing it through the self-remembrance which the effort implies. If Mr. Morison had recollected this first principle of human nature, he would not have found in the self-depreciations and confessions of ill-desert which Christians make, a reason for doubting the consolations of the Gospel. A man should not take it upon him to gauge the benefits which Christianity confers while he is unable to understand the characteristic nature of the comfort which it gives. And, indeed, if we were judging Mr. Morison merely as a literary critic, we should consider him to be pronouncing sentence on his own powers of insight when he finds in Thomas à Kempis's confession, 'Lord, I am not worthy of Thy consolation,' a proof that the sinner finds no consolation in religion. Is it possible that anyone should read the *Imitatio* and doubt whether the writer has found consolation through the very depth of his self-humiliation, and relief through the very greatness of his spiritual pain; bearing about him in his body, like St. Paul before him, the dying of the Lord Jesus that the life also of Jesus might be manifest in his mortal flesh?

This blindness to the power of the Cross to turn that which, to the unbeliever, must be sheer unrelieved pain into happiness, is one defect which we note in this chapter of Mr. Morison's work. A second, to be sure, is found in the general defect of the whole book—namely, the absence of any consideration of the alternative. For, to say that the consolations of Christianity are small is evidently insufficient unless you can prove that the consolations which would remain if Christianity were absent are greater. And Mr. Morison makes no attempt to show this. If all the fears and all the cruelties and all the self-deceptions and useless self-tortures which have ever been inflicted in the name of Christianity were removed, would the human race be necessarily in a blissful or even in an indifferent state of mind? Would no anxieties about a future of which nothing can be known; no shrinking from extinction; no disappointment at the shortness and futility of a life which ends in death, sum up any *per contra* to be set against the pains of asceticism and of Calvinism? And will the religion of the future, when the time comes for it to be born, be a religion which brings with it pure pleasure and no pain? If so, we prophesy that it will be too mawkish for the taste of mankind, in whose life pain and labour are so seated that the religion which cannot make them the means of hope and peace can have neither hope nor peace

to give. This is our second criticism on the chapter ; but the third is more important than either.

Mr Morison in professing to estimate the consolations of Christianity claims to except from them all that complacent conviction of acceptance and favour with God in which the presumptuous dwell. The true Christian peace, he says, 'is subject to painful interruptions and almost in exact proportion with the growth of a watchful and tender conscience does the liability to such eclipses increase.' 'The proud content of the Pharisee can never be put to the credit of religion' (p. 59). We allow Mr. Morison his claim without hesitation and without deduction. All is not Israel which is of Israel, and many comforts which exist under Christianity and pretend to be Christian belong, not to Christianity, but to human nature, and sometimes to its lower elements. That is part of the condition of struggle in which moral life consists : that one of the weapons which evil uses is to deceive us with the appearance of good. Moreover we shall extend the range of Mr. Morison's demand, and shall concede that not only in respect of evil things like Pharisaism, but of many good things too, we must be careful not to claim for Christianity that which belongs essentially to human nature. The chastity and honesty of the northern races was discernible before they were Christian, and Christianity can but claim to have offered a faith congenial to such good tendencies and improved and extended them and protected them from the decay which would otherwise have overtaken them. All through the history of early Christianity we have to consider, not one force or power, but two : the gospel and the nature of man ; and we must not attribute to the one that which really belongs to the other. Agreed : Mr. Morison has a right to all the advantage which this obvious truth can give him, and it will involve no small deduction from many a claim which has been advanced on the part of religion.

But it is equally obvious that the principle should be applied the other way also. Mr. Morison has no right to deduct the happiness of Pharisees from the joys of religion on the ground that it belongs not to religion but nature, and then to attribute to religion all the suffering which has been inflicted in its name. Why may not the sufferings of Jacqueline Pascal, the terrors and cruelties of Boston's prophecies of woe to come, and the morbid symptoms of Bunyan's spiritual life as well proceed from tendencies of human nature, erroneously attributing their work to religion, as the pride and self-satisfaction of Diotrephes. That you are not to attribute

to religion all that is done or felt in its name would seem to us too obvious for mention if it were not that the principle is so habitually forgotten in the work before us.

Mr. Morison commences his consideration of the supreme subject of Christianity and Morals with an extraordinary instance of wrongheadedness. He quotes Paley as admitting that the teaching of morality was not the primary design of the gospel. The scope of Christianity considered as a revelation was to influence the conduct of human life by establishing the proof of a future state of reward and punishment, thus supplying motives, not rules ; sanctions, and not precepts. Whatever Paley's merits, there is something grotesque in resorting to him instead of Christ and His apostles for a description of the design of Christianity. But it is unnecessary to insist upon this, because Paley himself is wholly misrepresented when Mr. Morison founds upon his words the notion of a supernatural morality substituting itself for that which concerns this world. That Paley, of all men, should be presented as abandoning the sphere of everyday duty for one of transcendental reference is, indeed, a discovery in exposition. Paley, as even these words show, and as the chapter which they are taken from proves at large, considers Christian morality to be exquisitely adapted to the wants of life and the performance of all social duties ; while the sanction of the life to come adds the same sort of impulse to the due performance of these duties that the prospect of mature life does to the diligent education of boys. In the one case as in the other it is possible that human error may pervert the proper lesson which the prospect of the future impresses. There is such a thing as other-worldliness among the so-called religions, just as there is such a thing as the premature apeing of manhood among boys. But you might as well say that the knowledge that they are ever to grow up injures the general performance of boyish duty as that the knowledge of a future life, as Christianity presents it, injures the performance of our earthly obligations. Christians have, indeed, failed in these too often, but always because they forgot the Christian view of the future, never because they remembered it. We should have thought it impossible for anyone who expected attention from persons who had read the New Testament to write that 'Salvation in the next world is the object of the scheme, not morality in this ; and although the two objects may occasionally coincide, it is only a casual coincidence.' On the contrary, if Christ tells us true, salvation is not to be had in the next world without morality in this ; and the connexion of the two is as

close and as essential as that of the crop with the sowing. 'Be not deceived : God is not mocked. Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he reap.' 'If a man say I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar. Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer, and ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him.' If Mr. Morison will call to mind how the Lord represents Himself as inviting those on His right hand to enter the kingdom because in doing good to men they had been unawares doing good to Him, he will perceive how every power of the spiritual world and every expectation of the future is brought by the religion of Christ to bear upon the duty of man to man. The fact is that all the revelations of the life to come which Christianity makes are couched in terms derived from the highest moral experiences of this world. They cannot be understood except by those for whom earthly duty has a meaning ; and it is therefore in the nature of things impossible that they should overshadow earthly duty. Perfect purity and love can have no charm except for those who enjoy purity and love here ; and how can the hope of the perfect degree check us in the practice of the imperfect ? The foundation truth of Christianity—namely, the manifestation of the Son of God in an earthly life—is fitted immeasurably to emphasize the importance of this life and all its relations and duties ; and the whole teaching of the New Testament follows out with unvarying consistency this primary conception.

But Mr. Morison proceeds, not merely to give more or less plausible reasons for holding that the doctrine of all Christians in the final result is antinomian and positively immoral, but to prove the assertion by the most authoritative utterances of representative Christian doctors (p. 93). The way in which he proves it is by placing the Christian requirement of faith in Christ in opposition to that of a virtuous life as made by those who are not Christians ; and he offers some very strong statements out of the writings of various divines to show the power of faith and repentance to avert the personal punishment of a bad life, and send the seducer triumphantly to heaven, while the victims of his temptation depart to destruction everlasting. We should be wasting time if we were to criticize the expressions of particular divines ; we join issue on the general question of the moral tendency of forgiveness of sins offered through Christ.

On this point we must as usual note, in the first place, the advantage which Mr. Morison derives from the total omission of any alternative. Yet it is only common reason to remember that this unnamed alternative is, not a future life in which

sins shall be more fairly punished than the forgiveness of sins allows them to be under Christianity, but the total omission of a future life at all. Now if all the offers of *novæ tabulæ*, if all the remissions of punishment for sin however heinous, which have ever been made in the name of Christ were massed together and urged to the exclusion of every threat which Christianity sets on the other side, they could not equal, or come near to equalling, the clean erasure of all sentence against crime which disbelief in a future state brings with it. For if the one offers future joy and the other only extinction, this difference is altogether lost in the fact that one makes its offers conditional upon the truth and reality of a repentance and a faith which every day's sin renders less likely of attainment, while the other presents its absolution in the absolute and indiscriminate form of a physical fact, and assures, not merely the trembling wretch in terror about his own soul, but the bold sinner into whose heart no repentant misgiving has ever entered, that there is nothing whatever to fear. On what sanctions does Mr. Morison depend for the maintenance of virtue among men when Christianity shall have vanished? Is it upon the innate good principles of human nature encouraged by society for its own wellbeing? These principles of good exist under Christianity, with the additional power which is given them by the approval of God and the prospect of a future life; and that they would be sufficient without either of these beliefs behind them is something which Mr. Morison may choose to believe, but which he cannot prove, because it has never been tried in any society whatever. Will he depend upon the fear of physical pain, mental trouble, or social censure brought to bear upon those who are accessible only to fear? These deterrents exist equally under Christianity: the two latter of them organized and strengthened by the religion with helps the substitute for which in positivism we cannot easily discover. So that on a fair comparison of the two systems, the only foundation which we can discover for the indictment of immoral tendency which Mr. Morison brings against the Christian doctrine of forgiveness of sins is that it holds out a hope, very strictly guarded and conditioned, of a remission of future punishments, none of which, under Mr. Morison's system, would have any existence in any case, under any circumstances, for anybody at all.

So much on the comparative question. But we must add something upon the doctrine of forgiveness of sins in its positive relation to morality. We venture to say that this doctrine, which, when asserted in the name of Jesus and in

relation to the future life, Mr. Morison regards as inimical to morality, is nevertheless one which he himself will accept in the more limited sphere to which his belief confines him. Humanity is the new king who is to fill the throne of our deposed Lord. Now, does humanity forgive? Is it a duty with humanity to forgive? Does humanity find that forgiveness, duly applied, is a help towards morality or a hindrance to it? These questions must all be answered in the affirmative. Dead nature applies its stern laws without remission. But living man classes the duty of forgiveness among those which are demanded of him by his own best-developed moral nature and among the agencies most powerful in promoting a heartfelt service of humanity among those who would otherwise have been its enemies. It is not merely the Epistles of St. Paul or the history of the life of Christ which informs us that a sinner under the letter of the law feels himself bound down and committed to sin. Nature and experience teach the same. His past claims him, and as he has begun so he must continue; that which his deity, be it God or Humanity, considers him to be, that he must be. And the news of release from this bondage is to him the spring of a changed life, in which freedom will be used, not for selfishness, which has been found to be misery, but for loving and grateful service.

But what of the absolution of the dying sinner: what of the penitent thief? Those are the extreme instances, and every great moral principle has its extreme instance, from which those who believe in it must not shrink. The principle works among men on a large scale, and must not be judged of in extreme cases alone. But we maintain the moral duty and moral power of forgiveness to be so great in human dealings, and so undeniable, that it would be the part of the priest of humanity, utterly disbelieving a future state, to convey to a dying offender against every social obligation, upon reasonable proof of his true repentance, the forgiveness of humanity for his crimes; for if forgiveness was refused, humanity would feel that it had been untrue to its own duty, and the moral power of the great principle of the forgiveness of the repentant would be impaired among the human race at large. If we be right in this, it is precisely the case of the penitent thief, except that Jesus, as the true priest of humanity, instead of a subjective absolution in the memory of those who shall hear of his sin and, with it, of his sorrow, his faith, and his love, has a paradise to promise in which the forgiveness of his fellow-men and of his God shall be felt and enjoyed.

Does this alter the moral tendency of the act of forgiveness, or must we suppose that humanity would only convey its absolution to its repentant child on the supposition that the rite would bring him no real benefit of which he could be conscious?

The case of Zaccheus offers us a more ordinary instance of the operation of the principle. 'Lord, behold the half of my goods I give to the poor'—there is a servant of humanity converted from the service of self by the free use of the principle of forgiveness. For the Son of Man treats him as a friend while yet he has done to man nothing but injury. Would the priest of humanity use the same treatment in the same case; and if he did not, would the omission be favourable to morality or against it?

When Mr. Morison enlarges on the moral injury of forgiveness he precisely reproduces the objections of the Pharisees to the dealings of the Lord with publicans and sinners. He has something to say for himself, and so had they. The principle of forgiveness is easily capable of abuse. It would be abused if it were ever taught to be effective on the performance of 'an act of contrition' (p. 110), if that ambiguous phrase of Mr. Morison's is to be taken to mean a merely formal and outward expression of sorrow. But neither Christ nor His Church ever conveyed His forgiveness on such terms, and if ever it has been and men have supposed themselves to receive it without loving much in return, their self-deception is due, not to Christianity, but to human nature.

The long chapter upon 'Morality in the Ages of Faith' does not seem to us to require a lengthened answer. It is founded on the supposition that an age in which there is no formal and doctrinal opposition to Christianity must be an age in which the principles of Christianity have been completely tested, and in which every moral characteristic of the time may be attributed to the religion. And so room is found for a number of unedifying stories from French memoirs and similar sources which display, indeed, a very defective morality, but never one which would have been acknowledged as excusable even by the Christianity of the time, much less by Christianity in its purity. No one knows better than Mr. Morison how many facts are to be set on the other side. But we need not urge this. Phenomena so limited as those which he mentions would hardly seem of much use even to those who regard the moral history of man as a series of periods in each of which one principle, theological, metaphysical, or positive, rules supreme and is answerable for

everything. They are of slighter value still to those who regard the moral history of man as essentially and by the very nature of things a history of struggle, in which you have no right to attribute to one of the contending powers that which really belongs to the other. You have no right to attribute to a physician the maladies of a patient who has not followed his prescription, more especially if there be also a doubt whether the apothecary has made up the prescription rightly. Nor is the case at all changed though he has been the sole medical attendant, and though the sick man has made a mighty parade of respect for him. No doubt these records are sad deductions from the *degree* of moral influence which we might have expected such a religion as Christianity to exert among men, but as examples of the *nature* of the moral influence of Christianity they are worth nothing. And it is in the latter aspect that Mr. Morison uses them. They show that the flesh is very powerful against the spirit, and that bad habits are hard to change in races or in men. But we knew all this before: we experience it in its degree in ourselves; and if it had not been the case, Christianity as a religion of redemption could never have had a place in the world. And, after all, nothing is thereby proved against the moral tendency of Christianity when truly tried.

Mr. Morison proceeds to consider what Christianity has done. But we do not trust the guidance of a writer who considers the moral phenomena under the preconceived idea that society is an organism. No doubt a true meaning for that phrase, as for most others which able men have used, may be found. But organism is a word which derives its associations and its meaning from the physical world. And when it is applied to the moral world the result is very likely to be the total expulsion from it of every characteristic which can properly be called moral. Organisms (as we know them, and apart from the creative acts which originate them) develop and work according to one unbroken course of physical causation. Various physical laws play upon them, indeed, and there is action and reaction between them and their environment. But the laws which play upon them are uniformly physical, and the course of ascertainable causation is never broken. Now, we grant the moral life to be so connected with the physical that if we were to set about proving to ourselves that our own moral life is determined by our constitution and our circumstances, like the life of a limpet or a mussel, we should be able to bring under our theory a very large number of the facts of our state. But some facts, and

those the most important, would be omitted. The theory would belong to that most dangerous class of falsehoods, the half-truths. It would fail in truth at every successive moment of action, for there struggle and choice are facts which it is fatal to neglect. And as the lives of men are made up of these successive moments of action, and society is made up of the lives of men, the organism theory of society in its moral aspects is sure to be imperfect. Accordingly we find Mr. Morison's account of what Christianity has done most unsatisfying. His notion of the forces which have worked in Christian society is far too simple to be true, and he displays a constant tendency to attribute too much to material circumstances. In his account, the influence of the Christian religion itself loses at once its complexity and its spirituality, and is squared and simplified and materialized to suit the requirements of positivism. Could any view be more shortsighted than that which represents Christianity as, at any period of its history, not to say during the whole of it, 'a consistent and determined enemy of human liberty' (p. 189). Human liberty and human obedience have with equal distinctness received encouragement and correction from Christianity. Each principle has been equally abused by human nature, sometimes in the name of religion and sometimes without reference to religion. But no system of teaching that has ever existed, or shows the hope of ever existing, among men has encouraged and restrained the alternate duties of resistance and submission with the same fairness and effectiveness as the Christianity of the New Testament and of those ages of the Church when Christianity had its way, and the earthly tendencies to which positivism would surrender human nature were restrained.

When Mr. Morison comes to the speculative influences of Christianity he attributes to it a power of cultivating and developing saintliness which has no equal in any other creed or philosophy. But this, in his opinion, is so far from proving its beneficial influence upon mankind that it goes rather the other way. 'It would be as rational to say that the poetry of Shakespeare, the music of Beethoven, and the geometry of Lagrange were accessible to all men. The genuine saint is a moral genius of a peculiar kind' (p. 197). And Mr. Morison illustrates the remark from various personages of Christian history: as St. Louis, Sir Thomas More, Pascal, Mother Margaret Hallahan, Sister Dora, Agnes Jones. 'But the mass of commonplace people who go to church or chapel, who are neither very good nor very bad, neither exception-

ally clever nor stupid, the enormous middle class of mediocrities, fairly just, conscientious, and kind-hearted, can it be denied that they are constantly deterred from embracing a serious view of life's duties just because a standard of such exalted perfection is proposed to them that they know it is no use attempting to reach it?' (p. 228). If 'this could not be denied' it would be a sad and antisocial conclusion. It would be bad news for the service of man, for humanity and for the religion of humanity, that any excellence in individual members should be harmful instead of beneficial to the whole.

But it will strike everyone who reflects for a moment that the illustration by which Mr. Morison denotes the singularity of great saints is very ill adapted to his estimate of their use in the service of man. For the poetry of Shakespeare, the music of Beethoven, and the geometry of Lagrange *are* accessible to all men. Thousands upon thousands, though devoid of the original power of these magnates, are able to respond to their initiative, and be raised thereby to a mental level which they could not otherwise have reached. And through the instrumentality of these recipients of the divine gifts of genius, the civilizing and uplifting influence is spread even among those who are incapable of direct contact with the original source; so that all society, even down to its dullest members, is the better for the appearance in the world of a great poet, thinker or artist. We appeal to all rational observers to say whether the same thing is not still more plainly true of the appearance of a great saint. He is the man of soul, and he appeals to sympathies more universal and more capable of practical extension than the men of mind. To be sure, indolence may make his greatness an excuse, just as an idle girl might refuse to learn her music because she has no hope of being a female Beethoven. But this is a wholly abnormal and unnatural result, and is over-balanced ten-thousand-fold by instances on the other side. We cannot recognize in Mr. Morison's view of the discouragement of ordinary goodness by extraordinary one single word of truth.

When he regards the phenomenon of saintliness in itself and apart from its effects on other people, he attributes everything to natural endowments. Agnes Jones, Sister Dora, and Mother Margaret were 'simply women of extraordinary genius' (p. 222). No doubt their natural powers were great: but that these natural powers are, as Mr. Morison says, 'just the simple fact of the matter' we utterly disbelieve.

There is not one of them, nor one of all the other saints of all the Christian centuries—or even of the heathen saints—who would have given this account of their character or their career. Religion in their own view was no separable accident, but an essential element in their being; the restraint of defects which might have led them wholly astray and their stimulant and guide in the use of all their powers. It is absurd to disregard the testimony of their own consciousness. And the fact that natural powers had so much to do with their achievements only leads us to believe that there have been thousands more over whom religion has had the same influence as it had over them, who for want of equal powers to work with have never become known to history, but whose humble efforts have contributed in like manner, though not in like degree, to the service of man.

But Mr. Morison's 'simple fact of the matter,' though we consider it far too simple to be really the fact of the matter, convinces us beyond question of one thing—that his own expectations of a religion of the future are wholly unreal. For, consider what a religion in any possible conception must be, and what reason anybody can have for expecting the arrival of a new religion or the capacity of man to receive it. A religion cannot be identical with the exercise by human beings of their natural endowments. That we have without religion. A religion, whatever it be, must be something beyond this; and the reason why we are led to expect or desire the existence of a religion among men can be no other than this, that religion even in inferior forms has always existed among men and has been found of use. Now, here we have Mr. Morison tracing the very best instances of devotion of which he knows, and those apparently most closely connected with religion, to natural endowments, religion being a mere superfluous addition without importance for any useful end. What room, then, or what need can we suppose that there is for a religion of the future? What are the faculties truly belonging to man or of any use in his organization in which he proposes to found it? If an agitator were to devote himself to destroying an existing government, with great professions that some day or other a new one would be set up; and if we found the same man tracing the best indications of peace and order which the country presented to the family affections of the people, the government being pointedly declared to have nothing to do with it, we should rightly infer that, whatever he might profess, he was really an enemy of all government.

But with all his admiration for the saintly benefactors of

the sick; Mr. Morison is of opinion that 'if the question is of diminishing human suffering, these pious workers did not take up the problem with any full sense of its magnitude; did not begin high enough up in their efforts to stop the stream of evil and pain.' For they did not use the method of science. 'Have all the self-sacrifices of all the Doras and Sisters of Mercy in the world spared mankind a tithe of the suffering which has been prevented by vaccination?' (pp. 233, 4). Quite true. And it is also quite true that the material arrangements of nature, the growth of corn, and the fall of rain, the uses of heat and the power of steam make a greater difference in man's outward condition than any moral dispositions either in himself or his fellows can do. Whoever can ally himself with any physical law enlists a giant in his service. But whatever blessing to man may come in this way goes to the account of nature, not of man. The discoverer of some new secret of nature may be actuated by the purest or the meanest motives in his research and in his publication of the results, or he may come upon the precious fact by mere chance. It is all the same: the moral qualities used in the discovery do not make the slightest difference in the effects of the discovery upon man. But every physical discovery as well as every physical fact already known is part of the subject-matter about which man's moral nature is employed. Every such fact is submitted to man with the question, How will he use it? And the manner in which he uses it, though not as striking from a material point of view, yet is more important in reference to his real happiness and the elevation of his nature than the fact itself. The kindness and the self-devotion which have been exercised upon those sick of the smallpox, before as well as since vaccination, are more important by far to man than the degree of prevalence of the disease. It is a moral duty for those whom God has endowed with scientific faculties to use these faculties for their desired end. But to tell devoted nurses that for the diminishing of human suffering they ought to begin higher up and invent scientific methods for the cure of disease, is a proposal which only requires to be stated in order to reveal its absurdity. Devoted nurses have a moral duty in respect to scientific inventions: that, namely, of using them to the utmost for the good of their patients, and praising God for them in their own hearts. Mother Margaret was morally wrong in the jealousy of scientific progress which Mr. Morison records. If, indeed, it had been reasonable in her to expect that when men built such structures as the Britannia Bridge, they would

begin to think they had no need of God, we could well have justified her. But it ought not to be reasonable to expect that men will do that which it is entirely unreasonable in them to do. Now, nothing can be more unreasonable than the pride of modern science; and the best scientific men have been wholly free from it. Modern inventions, great as they are, do not approach, in importance to man's life, the ancient ones whose inventors are forgotten in the distant past. Sails were a greater forward step in their day than railways, and the presumption and defiance of the gods, which Horace ascribes to the earlier inventors, is quite as well justified as similar feelings would be in the later. 'Nil mortalibus arduum est; cælum ipsum petimus stultitia.' How could the self-confidence of some modern scientists be better expressed? But, 'What hast thou that thou didst not receive?' is a question as applicable to the highest exercises of intellect as the lowest; and if we remember the impotence of science to change the essential conditions of man's life on earth, or the nature of his mental and spiritual being, the shortness of its reach is more conspicuous than its triumphs. It would seem to us a kind of insanity to deny that in the calm regard of reason there is as much room for God and for faith in God within the circle of man's experience as ever there was.

We have now come to the end of Mr. Morison's criticisms upon the moral tendencies of Christianity. It but remains for us to notice in the brief space which is at our disposal the very slight attempts at constructive treatment of the moral problem which he makes in the chapters upon the Service of Man and the Cultivation of Human Nature. As to the cultivation of the body and the mind we have no great difference with him; and Christianity adds a value both to body and mind which no system which ends with this life can produce. But in that of the heart, which he rightly calls the most important sphere of cultivation, Mr. Morison believes that the first necessity is to adopt the theory of determinism and surrender the belief in the closely-related doctrines of divine grace and human free will. It must strike every reader that divine grace has often, and with great show of argument, been represented as the ally of determinism and the enemy of human free will, and Mr. Morison has himself, in a former passage, advanced the existence of Calvinism as a reproach. Nevertheless (while declining the controversial term free will) we agree with him in believing that the reality of man's will as a cause and the doctrine of grace stand or fall together. The will is an essentially mysterious power in ourselves and

leads us straight to the higher mystery of God's existence and His inward connexion with us. But we are totally at issue with Mr. Morison in the supposition that determinism can be even conceivably a complete theory of man's moral life, far less a practical truth for his action. For, give to man's circumstances and his constitution the very highest value you can conceive as determining his acts ; let law be supposed to rule him both within and without : how can you enable him to make any use of this information unless you endow him with the power to choose the system of influences to which he shall subject himself. Even the word determinism itself, the chosen term of the opponents of will, is hardly consistent with the theory it is supposed to express ; for the universal sense of mankind attaches a different meaning to the phrase ' I determine ' from that which is applicable to inanimate things, as when we say that the fall of a stone is determined by the forces exerted on it. You cannot get rid of the special element in human determinations which we call will ; and the presence of this element is a practical fact of commanding importance for human agents themselves and for all who have to do with them. Human life cannot pass an hour without recognizing it. But it does not mean lawlessness, for will has its own laws and must act according to the laws of the sphere of things in which it acts.

The word grace expresses the fact that in God we have to do with a power like that which will is in human beings. Mr. Morison always talks of grace as if it were a capricious interference with the laws of man's being, rendering it impossible to count upon causes producing their proper effects ; but this is no more true than it is to give a similar account of human will. We all know that in dealing with will we have to do with a living power acting by living laws. And the doctrine of grace extends the same belief to God ; for the encouragement and for the warning of all those who regard the blessing and the danger, the love and the fear, which come from serving a living master instead of inanimate law.

But with the sentiments which he expresses we cannot wonder that Mr. Morison declares ' the sooner the sense of moral responsibility is got rid of the better it will be for society and moral education ' (p. 293). Let this be a warning to those who dabble in unbelief without reflecting how far it may lead them. Religion vanishes from Mr. Morison's programme only in company with the primary moral conceptions on which life, solitary and in society, has been everywhere built. His declaration may seem sufficiently courageous ; yet to us it is

obvious that the abolition of moral responsibility ought to carry him further still, to the total disuse of the terms moral and morality, right and wrong ; for they all belong to the same system, and carry the same implications as the word responsibility which he repudiates. How, then, does he propose to deal with the bad ? Here is his method. The bad man has no conscience ; he acts after his malignant nature. The fear of sharp punishment may deter him from evil-doing and quell his selfish appetites ; but he will not be converted to virtue by our telling him he has moral responsibility, that he is a free agent to choose good and evil, and that he ought to choose the good. His mind is made up to choose the bad. But society, knowing its own interests, has a right to exclude him from its fellowship ; not only to prevent and punish his evil actions, but 'to suppress him in some effectual way and, above all, prevent his leaving a posterity as wicked as himself' (p. 294). Here, then, is the moral education of mankind wholly assimilated to the breeding of horses and dogs. Our sense of the absurdity of the proposal shall not prevent us from saying that legislation might well interfere with the propagation of hereditary diseases. But conceive the attempt to treat 'the bad man' in this fashion. The euphemism 'suppress him in some effectual way' reminds us of the forms with which the Inquisition handed over the heretic to the secular arm. Obviously the only way of effectually suppressing him would be to exterminate him ; so that the altruistic part of the community must employ itself in exterminating the egoistic. Extermination of others has not usually been supposed the proper expression of altruistic sentiments, and they might well become depreciated in the process. Nor are we sure that they would run the less danger of corruption in these Bartholomew massacres of the bad, because the bad would be suppressed without any sense on anybody's part that they were responsible for their badness, and with the full admission that moral indignation is no more applicable to them than it is to bad cabbages grown in bad ground from bad seed. We greatly fear that morality will have to proceed upon its present principle for a long time to come ; for if the process of suppression were attempted in the present proportions of the bad to the good, it might well happen that the bad would resist in a formidable manner, and a contest for the suppression of badness might arise bloodier and larger than any ever waged for the suppression of heresy, even the Thirty Years' war itself.

Much difficulty also arises in knowing at what stage of

people's existence it can be known whether they belong to the class which ought to be suppressed. For, on the one hand, we are told that in teaching morality 'we can only be successful with the apt scholars, those who have a foundation of good instincts on which to work' (p. 298); while, on the other hand, Mr. Morison informs us that 'selfishness in children can be cultivated to any extent' (p. 303). If a child with good instincts has had his selfishness cultivated to a large extent, are you to exterminate him before he propagates his breed: will his children be the children of his good instincts, or of his cultivated selfishness?

But Mr. Morison's suppression of the bad is inconsistent with the theory of evolution. According to evolution all morality, even the most altruistic, had its original root in the pleasures and pains of the self; and altruistic persons are merely those who have been improved into feeling pleasure and pain through the joys and sorrows of others. Yet, in Mr. Morison's scheme, the recurrence of the original type from which all morality has sprung, in the shape of persons whose pleasures and pains are not of a highly improved and altruistic character, is to be looked upon as warranting despair of improvement and demanding effectual suppression. But, indeed, as we read these speculations so utterly out of connexion with the experience either of the present or the past, it seems to us that we Christians are the true positivists, and that Mr. Morison is a wild idealist.

Christianity teaches us not to despair of anyone. It gives us in the person and in the promises of Jesus a system of motives for the individual life which operates upon every egoistic principle that exists in us, from the lowest fear of punishment to the longing for spiritual communion with perfect goodness. It develops egoism into altruism by every argument of example, duty, and prudence. It attaches infinite value to every human soul and body, from the highest to the lowest; interests us in all men as the redeemed brethren of Jesus; and gives us that hope of divine help in dealing with them, and of an eternal result from our labours, without which we should so often faint and shrink from the task as not worth while, or as hopeless of result. It does not come before us as a physical force exercised upon human history in despite of human wills. But we do not want a force to overcome the will, a process which we know well would be inconsistent with the conditions of our existence. The will is powerful and yet so ill provided with motives and with helps, to produce a good effect that without grace it is a blind giant.

In what degree the world may have cast aside this system of divine aid, so perfectly adapted to human nature, we do not know, nor do we think Mr. Morison can know. Still less can we know how far the little good that appears to be done by men apart from Christ is really due to the impulse which He gave, still working, even on those who reject Him, through the society in which they live. But these speculations about what others are doing are of little value to those who are in earnest in their own moral life. If all men else accepted Him, it would be the duty of any man who could not conscientiously believe, to decline their example and reject Him. And if all men else rejected Him, it would still be our duty to confess Him if our consciences tell us how we need Him, and how He supplies our need. And for our parts we think that those who cast Him off for a moral system which contradicts the first principles of morals, and for a religion the slightest hint of which cannot be produced to us, are making a mistake which we earnestly hope will be forgiven to themselves because of their human liability to error, but of the disastrous results of which to the morals of mankind we feel as sure as we do of the ill effects of poison, however conscientiously administered.

We have never read a sentence more suggestive of the strength of the Christian position than the opinion pronounced by a very able literary organ, that Mr. Morison's work is the ablest attack on Christianity that has of late appeared. This is certainly so far true that, in assailing the moral power of our religion, he has chosen that point of attack where if infidels cannot make a breach, all their efforts elsewhere will be useless. But if this be the best assault on the moral power of Christianity which a very able, well-informed, and earnest unbeliever can deliver, we have little cause to fear that the claims of any rival moral power will ever displace it in the faith of mankind. Christians may be untrue to their own faith and fall from it into pure negation; but the service of man which will ever draw them from that of Christ is not true service, but that poor servitude to man's earthly nature which brings degradation alike to those who render and to those who receive it.

ART. II.—DEACONS AND SECULAR EMPLOYMENTS.

1. *The Extension of the Diaconate.* A Paper read at the Ripon Diocesan Conference, 1880. By the Rev. C. H. SALE. (Boroughbridge.)
2. *The Revival of a True Working Diaconate in the Church of England.* A Paper read at the St. Albans Diocesan Conference, 1881. By the Rev. JOHN W. IRVINE. (London.)
3. *Chronicle of Convocation of Canterbury for the Sessions of February 1884 and May 1887.* (London.)
4. *Extension of the Diaconate.* A Speech delivered in the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, July 8, 1887. By the Rev. HENRY TWELLS, M.A. (London.)

THE 'revival' or 'restoration of the diaconate' has been for some years past an attractive watchword, and that on two intelligible grounds. It appeals to those who look back with reverence to antiquity, and desire, in the spirit of a great Anglican saint, the 'supply of what is lacking' in our conformity to primitive standards. It appeals, perhaps yet more forcibly, to those who are deeply sensible of the present need for extended spiritual ministrations, in order to meet the immense demand which is made upon the Church by the ever-increasing growth of the population. Then, when persons are told that we have 'practically lost an order of Christian ministry,' and that if we could regain it, and set its forces at work, we should substantially provide for this demand, and so far be vindicating our Church's claims to keep a hold both on the past and on the present, to stand in the old paths and yet to be equal to any new emergencies, it is both right and natural that attention should be secured. But then comes the question—How? Forthwith many earnest speakers answer—By allowing men of zeal, piety, and sufficient theological knowledge to become deacons without looking onward to the presbyterate, and at the same time to be independent of official stipend through other sources of income—to speak plainly, by retaining their secular occupations. As far as we know, it was Dr. Arnold who first started this idea; and accordingly he was quoted by Mr. Irvine in 1881 as having written 'forty years ago'—

'The first step towards the restoration of the Church seems to be the revival of the order of deacons, which might be effected without any other change in our present system than the repeal of all laws, canons, or customs, which prohibit a deacon from following a secular calling, which confer upon him any civil exemptions, or subject him to any civil disqualifications. The Ordination service, with the subscription to the Articles, would remain perfectly unaltered; and, as no deacon can hold any benefice, it is manifest that the proposed measure would in no way interfere with the rights and duties of the order of presbyters or priests. . . . But the benefit would be enormous if we could have a large body of deacons, the ordained ministers of the Church, visiting the sick, managing charitable subscriptions, and sharing with the presbyters in those strictly clerical duties which now, in many cases, are far too much for the health and powers of the strongest. Yet a still greater advantage would be found in the link between the clergy and the laity by the revival of an order appertaining in a manner to both.'

Mr. Irvine also refers to another expression of Dr. Arnold's mind on this point contained in a letter to the late Dean Stanley, dated February 27, 1839: 'It seems to me that a great point might be gained' (i.e. towards the restoration of the true idea of the Church) 'by urging the restoration of the order of deacons, which has been long, *quoad* the reality, dead.' And Dr. Arnold proceeded to say: 'In large towns many worthy men might be found to undertake the office out of pure love, if it were to be understood to be not necessarily a step to the presbyterial order, *nor at all incompatible with lay callings*.'¹

Mr. Irvine also appeals to the authority of Archdeacon Hale, who for several successive years had brought his 'careful study to bear upon the subject.'

We need not dwell on the question how far it would be desirable to allow men, in certain circumstances, to receive 'deacon's orders,' as Nicholas Ferrar did, without any intention of proceeding to the presbyterate, but at the same time with the purpose of devoting themselves, as he did, to clerical duty. There would, indeed, be a certain degree of unreality, so far as such persons were concerned, in the concluding words of the prayer in the Ordination Service, beginning, 'Almighty God, Giver of all good things;' for they, by supposition, would not expect nor ask to be 'called unto the higher ministries in the Church.' A correspondent of the *Guardian* endeavoured to meet this difficulty by a suggestion that it existed as much for deacons who looked forward to the presbyterate, but had no expectation of attaining to 'mitre

¹ Stanley's *Life of Arnold*, ii. 146.

and crosier.' Apparently it had not occurred to him that there was more than one form of ministration which belonged to priests and not to deacons. Of course, the clause in our collect is a rendering of the old words, 'dignisque successibus de inferiori gradu per gratiam tuam capere potiora mereantur.'¹ And it might be said that the received interpretation of 1 Tim. iii. 13 implies that the deacon ought to prepare himself for the presbyterate. This interpretation was apparently adopted by St. Chrysostom, and certainly by Hilary the Deacon, if he be the author of the commentaries once ascribed to St. Ambrose—'Poterunt digni fieri sacerdotio.' But it is open to the objection that, if St. Paul had meant, 'they earn their promotion,' he could have expressed himself more clearly; and, for ourselves, we should rather take *βαθμὸν καλὸν* to signify that 'excellent standing' or position in the eyes of the Church, which a good deacon would secure.² Doubtless many of the ancient deacons, like many Eastern deacons at present, made the diaconate a lifelong calling; and if any thought it best to do so, they might be left to their own judgment. Nor would we say anything against that form of 'extension of the diaconate' which would confine itself to the case of persons willing to serve the Church in that order, dispensing with stipend on the ground of independent income. If any such persons, whether country gentlemen or retired professional men, should give evidence of a genuine vocation, and of a clear purpose to live as ordained men and not as laics, we do not see that any objection could be raised against their admission to the diaconate, on the understanding that they did not, at least at present, intend to ask for promotion to the priesthood. The only plan with which we are now concerned is that which has become associated substantially with the name of Mr. Sydney Gedge; the proposal that men who have already committed themselves to some reputable secular calling should, by due repeal of Canon lxxv.,³ and of any statute embodying a similar restriction, be allowed to become deacons *and* to retain their temporal employment. We will take up the story of this 'Arnoldian' scheme, as it may be called, from the February of 1884, when a reference

¹ Compare the Coptic formula, 'Ut dignus sit alterius gradus majoris isto.' Morinus, *De Sacr. Ordin.* ii. 444.

² This view seems to be taken in the Greek Ordinal. See Goar, *Eucholog.* p. 250.

³ This canon, however, only restrains clergy from 'base or servile labour.' See Walcott's note in his edition of the Canons, p. 108. Compare a form of protestation framed by Parker and other bishops, Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* i. 331.

was made to it in the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury. That House was considering the report of a committee upon the appointment of 'lay readers,' which had been directed to take up also the question of 'an enlargement of the diaconate.' The report of the committee, presented by the Bishop of Bangor as chairman, contained these words:—

'Your Committee have carefully considered the various proposals for a permanent diaconate and for a subdiaconate; but they are not prepared to recommend the establishment of either of these.'

The Committee, as was evident from the Bishop of Bangor's speech in presenting the report, had definitely before them what we have called the Arnoldian proposal. They had held a conference with a committee of the York Convocation, a majority of whom were then in favour of allowing the persons in question, after being ordained deacons, 'to continue in the exercise of their secular profession' (e.g. as medical men or barristers), 'devoting to the service of God in His Church such time and energy as remained when the claims of that profession had been satisfied,' but without prejudice to their subsequently offering themselves for the priesthood, and therewith, as a matter of course, undertaking to devote themselves entirely to its duties. The debate turned chiefly on the subject of 'lay readers;' but on February 15 the Bishop of Winchester proposed the following resolution on the diaconate:

'This House is of opinion that, in view of the overwhelming need of increase in the number of the ministry, and the impossibility of providing sufficient endowments for the purpose, it is expedient to ordain to the office of deacon men *possessing other means of living*, who are willing to aid the clergy gratuitously, provided that they be tried and examined according to the preface to the Ordinal, and, in particular, be found to possess a competent knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, of the Book of Common Prayer, and of theology in general; provided also that they be in no case admitted to the priesthood unless they can pass all the examinations which are required in the case of other candidates for that office, and that they shall have devoted their whole time to spiritual labour for not less than four years, unless they are graduates, before they present themselves for these examinations.'

The Bishop added that—

'he should have liked to add another clause, but would not propose it, as he thought it would not meet with the same approbation as the resolution in the form in which he had moved it.'

That clause was—

'If it should prove that the supply of ministers is still insufficient,
VOL. XXV.—NO. L.

U

it will be expedient to obtain from Parliament an alteration of the present law so far as it affects the question :'

that is, a repeal of legal restrictions on the exercise of a secular calling by men in Holy Orders.

The resolution, it will be observed, confined itself to general language. It was passed unanimously. Had the 'clause' been inserted into it, the result would obviously have been different. The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol¹ said that 'there could be no serious objection in the mind of any reasonable person to the resolution, if the clause was *not* added,' whereupon the Bishop of Winchester distinctly explained that 'he did *not* include that clause in the resolution.' If he had not frankly read the clause to the House, as representing what he personally would wish to see adopted, the resolution, as it stood, might have been interpreted as intending to favour the proposal now before us. It cannot now be so interpreted. What we see is, that the prelates of the province of Canterbury accepted the resolution as *not* committing them to any approval of the combination of a secular calling with 'deacons' orders.' It was accepted by the Convocation of York in the ensuing April.

To come to the proceedings of the last two years. At the London Diocesan Conference, March 3, 1886, it was unanimously agreed that the diaconate should be extended, and made more efficient, by 'the admission to it of such suitable and duly qualified persons as are *not* excluded by law ; but *that nothing should be done to reduce the order in the public mind to the level of a lay ministry.*' We beg our readers' attention to this resolution. It distinctly declined to recommend a change in the law, such as would allow deacons to follow secular employments ; and it uttered a pointed warning against whatever might tend to assimilate a deacon to a layman. At the Chichester Diocesan Conference in October 1886, a motion affirming the desirableness of an extension of the diaconate was carried, the mover including within the proposal 'the admission to that order of men of mature age, who had *perhaps* retired from the active practice of a secular profession—though he did not insist on this condition—and who would be content to remain permanently as deacons.' At the Lichfield Conference, Bishop Maclagan announced that 'very few persons had taken advantage of the Bishops' resolution of 1884 ;' adding that 'in his judgment it would be

¹ In regard to the proposal involved in the clause, the objection, said Bishop Ellicott, was this : 'You are really reversing the law and principle of the Church ; you are simply superadding the spiritual to the secular.'

better to retain the diaconate as the preliminary step to the office of priesthood, and to avail themselves in a much greater degree than at present of the help of the laity in such work as they might legally and fittingly share with the clergy.' A motion approving of the bishops' resolution of 1884 was carried.¹ Early in the parliamentary session of 1887, Mr. Sydney Gedge brought in a bill to the effect that 41 Geo. III. c. 63, and parts of 1 and 2 Vict. c. 106,² 'should not apply to any person to be thereafter ordained a deacon of the Church of England, being not less than thirty years of age at the time of his ordination, so long as he should continue to be a deacon.' This last significant clause was of course intended to provide for his 'taking the benefit' of the 'Clerical Disabilities Act;' but an earnest layman might have been expected to show more respect, in his choice of phraseology, to the Church's principle as to the 'indelibility' or spiritual permanence of Holy Orders. However, to pass this by, the effect of the bill, if it were passed into a statute, would be (1), as the Archbishop of Canterbury said in Convocation, to 'restore,' in regard to deacons of the class specified, the former 'doubt as to their eligibility to sit in the House of Commons;' and (2) to allow them to carry on 'trade or dealing for profit.' On February 8 the Convocation of Canterbury and the House of Laymen assembled. In the Lower House the Rev. Henry Twells, Hon. Canon of Peterborough, gave notice of a motion identical in terms with the episcopal resolution of 1884, up to the clause which contemplated the contingency of 'admission to the priesthood.' On the next day Mr. Sydney Gedge thought fit, without waiting for any expression of the mind of Convocation, to move in the House of Laymen:

'That, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that all the legislative enactments which now prevent a deacon from engaging in secular occupations should be repealed, or greatly modified.'

In spite of some expressions of dissent, the motion was carried by thirty-four votes to eighteen; Mr. Gedge, we ought to add, having intimated that a corresponding alteration in the canons would be necessary before his scheme could be carried into effect.³ The proceedings of a new consultative body, believed to represent the 'lay mind,' and therewith some qualities which should correct the deficiencies of the clerical, will command respectful and attentive interest; but they

¹ See *Guardian* for 1886, pp. 378, 1646-1650.

² See Cripps on *The Law relating to Church and Clergy*, p. 65.

³ *Guardian* for 1887, p. 274.

cannot, in any case, be exempt from criticism, and symptoms of one-sidedness or precipitancy will not win the confidence of the Church at large. In this case we find that the London Diocesan Conference in March disposed of the scheme by means of 'the previous question ;'¹ that the Norwich Conference in April rejected it on a division by sixty-four clerical votes against thirty-six, and fifty-two lay votes against thirty-four ;² that the Rochester Conference, in spite of the personal appeals of Mr. Gedge, who was so injudicious as to sneer at the diocese of Norwich as 'Bœotian,' adopted an amendment in favour of 'leaving the present spiritual *status* of deacons unaltered ;'³ that at the Winchester Conference in June, with reference to the bill of Mr. Sydney Gedge, the Parliamentary committee reported 'that the *status* of the diaconate, as a holy order, would be materially lowered if those ordained were allowed to engage in secular pursuits,' and a resolution against the bill was carried by forty-four votes to thirty-six.⁴ At the Ely Conference Mr. Gedge, who was present and spoke, obtained a victory ; we shall presently notice one or two points taken up by his chief clerical supporter. At the Oxford Conference, on the motion of a highly respected layman, the bill was disapproved without a voice being raised in its favour.

But we must now return to the proceedings of the Canterbury Convocation. On February 11, the Upper House had appointed a committee 'to report on the Bill agreed to by the House of Laymen for empowering deacons, ordained after the age of thirty, to continue in their secular occupations.' This committee reported on May 11, and, after stating some historical reasons, to which we shall afterwards advert, professed their inability to

'recommend any relaxation of the existing laws, unless it could be shown that the necessity for doing so had passed into that state of spiritual urgency which has ever been regarded by the Catholic Church as justifying departure from existing disciplinary practice. That the need is great, not only in our populous towns, but in scattered ham-

¹ *Guardian* for 1887, p. 343.

² Dr. Jessopp bluntly 'asked the Conference to throw away the folly of such proposals.' *Guardian* for 1887, p. 616.

³ This amendment favoured 'the extension of the present system of licensed preachers.' *Guardian*, p. 654.

⁴ This was in the presence of the Bishop of Winchester. He had said that 'if the Church rejected the proposal recently made, namely, that people should be deacons, and yet work at some useful occupation, yet in one way or another he trusted that a true diaconate would be provided for the Church of England.' *Guardian*, p. 914.

lets . . . for an increase of ordained ministers, cannot be denied ; but the measure proposed . . . was so great a departure from the long-continued practice of the Catholic Church, that we do not judge it to be desirable at the present time to take any step in regard to facilitating an entry into the diaconate, beyond that which has been taken in the passing of the . . . resolution'

of February 15, 1884, with which the report had previously contrasted the bill.

The Bishop of London, declining to express any decided opinion on the abstract question, said that—

'the purpose of the report was to maintain what was done in 1884, and to stand there : he thought it would be the best course they could adopt, as the experiment then proposed had not been tried sufficiently to judge whether it was wise to take another step in the same direction.'

The Bishop of Winchester, after going at some length into the question of precedents, expressed, somewhat hesitatingly, his acquiescence in the report, and only asked the House 'not to decide against the possibility and expediency one day of making a permanent diaconate, some of whose members might be engaged in secular callings.' The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol spoke from a different standpoint to that of the Bishop of Winchester. The Bishop of Ely agreed with the Bishop of Winchester ; but he afterwards, with characteristic frankness, acknowledged before his own Conference that he had become 'better informed.'¹ The Bishop of Oxford uttered warnings against premature action : 'Those who advocated the bill before Parliament without reserve had looked on one side, and forgotten that there was another side, full of perplexity.' The Bishop of Bath and Wells hoped that the report 'would not be a permanent block in the way of increasing the diaconate by employing persons engaged in trade.' The Primate closed the discussion with an exceedingly weighty speech, from which we shall further on quote largely, and as to which we would echo the *Guardian's* words that it 'expressed with eminent and satisfactory clearness a view of the question which was both statesmanlike and learned.'² His Grace concluded thus :—

'I desire to see the diaconate extended under the restrictions laid down in the resolutions passed by your Lordships' House in the

¹ *Guardian* for 1887, p. 950. The Bishop then said that 'the proposal was a new departure, and in no sense the ancient custom.'

² *Guardian*, p. 754.

year 1884 ; but, until we have much larger experience of what can be done by means of readers, and with a diaconate within the power of the law, I think we should be rash indeed to abrogate the old constitutional law of the Church of England.'

The adoption of the report was carried unanimously ; and so the matter stands in regards to the Upper House. In the Lower House, on the last afternoon of the July group of sessions, Mr. Twells 'found himself in the possession of the opportunity for which he had long waited,' that of bringing forward a motion for the extension of the diaconate. Those who have not read the report of that day's proceedings will, perhaps, suppose that Mr. Twells's resolution, as then moved, embodied a definite advance on the general language of 1884. On the contrary, it was a simple reproduction of the resolution of the Upper House passed in that year. He admits in his preface that it was 'indefinite,' but pleads that he 'was anxious to adopt the phraseology of the bishops, instead of formulating any motion of his own.' But much had happened since February 1884 ; Mr. Gedge's bill had been introduced into Parliament before Mr. Twells had given notice of his motion, and had been widely and elaborately discussed before he took his 'opportunity' in July. It was, therefore, an anachronism to fall back on language which, it adopted by the Lower House, would provoke the rejoinder, 'But what of the proposal now in hand?' If Mr. Twells desired to echo the language of the bishops, one would think that he might have referred to their own adoption of their committee's report in the previous May sessions. As it is, he asked his brethren to say simply what the bishops had said three years before, and *not* to add what the bishops had said two months before. He himself, in his speech, outran the terms of his own resolution. He argued for some measure¹ of that very relaxation of existing law which the bishops—implicitly in 1884, and explicitly in 1887—had declined, at least for the present, to advocate. The debate was adjourned, it being impossible, as the mover frankly admits, that it should be satisfactorily carried on while the House was expecting its notice of prorogation to a comparatively distant date. It will, in the ordinary course, be resumed when Convocation meets in February.

Let us now endeavour to realize the actual working of the

¹ We say, 'for some measure,' inasmuch as Mr. Twells would not include the lower trades among the 'secular callings' to be thus privileged. He would insist on such an examination as the Ordinal requires, and, therefore, on a knowledge of Latin (*Speech*, p. 21).

proposal. If Mr. Gedge's bill were carried, and a corresponding change in canon law effected, we should see a number of professional men—not to say tradesmen—applying to bishops for admission to the diaconate, on the understanding that they were to maintain themselves, as before, by their secular business, and also, of course, that during the week-days they should only be called upon to devote their 'leisure time,' in Mr. Twells's phrase, to work properly clerical or ministerial. We pass over the necessary qualifications of sufficient religious knowledge and what the Church calls 'godly conversation ;' they are assumed on both sides, and no one, we believe, would be more earnest than Mr. Sydney Gedge in desiring to secure their reality. The barrister, solicitor, physician, surgeon, auctioneer, bookseller (for we do not indicate such trades or lines of business as might hardly seem compatible with the amount or kind of knowledge, *in rebus sacris*, which every deacon ought to bring with him to ordination), would, on approval, be ordained, and, probably, be licensed to preach, perhaps with some limitations. He would wear clerical attire on Sunday ; would officiate in church as his vicar's assistant ; he would baptize in the vicar's absence ; he would bury the dead ; he would catechize in church, and preach, at any rate in a mission room ; he would take part, above all, in the administration of the Holy Eucharist. On Monday he would resume his lay dress ; he would be in all men's eyes what he was before his ordination ; he would see his patients, advise his clients, or, it may be, attend to his customers ; this ordinary routine of honourable secular work would necessarily be continued until the Saturday evening, with the exception of such occasional interludes of spiritual ministration as would be consistent with the demands of the profession or trade by which he would have to live and make his money. We add no comments at present ; we simply state the facts as they would be. And before we take account of arguments on the merits of the case, let us, by way of clearing the ground, consider how far the scheme would be a 'restoration.' Is it, in fact, a return to antiquity ? does it rely on authentic precedents ? We will take three points :

I. The fact that St. Paul, at least sometimes, amid his apostolic labours, worked at the trade which he had learned, like all Jewish boys, in youth. Himself the 'bondsmen' of that adorable Lord whose sacred hands, before the beginning of His ministry, had held the tools of a carpenter at Nazareth, the Apostle, with the care of all the Churches on his mind, found time and strength, as Döllinger expresses it, 'to make

carpets and tent-covers.'¹ As Dean Howson has said, when the young Saul's father, 'in compliance with this good and useful custom,' had to choose for his son a craft which might 'fortify him against idleness or against adversity, none would occur to him more naturally than the profitable occupation of the making of tents, the material of which was hair-cloth, supplied by the goats of his native province,' and known for ages by the name of *cilicium*. St. Paul's hand had not lost its cunning; and so at Thessalonica, during his second missionary journey, he 'did not eat bread for nought at any man's hand, but worked hard night and day' (2 Thess. iii. 8). Soon afterwards, while he was at Corinth, St. Luke tells us that the Apostle lodged and worked with Aquila and Priscilla, 'because he was of the same craft' (Acts xviii. 3); and he himself repeatedly reminds the Corinthians that he had thus supplied his own needs (1 Cor. ix. 12 ff.). He followed the same practice while at Ephesus, during his third missionary journey, as we learn from 1 Cor. iv. 12 and Acts xx. 34. Now, what is the relevance of these facts to the proposal before us? Arch-deacon Emery, in the Ely Conference, boldly declared that Mr. Gedge's bill followed the Pauline precedent.² Others have used equivalent language. But let us observe (1) that any argument from St. Paul's conduct is just as good for the case of bishops or priests as for the case of deacons. (2) No one at Thessalonica, Corinth, or Ephesus, could possibly fail to see that the Apostle's manual labour was altogether subordinate to his apostolic duties; he himself intimates that he snatched time from the hours of sleep in order to earn money by this occupation. (3) Both at Thessalonica and at Corinth he did accept contributions from other churches; so that there, at any rate, his was not the case of a Christian minister supporting himself altogether by secular work (Phil. iv. 16, 2 Cor. xi. 9, from which latter passage, indeed, we should not have learned that he did anything in this way for his maintenance). Further, (4) he had, as he himself tells us, two special motives for this self-denying exertion. At Thessalonica he wished, by a striking 'example,' to correct the tendency of the local Christians to idleness (2 Thess. iii. 9-12). At Corinth and at Ephesus he deemed it expedient to silence Judaizing misrepresentations, which imputed sordid motives to the man who, above all others, was sensitive on the point of integrity.³ The adversaries who dogged his footsteps, and left no stone un-

¹ Döllinger, *First Age of the Church*, E. Tr. p. 375.

² *Guardian* for 1887, p. 949.

³ See Howson's *Character of St. Paul*, p. 168.

turned to destroy an influence which they dreaded as revolutionary, had dared to insinuate that he was after all, in a worldly sense, a gainer by his Gentilizing propaganda. Hence his resolution to 'cut off occasion from those who desired an occasion,' and 'to cause no hindrance to the Gospel,' such as might have ensued from any suspicion of self-interest; hence the pathetic protestation at Miletus, 'I coveted no man's silver, nor gold, nor apparel. Ye yourselves know that these hands ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me.' Lastly, (5) his words on this subject to the Thessalonians and Corinthians contain an express reservation of that ministerial right to a maintenance, which, for certain reasons, he chose 'not to urge to the full.' 'Not that we have not a right (*ἐξουσίαν*), but that we might make ourselves an example to you.' And yet more emphatically in the long context, 1 Cor. ix. 4-18, the Apostle urges this ministerial right on the threefold ground of natural reason, of a Mosaic precept spiritually interpreted, and, above all, of the express command of Christ. Referring, doubtless, to the precept, 'Provide neither gold nor silver nor brass in your purses . . . for the labourer is worthy of his hire,' he lays it down positively and dogmatically, that the Lord Himself had 'ordained that those who preached the Gospel should live of the Gospel.'

Now, the episcopal resolution reproduced by Mr. Twells had recognised 'the impossibility of providing sufficient endowments' for the 'required' increase in the number of the ministry; and Mr. Gedge, in the House of Laymen, insisted on this *crux*.¹ It was not merely a question of finding the men; it was, still more urgently, a question of finding the money. Therefore, Mr. Gedge argued, 'either there must be increased means of paying the men, or they must be men who would work for no pay, or for very little remuneration indeed.' Here is the point: *if* more men could be found, there would not be the 'means' of maintaining them as clergy; that is, the laity would not supply such means. Now, we ask, does the divine 'ordinance,' referred to by St. Paul, bind Christian people in our age and country, or does it not? Has it nothing to say to the richest laity of any Church on earth, who already, by virtue of long-standing endowments, enjoy a large amount of ministerial service without any contribution of their own? We can faintly imagine what St. Paul would have said, if he could have foreseen that his own high-minded self-abnegation would be

¹ *Guardian*, p. 274.

quoted in order to warrant such a laity in allowing a new class of ordained ministers to depend for support on this or that 'secular calling.' The difficulty of 'finding the right men' is another matter; but we have surely the fullest scriptural authority for contending that it ought to be *the* difficulty in the case.

II. And this naturally leads us to consider the position held by deacons, as such, in the early Christian Church, which had inherited the teaching of St. Paul. We may begin by hearing the testimony of St. Ignatius. How did the martyr bishop of Antioch, who had probably conversed with more than one of the Twelve, regard the office of deacons? As one might who had pondered the combination of deacons with ἐπίσκοποι, that is, presbyters, in the address of the Epistle to the Philippians, and in the first Epistle to Timothy. The deacons are marked off, with the bishops and presbyters, from the general body of the faithful (*Magn.* 13, *Trall.* 7, *Philad.* 4, &c.). They have been entrusted with διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, which the Bishop of Durham takes to mean 'a service under Jesus Christ' (on *Magn.* 6); and the phrase also reminds us of terms in which St. Paul speaks of himself as a διάκονος of God or of Christ, and even of Christ as διάκονος of the circumcision. Again, the deacons are said to have been 'according to the mind of Jesus Christ' (*Philad.* 1). The Smyrnæans are bidden to 'pay respect to the deacons as to God's commandment.' In a very abrupt passage Ignatius enjoins the Trallians to 'respect the deacons as Jesus Christ, even as they respect in the bishop a type of "the Father;"' a 'startling comparison,' says Bishop Lightfoot,¹ 'which rests on the assumption that the relations of the deacon to the bishop are analogous to those of Christ to the Father.' Two passages are significant as to their function; one implies that the Philadelphian successors, so to speak, of Stephen and Philip had something to do with the public teaching. 'I cried out while I was with you . . . Give ye heed to the bishop, and the presbytery, and deacons.' Yet more emphatically in *Trall.* 2, the more spiritual side of their ministry is exhibited; they are 'deacons of the mysteries of Jesus Christ—not deacons of meats and drinks, but servants' (or 'under-officers') of God's Church.' On which Bishop Lightfoot comments—

'The diaconate was originally instituted διακονεῖν τραπέζαις (Acts vi. 2); and these less spiritual duties of the office, such as the

¹ *SS. Ignatius and Polycarp*, i. 157, on *Trall.* 3.

distribution of the alms, the arrangement of the Agape, and the like, *tended to engross the interests of the deacon* : he needed, therefore, to be reminded that the diaconate had a higher aspect also.'

They could hardly then be 'engrossed' by their eleemosynary ministrations, if they were mainly occupied, in the sense required by Mr. Gedge's proposals, with the routine of secular work. Mr. Twells, indeed, astonishes us by contending that 'there could scarcely be a more secular or more unecclesiastical occupation than the doling out of rations, or what represented rations, to all the members of the infant community.' Not strictly to 'all,' but to the poor, who, as we know, formed the main body of the Church ; but, whether they were more or fewer in any church, no one who reads Rom. xv. 25-27, or 2 Cor. viii. and ix., will compare the collecting or administering of charitable funds, in point of 'secularity,' with the ordinary tasks of a modern man of business. Those who 'served tables' at Jerusalem were thereby discharging an ecclesiastical trust, not carrying on a trade or profession for their own maintenance. And our contention is, that taking these Ignatian passages together, and assuming that they date from about ten years after the death of the last Apostle, we cannot reasonably suppose the officials then described to have been deacons after Mr. Gedge's pattern. They were evidently devoted to the exclusive service of Christ in His Church. They were, in a most practical sense, *addicti ecclesiæ et episcopo*. In that age, as Bingham says,¹ they 'performed all such offices as were' afterwards entrusted to the inferior orders, 'such as the offices of readers, subdeacons, exorcists or catechists, doorkeepers, and the like'—of which, apparently, the reader's office was the first instituted, since Tertullian speaks of it as of an office long established.² Bingham is here reiterating what is affirmed by St. Thomas Aquinas: 'In primitivâ ecclesiâ, propter paucitatem ministrorum, omnia inferiora ministeria diaconibus committebantur,' so that the powers required for them were 'implicite in unâ diaconi potestate.'³ But after these inferior orders were created, the deacons still had their hands full enough. Besides their functions in church,⁴ they had the general administration or stewardship of Church property, and of the funds belonging to the widows and orphans.⁵

¹ Bingham, b. ii. c. 20, s. 15 (vol. i. p. 301).

² *De Præscript. Hæc.* 41.

³ *Supplem.* q. 37, a. 2. 2.

⁴ For these compare the Greek rite, in Hammond's *Liturgies Eastern and Western*. Isidore of Seville even says that 'sine ipsis sacerdos nomen habet, officium non habet.' *De Eccl. Offic.* ii. 8.

⁵ See *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* i. 528.

They were the Church's recognised almoners, as we know from the beautiful story of St. Laurence. In times of persecution, 'it was their duty to minister to the confessors in their prisons, and to bury the bodies of the martyrs.' They were permitted, when no presbyter was accessible, to 'receive confession, and bestow the parting blessing,' in the case of certain penitents at the approach of death. They were in close relation to the bishop, as St. Cyprian says that they were 'appointed to attend on the episcopal office of the Apostles, and on the Church' (*Ep.* 3). They were to be aides-de-camp and messengers of the bishops. Laurence thus asked Sixtus, 'When wert thou wont to offer the Sacrifice without thy minister?' that is, 'without my attendance;' and the readers of the life of St. Athanasius will remember how he employed an able and energetic deacon to hunt out Arsenius in his hiding-place.¹ The bishop had thus a standing right over their time and over their best energies; they were 'channels of communication' between him and his people, to inform him of 'scandals,' and to 'relieve him of the lighter cases brought' to him 'for adjudication.' Hence the familiar description of the deacon as 'the bishop's eye,' or 'ear,' or 'mouth.' Their numbers differed in various places. Thus, when Arius was originally condemned, the clergy who by their signatures expressed their assent to their archbishop's judgment were seventeen priests and twenty-four deacons of Alexandria, and nineteen priests and twenty deacons of the Mareotis. There was also a large number of deacons at Constantinople.² In some churches the original number of seven was strictly adhered to; we find this actually prescribed by the Council of Neocæsarea in 314; and the valuable clerical statistics preserved in Euseb. vi. 43 inform us that at Rome, in the middle of the third century, there were seven deacons and seven subdeacons, as against forty-six presbyters and forty-two acolyths. The same rule was retained at Rome in the fourth and in the fifth century.³ This proportion encouraged the Roman deacons to assume a loftiness of bearing which drew from Jerome a characteristic outburst of resentment.⁴ But we leave our readers to judge

l. c. *Arian.* 65, 67.

¹ 19. But there were six chief deacons, beside the Sophia; Goar, *Eucholog.* p. 283.

² deacon (or 'Ambrosiaster') on 1 Tim. iii. 13 ('Nunc diaconos oportet'): Soz. vii. 19.

³ He calls the deacon here 'mensarum et viduarum moderor,' 'Dices, Quomodo Romæ ad testimonium diaconi sumus? Quid mihi profers unius urbis consuetudinem? quid

whether such deacons as have been thus briefly described would recognize their own representatives in deacons who would but give to their Church the odds and ends of their weekday time.

Archdeacon Emery, at the Ely Conference last summer, told his hearers that 'when he was at Cambridge, he was constantly having impressed on him by those in authority that the great wisdom of the Church of England was to follow the precedents of the first three centuries. It was *beyond all question* that to adopt the principle of the Bill' (Mr. Sydney Gedge's) '*would* be following the precedent of the first three centuries.' This affirmation was cheered, presumably by those who had not studied the extant evidence as to the light in which the deacons of those centuries were regarded, or the nature of the work which they had to perform. We will presently produce a little more positive evidence from these same centuries; at present we will observe that the sacredness of the diaconate was so fully recognised, that Optatus, in the fourth century, spoke of deacons as 'in tertio sacerdotio constitutos,'¹ using 'sacerdotium' for a 'holy order.' This, however, was exceptional language; and Præsidius, whom Jerome sent to Africa as a deacon, had become at least a 'presbyter' when Augustine wrote to him as 'consacerdoti.'² Usually the deacons were compared to the Levites; and at Carthage their office was called a 'ministerium' as distinct from 'sacerdotium.'³ But we may here not inconveniently notice a statement by Dr. Arnold,⁴ which has lately been reproduced, to the effect that 'according to the canon law, the deacon is half a layman, and could return at any time to a lay condition altogether.' Dr. Arnold was not likely to have made a study of such matters; and he was doubtless unaware of a passage in the Roman Pontifical, in which the candidates for the *subdiaconate*, which, as we all know, is unwarrantably included by Rome among the *sacred* orders, receive the following admonition:—

'Hactenus . . . liberi estis, licetque vobis pro arbitrio ad sæcularia vota transire: quod si hunc ordinem suscepistis, amplius non licebit a proposito resiliere, sed Deo, cui servire regnare est, perpetuo famulari . . . atque in ecclesiæ ministerio semper esse mancipatos. Proinde, dum tempus est, cogitate,' &c.

paucitatem, de quâ ortum est supercilium, in leges ecclesiæ vindicas?' He had been disgusted at seeing a deacon, at a private party, take precedence of a presbyter. He winds up by comparing them to the Levites. Compare Morinus, *De Sac. Ordin.* iii. 141.

¹ Optatus, l. i. p. 15, ed. 1679.

² See Jerome, *Ep.* 103; Aug. *Ep.* 74.

³ Mansi, *Concil.* iii. 951.

⁴ *Life of Arnold*, ii. 147.

We need not dwell on the language in which the ordaining bishop is directed by the Pontifical to address the 'diaconandi.' He bids them consider earnestly 'ad quantum gradum ecclesiæ ascenditis;' while at the same time the whole rite is so constructed as to set forth the far superior dignity of the priesthood. Of course the Pope is held to have a dispensing power which could cancel the obligations, without effacing the 'character,' of a deacon, or, for that matter, of a priest. Reginald Pole, while only a deacon, hoped to obtain release from his vows in order to espouse Queen Mary;¹ and other cardinals did actually receive such dispensation, as, for instance, Alexander VI. solemnly freed that remarkable deacon, Cæsar Borgia, from all the bonds of ecclesiastical life.² But the point is that the bonds would remain, for any deacon in the Roman Church, until relaxed by papal dispensation; he could not unloose them for himself at will.³

III. But now, to come close to the point, let us see whether certain ardent speakers have been justified in their deduction from certain facts and certain documents relating to secular work as done, or allowed to be done, by ecclesiastics in the fourth and fifth centuries. We will take first the oft-quoted canons, so called, of 'the Fourth Council of Carthage.' Much has been made of some canons in this long series.⁴ They have been claimed as proving that the African Church formally allowed the clergy to support themselves by manual labour or trade.⁵ But what do these canons say? They contain numerous directions as to the conduct of bishops, and one as to that of presbyters. Then come five canons, 37-41, relating to deacons. The last of them is:—

'Ut diaconus tempore oblationis tantum, vel lectionis, albâ utatur.'

Then comes canon 42:—

'Clericum, inter tentationes officio suo incubantem, gradibus sublimandum.'

Then, after an inserted provision, to the effect that a layman who has suffered for the Catholic cause shall be highly honoured by priests, and receive supplies of food through a deacon, comes a long string of canons relating to the 'clerici.' 'A cleric is not to wear long hair or a beard. A cleric is to indicate his profession by his dress and demeanour. A cleric is not to walk in the streets, except when absolutely obliged

¹ Hook, *Lives of Archbishops of Canterbury*, viii. 209.

² Creighton, *Hist. of the Papacy*, iii. 266.

³ We have high Roman Catholic authority for this statement.

⁴ Mansi, *Concil.* iii. 955.

⁵ *E.g.* by Mr. Sale, p. 5.

by his duty. A cleric is not to walk about the market-places, except for the purpose of buying something. A cleric who is absent from the vigils, except in case of bodily infirmity, is to be mulcted of his stipend. A cleric who, amid temptations, avoids his duty, or discharges it negligently, is to be removed from office.' Then come canons 51, 52, 53:—

'Clericus, quantumlibet verbo Dei eruditus, artificio victum quærat.'

'Clericus victum et vestimentum sibi artificio vel agriculturâ, absque officii sui detrimento, paret.'

'Omnes clerici qui ad operandum validiores sunt, et artificio la litteras discant.'

The term 'clerici' would naturally be used for members of all the orders below the episcopate, from the presbyterate downwards; but as here the 'clerici' are named after and apart from deacons, Bingham takes them to be the 'inferior clergy' or members of the minor orders,¹ the subdeacons, acolyths, readers, &c., just as Hilary the Deacon speaks first of 'deacons,' then of 'clerici,'² and the Council of Laodicea requires 'the ministers and all the clerics' to pay respect to the deacons.³ But this seems too restrictive for the context. These canons, however, do not sanction the arrangement now proposed. For, in the words of the Archbishop of Canterbury—

'Labour, if poverty necessitates it—that is what is permitted by the Fourth Council of Carthage. If a clergyman was without food or raiment, then he was permitted to work for them. . . . Food and raiment . . . a meagre result of an "artificium" . . . or of "litteræ;" but it is all that is allowed. . . . That is what the canons . . . say.'

His Grace then alludes to a law of Gratian and Valentinian II. as enacting that 'clerici' might employ 'the miserable sum of ten or fifteen *solidi*' in a business.⁴ This law is one of a series on the 'lustral tax,' otherwise called 'chrysargyrum,' to which all tradesmen were liable. Mr. P. V. Smith, in a letter to the *Record* of February 18, 1887, said that 'when the Roman empire became Christian, the law encouraged the clergy to earn their own living by exempting them from the "chrysargyrum."' As to this, Bingham understands the 'clerici' thus exempted to be 'the inferior orders,' thus 'allowed

¹ Bingham, vi. 4. 13; comp. i. 5. 8. The Third Council of Carthage uses 'clerici' in both senses—generally in c. 11, &c.; restrictively in c. 15: 'Placuit ut episcopi et presbyteri et diaconi vel clerici non sint conductores.'

² Ambrosiaster, *In Eph.* iv. 11.

³ By 'ministers' (ὑπηρέται) we must understand, as Hefele says, the subdeacons.

⁴ See *Cod. Theod.* xiii. 1. 11, A.D. 379; Bingham, v. 3. 6.

to traffic, to support themselves, without paying any tribute of this nature, when the Church's revenues were scanty, and not sufficient to give all the clergy a decent maintenance.' Certainly the first law as to this commerce-tax excepts 'only those "clerici" who are called "copiatæ,"' a very inferior class of ecclesiastical functionaries, appointed by Constantine to manage funerals.¹ A law of somewhat later date appears to distinguish the 'copiatæ' from the 'clerici,'² while exempting both from the (lustral) 'contribution' on condition of their aiming at nothing by trade more than 'tenuem victum vestitumque.' The law goes on to require this tax from the rest who were reckoned among 'negotiatores' at its last exaction, and afterwards 'clericorum se coetibus adgregarunt'—a phrase which implies that they had not risen beyond the lower grades of the clerical body. Profits beyond mere maintenance were to be given to the poor.³ But to return to the canons of Carthage; the Archbishop proceeds to point out that—

'in the canon itself it is distinctly provided that even this kind of trading by clerks must not be allowed to interfere with the discharge of their office—*absque officii sui . . . detrimento*. Now surely all this is the very contrary of what is now proposed. Such enactments cannot be produced to support the idea that deacons may occupy themselves in secular professions. . . . It is one thing to labour as a clergyman, and to earn sufficient by some occupation to get food and raiment, and another thing for a trader or professional man to take up diaconal work as a side pursuit. They are entirely different,' &c.

Similarly the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, after alluding to that part of the Bishop of Winchester's speech in which stress has been laid on the African Church canons, remarked somewhat drily that his 'right reverend brother, with his consistent fairness, had, in the last part of his speech, completely answered himself in regard to the earlier. He had justly pointed out that the case of the "clerici," said to be permitted to engage, for their bare livelihood, in so-called secular occupations, was very different from that of deacons engaged in trades, under the circumstances in which trades are now carried on, and with the engrossing competitions with which we are now all perfectly familiar.'

¹ *Cod. Theod.* xiii. 1. 1, A.D. 357.

² *Cod. Theod.* xvi. 2. 15: 'Clerici vero, vel hi quos Copiatas recens usus instituit nuncupari.'

³ Compare *Cod. Theod.* xvi. 2. 8: 'Si qui de vobis *alimonie* causâ negotiationem exercere volunt.' *Ib.* xvi. 2. 10, 'Cum certum sit quæstus, quos ex tabernaculis [= tabernis] atque ergasteriis colligunt, pauperibus profuturos.' *Ib.* xvi. 2. 14, that such profits should be bestowed 'in usum pauperum.'

We might illustrate the African regulations by a passage in one of the letters of St. Basil, A.D. 375.¹ He speaks of his clergy (*ἱερατεῖον*, a term which would take in all the orders) as 'practising sedentary arts in order to obtain daily bread,' clearly because of the impoverished condition of the Church of Cappadocian Cæsarea.

And if we want to see how the Church of the early ages felt, and what restrictions she laid upon her ministers as safeguards against a secularizing tendency, let us look at the seventh 'Apostolic' canon, which is, at least in substance, very ancient :

'Let not a bishop, presbyter, or deacon take upon himself secular cares (*κοσμικὰς φροντίδας*).'²

Following the Archbishop, we 'do not press at all' the eighty-first and eighty-third canons of this series, because they are of later date. 'But then,' as he says,

'we have most marked testimony in Cyprian's first epistle, where, alluding to a much older Council . . . he gives one instance of the principle which he says is acknowledged : "Quæ nunc ratio et forma in clero tenetur, ut qui in ecclesia Domini ordinatione clerica promoventur, in nullo ab administratione divina avocentur, ne molestiis et negotiis sæcularibus adligentur."³ . . . Ad terrena et sæculares actus vacare non possunt.' They cannot attend to their religious work and to worldly cares too.'

We need not quote St. Cyprian's well-known censure of the secularity produced by the 'Long Peace,' as having even induced 'many bishops to disregard their office as stewards of God, and to become *procuratores rerum sæcularium*.'⁴ This evidence is well within that period of the first three centuries to which, as we have seen, Archdeacon Emery appealed, as warranting the exercise of secular professions by deacons, though not by priests. In the fourth century there was still further need to guard the clergy against the temptation of worldliness; and so the Council of Elvira forbade bishops, presbyters, or deacons to leave their posts in order to pursue a secular business, and only permitted them to employ agents in such a matter when it was a question of providing them-

¹ Basil, *Ep.* 198.

² On this canon see Bingham, vi. 4. 9; xvii. 5. 11.

³ Cypr. *Ep.* 1. He adds, 'but that by the respectful contributions of the brethren they only receive, as it were, tithes of the fruits of the earth,' &c. This language is such as to cover the case of deacons, although it was called forth by the nomination of a priest as executor. Nor does his principle depend on its relation to such a case.

⁴ Cypr. *De lapsis*, p. 6.

selves with food ('sane ad victum sibi conquiendum.')

¹ And the Council of Hippo, in 393, provided, by its fifteenth canon, that bishops, presbyters, and deacons should not be 'conductores [agents] aut procuratores privatorum, neque ullo negotio tali victum quærant, quo eos peregrinari, *vel ab ecclesiasticis officiis avocari necesse sit.*'² Can words make it plainer that deacons, as well as presbyters and bishops, are to give their main time to the Church's work? Observe, too, that this canon does not simply debar them from such secular work as was in itself discreditable or demoralizing; it rests its order on their primary obligation to sacred service—an obligation which, for the deacons of the new scheme, would become secondary. We will quote but one canon more, the third of Chalcedon; it enacts that 'no bishop, nor cleric' (here, of course, the term is used for all ecclesiastics below the episcopate), 'nor monk, shall engage in the management of temporal affairs, unless he be either absolutely required by the law to undertake the guardianship of minors, or be permitted by the bishop of the diocese to manage ecclesiastical business' (i.e. of a temporal kind), 'or the affairs of orphans not otherwise provided for, and of such persons as specially need the aid of the Church, because of the fear of the Lord.' This canon naturally introduces us to the exceptional instances which have been adduced as permitting clergymen to follow a secular calling.

Referring, clearly, to the ancient clergy in general, Bingham says that it was deemed 'lawful to spend their *leisure* hours upon any manual trade or calling, when it was to answer some good end of charity thereby; as that they might not be over-burdensome to the Church, or might have some superfluities to bestow upon the . . . needy, or even that they might set the laity a provoking example' (cf. Heb. x. 24, A.V.) 'of industry and diligence in their callings.'³ He adds that, after St. Paul's example, 'many eminent bishops of the ancient Church were not ashamed to employ their *spare* hours in some honest labour.' Thus when Spyridon, the canonized Cypriot bishop, retained his former occupation as a shepherd, he did so, says Socrates, 'out of deep humility';⁴ and Sozomen adds that 'of the fruits which accrued to him he gave

¹ Mansi, *Concil.* ii. 9.

² Mansi, iii. 921. Compare Jerome, *Ep.* 52, 5, to Nepotian: 'Negotiatorem clericum quasi quamdam pestem fuge.' See, too, the pseudo-Augustinian *In Quæst. Vet. et Novi Testamenti* (in appendix to Aug. *Op.* tom. iii.), c. 127, that a man is not allowed 'negotiarî' after he becomes an ecclesiastic.

³ Bingham, vi. 4. 13 (vol. ii. p. 199).

⁴ Soc. i. 12.

away part to the poor, and lent the rest, without interest, to those who wished to borrow.'¹ While Zeno, bishop of Maiuma, kept up till his death, at a very advanced age, his old practice of weaving linen, he lived by part of the profits, and spent the rest in charity; and this handicraft never interfered with his daily attendance at 'the morning and evening hymns, or any other divine service.'² Epiphanius knew, it seems, of a great many similar cases; in all of them the object was partly to obtain funds for charitable purposes: in all of them the temporal industry was of a kind compatible with 'continuous attendance on ecclesiastical duties': in all of them the labour thus undergone was purely voluntary; the 'priests' who thus 'imitated St. Paul' had an indefeasible right to be maintained (καὶ κατὰ δικαιοσύνην σιτουμένων).³ But how manifest is the true relation which such condescension, so to call it, bore to what Bingham calls the 'proper business' of the clergy! Nothing was for a moment to come between one who so acted and the perpetual obligations of his ministry. His life on the weekdays would be in no danger of seeming a laic life, *plus* some occasional calls to clerical duty. 'These men,' said the Bishop of Bangor in Convocation in 1884, 'were following their spiritual calling first and foremost. . . . No one of their contemporaries who witnessed their lives, or of those that read the record of them now, could mistake this. While one was tending sheep, and another weaving linen, they did not degrade the higher, but raised and sanctified the humbler office.'⁴ It was so, doubtless, with the 'excellent presbyter Fronto,' who, in a time of persecution and therefore of impoverishment, 'practised agriculture,' and arrived with a load of good wine upon his ass, near the spot where the corpse of the martyred innkeeper, Theodotus, was kept under strict guard.⁵ It may well have been so with many a clergyman who, for special reasons, acted as a local magistrate,⁶ or with St. Patrick's father, the deacon Calpurnius, who was a 'decurio,' perhaps from inability to find a substitute who could represent him⁷ in one of those 'curiæ,' which Mr. Hodgkin has called 'gaols' of the middle-class subjects of the decadent empire.⁸ It may have been the case,

¹ Soz. i. 11.² *Ibid.* vii. 28.³ Epiph. *Her.* 80. 6. Cp. *Apost. Const.* ii. 63.⁴ Compare an account, in *The Net* for November 1887, of Bishop McKenzie teaching Zulu boys to stuff saddles, to saw, and to print—as Wilfrid taught the South Saxons to fish, &c.⁵ Ruinart, *Act. Mart. Sinc.* p. 384.⁶ See Stokes's *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 43.⁷ See Bingham, v. 3. 16. ⁸ Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, ii. 604.

long afterwards, with many a mediæval chancellor-prelate or prince-bishop, who succeeded in resisting the temptation to let the secular character absorb the sacred, a temptation bitterly deplored by Colet,¹ and fully recognized by Laud, who guarded his defence of the employment of prelates in State offices by the proviso (borrowed from 2 Tim. ii. 4) that he must not be 'entangled' therein.² It may also have been the case with some clergymen dispossessed for conscience sake, or members of a poor unendowed communion, ashamed to live on charity, and fain to support themselves by some business, as was the case with Cartwright, one of the last Nonjuring bishops, who acted as a surgeon at Shrewsbury.³ We will mention one more instance. When the good peasant-folk of Seathwaite knew that Robert Walker was wont, while teaching in the day-school, to eke out his wretched stipend by spinning wool, 'in which trade he was a great proficient,' or was ready to aid them in the shearing of their flocks, did they ever forget for a moment that he was essentially their pastor, and that this character adhered to him through every hour of his truly 'wonderful' life?⁴

But enough—the reader will perhaps say, too much already—of these 'precedents.' They furnish, we think, another warning as to the seductive untrustworthiness of those hasty comparisons and false analogies which so often misled the late Dean Stanley, and which still crop up exuberantly in the pleadings of imaginative Broad Churchmen. We could not state the case more tersely than in the words of Archdeacon Bathurst, at the Ely Conference already referred to: 'In every precedent he had found *that the trade was supplementary to the orders, and not the orders supplementary to the trade.*' The same antithesis is put, with less of condensation, in the report of the Committee of Bishops. Referring to ancient precedents, it says:

'It is evident that a broad distinction must be drawn between allowing or encouraging clergymen to assist in maintaining themselves by

¹ In his Convocation sermon at St. Paul's, Feb. 6, 1512; see Lupton's *Life of Dean Colet*, p. 293 ff.

² Laud, *Works*, vi. 181. Robertson, the translator of Moehler's *Symbolism*, tells a story (Introd. p. lx), which was a favourite with the late Bishop Forbes, that an Archbishop-Elector of Mentz in the last century, passing through the streets, and seeing a poor man in a dying condition, considerably ordered his servants to 'fetch a priest.' The Council of Trent recognized cases of episcopal 'absence' from diocesan duty *propter aliquod munus et reipublicæ officium episcopatibus adjunctum* Sess. 23. de Ref. 1).

³ Lathbury, *Hist. of Nonjurors*, p. 413.

⁴ See Wordsworth's notes to *Sonnets on the Duddon*.

secular labours, as St. Paul did, and admitting to the sacred ministry men *already devoted to secular occupations*, and purposing to continue in their callings.'

So the Bishop of Bangor in 1884:

'The persons now proposed to be admitted to the diaconate are to be, in the first place, doctors or lawyers, or it may be country gentlemen, and only in a subordinate degree deacons in the Church of God.'

And so the Primate himself, with all the authority of his great place and high attainments:

'What is really meant is a *mercantile or professional diaconate*. . . . *The case set up entirely breaks down so far as the early Church is concerned.* From the beginning, the earliest evidence we have shows that the bishops, priests, and deacons were to be maintained in other ways than by trading, the exception being in cases of extreme poverty, and in cases of self-devotion (asceticism), in which latter remunerative labour was permitted for the purpose of giving alms to the poor. That which is sought, then, to be established by this bill is an unknown order of clergy—unknown to our own Church, unknown to the primitive Church . . . an order which is both lay and clerical, is neither one nor the other.'

An expressive Greek term will help us in substituting a real contrast for an unreal similarity. The 'by-work' or *πάρεργον*, as distinct from the *ἔργον*, of a bishop like Zeno, or of a Carthaginian 'cleric,' was his secular industry. The *πάρεργον* of a deacon under the new scheme would be his clerical ministration. It is but his 'leisure' which can be consecrated to the Church's service; and we can all see how the urgent stress of modern professional or industrial life will, in many cases, reduce that 'leisure' to very narrow dimensions indeed. What a clashing of 'calls' would he experience!

Lest we should seem to overlook a point, we will add that the Roman Church-law permits incumbents of very poor benefices to practise agriculture or handicraft, yet so as not to interfere with sacred duties. The metrical summary of the 91st Distinction in the *Decretum* is, 'Arte parabis opes, nisi sint salis ecclesiæ res.'¹ And a received book of Roman moral theology allows the clergy to sell the proceeds of an industry, such as cloth, paintings, &c., and even, in cases of extreme emergency, to perform surgical operations, forbidding them, at the same time, to practise such 'arts' as are 'deemed inconsistent with the dignity of the clerical state.'² But here,

¹ See, too, the prose summary of this Distinction.

² Scavini, *Theologia Moralis*, i. 342 ff.

again, it is assumed throughout, that the clerical character is primary and dominant, and the secular work a *πάρεργον*.

'But,' it will be said, 'supposing the plea of a revival or restoration to be untenable, are there no innovations which are healthful, or even necessary? Must the living Church, in presence of her own huge tasks, be fettered by archaism, and forbidden to strike out new paths towards objects not set before a bygone generation? Is there any principle, permanent in its claim upon our reverence, which would be compromised by conferring the diaconate on men whose main work must lie in a secular calling?'

Yes, we reply, there is; it is the doctrine, so to speak, of Holy Orders.

It is a fact of some significance that the letter of Dr. Arnold to 'A. P. Stanley, Esq.,' in which he adumbrates the plan which Mr. Gedge has been urging upon the Church, contains the following words:—

'You would get an immense gain . . . by softening down that pestilent distinction between clergy and laity, which is so closely linked with the priestcraft system. . . . I have long thought that some plan of this sort might be the small end of the wedge, by which Antichrist might hereafter be burst asunder, like the dragon of Bel's temple.'

We suppose it is not necessary to explain what Dr. Arnold here meant by 'Antichrist.' It was that conception of the Christian ministry which regards it as an organ 'divinely appointed and commissioned for the exercise of spiritual power and the conveyance of spiritual gifts.'¹ Why he attacked this idea, will be best seen by mentally contrasting it with his favourite theory of a 'Church-State.'² But many reject it who do not hold that theory; and without surmising beyond public evidence, we may at least say that if we, for our own part, disowned this claim on behalf of the ministry, and regarded the 'distinction between clergy and laity' as fundamentally technical and conventional, as a human arrangement for the Church's religious convenience, we should do all in our power to forward the new scheme of 'a commercial and professional diaconate.' Among its supporters, we well know, there are those who think much more highly of ordination; and Canon Twells is especially emphatic in urging that the new recruits for the Church's army should be duly ordained men. Some, probably, would say that the plan before

¹ Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*, p. 27.

² Mozley, *Essays*, ii. 33.

us accentuates the sacerdotal dignity of the presbyter, as distinct from the 'inferior office' of the deacon. We do not underestimate the difference between the Order which does, and the Order which does not, involve the power to celebrate, bless, absolve, and take charge of a flock. We do not forget that the exhortation to lay aside 'all worldly cares and studies' occurs in the ordination of priests. But we must still contend that the step between the lay life and the life of an ordained deacon is wider and more critical than the step from the diaconate to the priesthood. We appeal, on this point, to the recollection of all our readers who have taken first the one step, and then the other. It is when a man enters on the ministry that he makes the great advance to which there is no true parallel. It is the day of his first ordination which stands out as the great day of his life, the day in which he professed his belief that he was 'inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon him that office and ministration,' and that he was 'truly called' according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the due order of this realm, to the ministry of the Church'—words which, in the depth of their solemn pathos, impress on true hearts the claim of that 'call' on their whole energy.

And we believe that a change which would go far towards verifying the apprehensions of the London Conference, and 'reducing the diaconate in the public mind to the level of a lay ministry' (inasmuch as the agency to be created would be, in Mr. Gedge's own words, 'practically lay-clerical'), would, in effect, degrade the presbyterate also, by weakening the already enfeebled idea of the whole clerical office in the minds of Church people, and ultimately of the clergy themselves. When we realize the exceeding haziness and laxity of belief in regard to Ordination which still prevails among many respectable church-goers, we shall see a special reason for deprecating what would be sure to bring strange confusion into their thoughts as to a principle so imperfectly appreciated. They might vaguely take up with that conception which prevails in some sects, where preacher and tradesman are one, and the frequenters of the chapel, like the Puritan laymen in Laud's time, think their minister's gifts the greater because he can thus unite both.¹ Mr. Eugene Stock—no High Churchman—spoke plainly in the House of Laymen: 'Mr. Gedge,' he said, 'had laughed at a clerical title. He ventured to say that the title and dress were visible signs of reality.

¹ Laud, *Works*, vi. 181.

No one would suppose that a man could be the Rev. Sydney Gedge on Sunday, and Mr. Sydney Gedge on Monday.' Two months later, at the Central Council, the Rev. T. A. Stowell, after arguing in the first part of his speech for the importance of a large increase of clerical force in crowded parishes, proceeded to mention two cases in the diocese of Manchester in which men had been ordained as permanent deacons, one of them being Mr. George Harwood, 'who was preaching to large congregations of men of business,' and who '*wore the dress of a layman, and did not take the title of a clergyman.*'¹ Exactly. Mr. Stowell could not have seen how he was reinforcing an objection to the scheme which he admired. Might not some of Mr. Harwood's hearers ask, 'Is he a clergyman or a layman?' Would not persons who had received the sacred chalice from a new assistant-minister on a Sunday sustain a sort of shock when on Monday he was found ready to cash their cheque over his bank counter, or take their fee for his opinion on their 'case'? We gladly reproduce the words of the *Guardian* (May 4, 1887):—

'So far as we can judge, Mr. Gedge and his supporters do not sufficiently consider the immense importance of maintaining in people's minds the conception of a distinct clerical character. . . . This distinct clerical character is a great safeguard to the Church; it has kept up, even in very lax days, a visibly higher standard of life and morality among the clergy than among the laity. We believe that the creation of what may be called an order of secular deacons would tend greatly to impair the distinctness of the clerical character.'

Or, to quote the Bishop of Bangor again:—

'Constituted as men's minds are, I much fear that there would be a lowering of the ministry, or diminution of its influence for good, if the same men who as ordained ministers addressed them from the pulpit were found, in the ordinary commerce of life, to be as much engrossed by worldly pursuits as themselves.'

Again, the change would be likely to produce an undesirable effect on the minds of ordinary candidates for orders, or young clergymen in their year of diaconate. They would, to say the least, be rather hindered than assisted in withstanding the influences which attract them into secularity. We are far from desiring to see their tone and habits conformed to what would be called on the Continent the Seminarist standard. We would not have them drilled into an unnatural rigidity, and, *pro tanto*, alienated from the best types of 'the lay mind.' But the peril now lies, we think, in an opposite

¹ *Guardian* for 1887, p. 695.

quarter. As if in recoil from 'starchedness,' or in weak dread of being thought 'conventional,' young clergymen too often fall into an ungraceful and almost ostentatious imitation of lay fashions as such. A passion for outdoor amusements, such as is represented by Herbert Bowater in Miss Yonge's *Three Brides*, is among the milder forms of this tendency; its graver forms are fostered by various causes—the desire to 'keep in touch with the people,' the cant which is current about 'sacerdotalism,' the influence (as far as it extends) of democratic or secularized conceptions of the Church, the example sometimes of priests 'whose daily life seems quite easily explicable without the introduction of anything supernatural.'¹ If a young man biassed in any of these directions comes across a brother-deacon of mature age, permitted both by 'Church and realm' to spend the main part of his time in worldly business, will he not be tempted to put aside, as unpractical and out of date, the counsels of true clerical experience as to the need of maintaining a spiritual tone? Once more, what would be the effect on the 'secular deacons' themselves? Thirty-six years ago Lord Hatherley, himself a typical lay churchman, expressed his doubt 'whether deacons with secular employment would answer.' He thought that temptations to serve God and mammon would be too great; in times when the constant liability to martyrdom afforded a test, there was not the same risk of scandals.² In a like spirit the *Spectator* of May 14, 1887, observed that 'a diaconate immersed in secular business,' and taking ministerial duty as a 'secondary occupation,' would cause more scandal than lay help. The Bishop of Oxford in the Upper House observed that there were

'some persons who would make the diaconate the means of giving themselves some little status and authority in the world;' and that 'if the bishops had secular deacons who were unworthy, it would be very difficult to deal with them in the way of discipline, more difficult even than to deal with those who were wholly devoted to their sacred calling.'

And even if we suppose (it is a considerable supposition) that none would enter the diaconate on these new terms from questionable motives, it is still true that those who did so enter it would be placed in a position of some spiritual disadvantage. Mr. Twells asks why we should deny to the new workers whom we want to enlist 'the grace of holy orders, the responsibility

¹ *Guardian*, September 7, 1887.

² *Memoir of Lord Hatherley*, vol. ii. p. 120.

of holy orders, the binding power of holy orders.' But what if that grace is conveyed, that power committed, that responsibility imposed, under conditions not spiritually favourable to the due employment of such gifts and the due discharge of such obligations? By hypothesis, the persons in question will have had (as the Bishop of Bangor observes) no special theological training, and their 'natural gifts,' for lack of such discipline of mind and spirit and will as the thorough preparation of young ordinands can furnish, may receive but a one-sided development, or possibly be perverted to evil. To speak plainly, will it be very easy for the physician or lawyer in full practice, the head partner in a firm or in a bank (to take no other instances), so to transport himself into the atmosphere of his new office as, in that character,

'reverently to obey his Ordinary, and other chief ministers, to whom will be committed the charge and government over him; to follow with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions; to have a ready will to observe all spiritual discipline; to be modest and humble . . . in his ministrations?'

We omit one word here, for by the very terms of his compact '*constancy* in ministration' will not be expected of him. However pure may be his intentions, he will come before the ordaining bishop with lay habits long formed, and with so much the less of aptitude for imbibing the clerical spirit and for learning clerical duty. Even in his plans for good he will too probably be prone to self-confidence, wilfulness, 'impatience of restraint,' and will need too often to be reminded of the warning—

'There are two ways to aid the Ark—
As *patrons*, and as sons.'¹

Mr. Twells, indeed, argues like Mr. Gedge and others, from the fact that even priests often do a great deal of work which does not pertain to their function; they keep schools, take pupils, write for the press, or 'are constrained, whether they will or not,' to farm land. We answer: A priest who engages in education is specially bound to make it a religious work, and the like may be said of all his literary labour. He was solemnly admonished, at his priestly ordination, to 'draw all his cares and studies this way.' If an incumbent is in the case last specified, he is so far like those clerics of old who, as we have seen, practised 'agriculture' for a maintenance; and that position is morally quite different from that of persons who are making money in a secular calling, and propose to

¹ *Lyra Apostolica*, p. 176.

superadd to it, *horis subsecivis*, a certain amount of sacred ministration. To be sure, Mr. Twells asks whether, granting this difference, the advantage is altogether on the side of the former :

'We will suppose that doctors are in future allowed to become deacons, and deacons, conversely, to become doctors. . . . Two men in the same parish are found to unite the ministerial and medical professions. The one, being originally a deacon, has determined to supplement his income by practising as a doctor ; the other, being originally a doctor, has placed his leisure time, without money and without price, at the service of the diaconate. Why should the first be a better man than the second ? . . . *Cæteris paribus*, should we not be disposed to prefer the one with whom monetary considerations have had no weight, but who has simply sought to make himself useful ?'

The question, we conceive, is not which is 'the better man' of the two, but which is acting most in accordance with the character of a deacon ? By hypothesis, the deacon who takes to medicine is primarily a minister to souls, and secondarily a minister to bodies. The other man reverses this order. We do not enter into the question how far either of them ought to have 'leisure' for uniting with his ministry, or uniting his ministry with, a profession so persistent in its demands on strength and time.

In the above remarks the words 'sacred' and 'secular' have, of necessity, often recurred. And if it be said that such an iteration represents a false antithesis, which is fraught with injury to the true conception of life as, in all its aspects, 'sacred,' we answer that all honest work is indeed, in one sense, holy ; not only the Christian banker, or solicitor, or surgeon, not only the Christian tradesman or apprentice, but the Christian field-labourer, or (as the Bishop of Lincoln might say) the Christian carter-lad, can do his daily task as to the Lord and in the Lord, and find in it the sphere of his sanctification. But, in the words of an earnest Presbyterian writer ¹—

'The difference between the secular and the sacred is, in our time, very apt to be overlooked . . . as if the whole truth were stated when it was declared that the most earthly and common labour can be made truly religious. Agreeing with all that can be said on that matter, it is well to keep in mind the great truth that the spiritual has a sphere of its own. . . . There is a life within the life, a shrine within the temple. . . . There must be religion everywhere, but the soul needs a fountain from which to draw it,' &c.

¹ Dr. Watson, in *Good Words* for 1877, p. 205.

In short, there are diversities of spiritual operation, involving degrees of spiritual intensity. Weekday work, though a man should do it 'in the Name of the Lord Jesus,' and offer it up consciously to be blessed and prospered, is not as sacred as the act of saying one's prayers, of reading God's Word, or still more, of receiving His Sacraments; and in that sense, and on that ground, the work of a lay profession may be called 'secular,' as distinct from the service of 'the kingdom which is not of this world,' without the slightest disparagement of its proper dignity, or of its entire consistency with the highest forms of Christian excellence. The calendar of Saints (*Deo gratias*) includes lay people of every class; it has room for king and soldier, physician, gardener, innkeeper; but some kinds of occupation are more closely related than others to the Divine economy of the Incarnation, and the attempt to treat all things as equally sacred may result in treating all things as equally secular.

We must draw these remarks, already too far extended, to an end. It is hardly worth while—it may seem almost like a bathos—to dwell on the question which has been raised as to the inconvenience which might be caused to an incoming rector or vicar by the presence in the parish of an uncongenial 'professional deacon,' who, as carrying on his temporal business in the parish, would be a permanent resident in the immediate neighbourhood of the new parson. On this it has been argued that a lay reader might indeed have his licence revoked, but, not being a clergyman, would be under no clerical discipline, and might therefore give more trouble than a deacon as such. We should like to know how discipline would in practice be applicable to a deacon of the 'Arnoldian' type, a popular man of middle age and local influence, who, after his services as an 'assistant minister' had been discontinued, would retain his clerical *prestige*, and might thus become the centre of a malcontent party, and the representative of a rival clerical interest.¹

For our own part, we believe that much of the work for which this 'new foundation' of deacons has been planned would be within the competency of laymen properly so-called, who, under some well-chosen title, would not be confounded with the ministers of the Church,² and at the same time, while

¹ See the *Guardian* of Feb. 16 and May 4, 1887.

² A writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* for April 1854 deprecated the forming of 'a multitude of half-parsons. Let laymen . . . be encouraged to read, talk, exhort, or even preach in rooms, but let them do this as laymen. Maintaining the severe distinction between clerics and non-clerics

holding a commission from bishop and parish priest, would be really employed in the Church's work, and serving under her banner, so that she would reap the benefit of their devotion and their energy. They might act as catechists, might hold mission services in schools or other unconsecrated buildings, might take a great deal of parochial work off the hands of the overworked pastor. They could not, of course, officiate in the parish church, except in the reading of the lessons; they could not say the prayers, nor baptize (except so far as any layman might baptize in case of extreme necessity), nor assist in the administration of Holy Communion, an office for which, in the North, it appears that there is special need of more clergy. It will be said, therefore, that they could not do all that is wanted. It is true, they could not, in any sense, be 'assistant curates;' but their agency, as far as it went, would be consistent with the spirit of Holy Scripture and Church tradition, which is more than could be said for that of 'professional deacons,' who, after all, could not fill any of the posts for which priests are wanted. It might be desirable also to have small companies of 'lay evangelists'—although we do not much like that use of the great title—employed under episcopal sanction, as in the diocese of Lichfield, to address the working-men of thickly peopled districts; but, of course, very careful preparation and supervision would be necessary in order to guard against crude or onesided statements. It might be a help, also, to a bishop to keep near him, after the example of the Bishop of Salisbury, a few priests who could be sent to supply some pressing want in this or that part of his diocese. It would be well to raise funds in the several dioceses for supporting at some theological college, such as that at Lincoln, youths who have given token of a vocation to the ministry, and who are only kept back by want of means. It would be still better to reinforce the 'Ordination Candidates' Fund,' and, best of all, let Churchmen put more heart into the solemn prayer of each recurring Embertide, and into habitual supplication for an increase of labourers in the fields that are white unto harvest. Let them pray for light to discern not only the spiritual needs of the Church, but also such methods of supplying them as are most in accordance with her mind, and with the indications of that Will which works by order and not by confusion, *disponens omnia suaviter*. In ecclesiastical and social reform, the temper of our time is

is the only way in which to secure the most useful kind of lay assistance.' So the *Spectator* of May 14, 1887: 'Lay help is necessary to the Church, more urgently necessary than ever. But it should be lay help.'

apt to set itself ardently on this or that object (regarded, and rightly regarded, as good and necessary), and to be over-hasty in the choice of means, or even to despise caution in that respect as mere punctiliousness, or as a symptom of indifference to a great interest. But the *quocunque modo* has again and again been the source of perilous mistakes ; and when we are dealing with the affairs of the City of God, we are specially bound to look to means as well as ends, to remember that immediate success would be bought too dear by the compromise of a sacred principle, and rather to endure some present dimness than to ' walk in the light of a fire ' too simply our own.

ART. III.—THE FIRST CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHERS.

The Christian Platonists of Alexandria. Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1886 : on the Foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A., Canon of Salisbury. By CHARLES BIGG, D.D., Assistant-Chaplain of Corpus Christi College, formerly Senior Student of Christ Church, Oxford. (Oxford, 1886.)

THE period and the authors described in the book above named belong to one of the most interesting and anxious times in the history of the Church of Christ. Christianity was learning by actual experience what it meant to have a mission to the whole world. The conversion of the world implied more than the simple extension of the belief in Christ over the whole area of the world, through all the nations of it. Following in the train of this belief came a wave of change, which left no element in the then constitution of things untouched. Christianity was to draw under its influence politics, art, and intellectual culture, as well as provide the one religion. From the upper chamber at Jerusalem there had sprung a force which was to reconstruct the whole order of the civilized world. Though grafted on to the religion of a despised race, it was to crush out of existence the religions which had all the world's power and prejudice on their side. It was to absorb, and to transmute while it absorbed, the art and philo-

sophy for which Greece had already won age-long fame. It was to draw into itself and sanctify that love of law and organization by which Rome had won its lordship over the world. This was its task ; and it is the spectacle of the Christian Church gradually becoming conscious of its task which forms the peculiar interest of the early centuries of the Christian era. It is always interesting to watch the gradual assertion of a new principle through an old order—to note the angry surprise, the growing concern, the savage hatred with which the new thoughts or practices are received. And our interest reaches its highest point, perhaps, at the moment when the adherents of the old principles first become conscious that the new ideas cannot be simply laughed down, but are serious rivals—rivals which will not be satisfied without undivided rule.

At the same time a contest like this does not end in the entire ejection of one set of ideas, and the substitution of another. The triumphant side learns many lessons from those whom it defeats ; the force expended in the struggle does not run to waste. However complete the victory, the defeated party leaves its mark upon its conquerors ; it vanishes as a separate party, but its influence lives in the altered conditions of things which are the result of the struggle. The war between the Church and the world is no exception to this rule. If the Church vanquished Heathendom, it was none the less influenced by it. If it forced the world to think after its own fashion, still many of the forms and categories of heathen philosophy survived in the language of its creeds. The study of the *Christian Platonists of Alexandria* brings us just to this point in the controversy between the world and the Church. The philosophic schools have learnt that they must take account of Christianity, for it has an answer of its own to give to the questions which perplex them ; and, on the other hand, the Church has learnt—now that it is freed from the mere struggle for existence—that there is something to be gained by careful study of this world's lore, for God has not been without a witness even in Pagan schools of thought. This we believe to be the most vital interest of the history of Christian Platonism. It has all happened long enough ago for us to be able to measure the result—to see to some extent the principle upon which the Church, under the Holy Spirit's guidance, dealt with the problems before it—and hence, perhaps, to derive some hint for our own action in the future. Indeed, without this interest, it is difficult to see what motive could possibly be found for studying the problems of an obsolete

metaphysic in phraseology which we can only galvanize into life by careful and diligent study.

In order to form an opinion upon a matter of this kind the first requisite is a clear conception of the facts of the period, the opinions and history of its great authors. Such a conception is presented to us in Dr. Bigg's *Bampton Lectures*. Within the Bampton Lecturer's usual limits Dr. Bigg has given a careful and scholarly account of the two great Christian philosophers, Clement of Alexandria and Origen. The first lecture is introductory, and is occupied with a brief description of the work of Philo and of some of the other modes of thought which had been prevalent previous to the time of Clement. The seventh lecture describes the Reformed Paganism, with which the Church had to contend most vigorously, and in the last a sketch is given of the later estimate of the character and work of Clement and Origen, together with a summary of the results attained. Throughout these lectures Dr. Bigg displays the accuracy and precision of a real scholar. His estimate of his authors is always scholarly and fair. Though evidently attracted and interested by them, he is keenly alive to their defects. His study of them has been close enough to have given him a conception of their personality, which makes the exposition of their writings vivid and definite. He has traced the close connexion of their respective modes of life upon the tone of their thought, and has endeavoured to estimate the value of the materials which were at their command. He is acquainted with the modern literature which bears upon his subject, and uses plentiful illustrations from authors contemporary with Clement and Origen. Furthermore, the text of the lectures is lucid and easy in style, so that the reader is led to take an interest in abstruse questions of metaphysic and theology for which he would scarcely have given himself credit. Much of this is due, no doubt, to the familiarity which Dr. Bigg has acquired with the language and method of his authors, but it is also aided by the vivid pictures we occasionally meet with of the life at Alexandria. Such would be the account of the Catechetical School (pp. 41 *seqq.*), of the services of the Alexandrine Church and the habits of the congregation (pp. 128-9). To the text of the lectures Dr. Bigg has added footnotes, copious and elaborate, in which the student will find careful references to the writings of Clement and Origen, and to various other works ancient and modern, in which he may pursue for himself the lines of thought indicated in the lectures. We cannot claim to have tested all the references, but so far as we have

tested them they are accurate, which, seeing the number and fulness of them, is no light praise. From this point of view there is only one fault to be noticed, but it is a serious one. The book has no index. In a work so valuable for reference as this is an index would be of the greatest service. The syllabus at the beginning, which, of course, only professes to mark in outline the succession of the subjects treated, is in a certain degree a help to the use of the book, but it is not enough. This fault will, no doubt, be rectified in a later edition.

Before we take leave of this side of the subject it will be necessary to take account of Dr. Bigg's view of the Alexandrine Presbyterate. On p. 39 he says as follows: 'The most interesting feature in the Alexandrine Church was its College of twelve Presbyters, who enjoyed the singular privilege of electing from among themselves, and of consecrating, their own Patriarch.' After a sketch of the 'struggle' by which the Patriarchs succeeded in destroying the prerogative of the Chapter, he winds up (p. 40): 'Thus was finally abolished this most interesting relic of a time when there was no essential difference between Bishop and Priest, and of a later but still early time when the Bishop was chairman or life-president of a council of Priests, by whom the affairs of a great city church were administered in common.' This well-rounded theory rests on an assertion in the *Annales*¹ of Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria, 933 A.D.; on a passage in St. Jerome where he says that the Presbyters 'unum ex se electum in excelsiori gradu collocatum Episcopum nominabant'; on statements in Lightfoot's *Philippians*, p. 231; and inferences in Ritschl's *Entstehung der altk. Kirche*, p. 432. This seems to be all the evidence there is for it. 'The authority of a writer so inaccurate as Eutychius,' says Bishop Lightfoot, 'if it had been unsupported, would have had no weight.' The support consists of St. Jerome's assertion above quoted and a passage of uncertain interpretation by the commentator Hilary. In view of the language it seems somewhat arbitrary to say that St. Jerome's expression includes the right of consecration. On the other hand, it should be noticed that Eusebius, who took a special interest in the affairs of the Alexandrine Church, makes no allusion to this practice. The phrase he uses to describe the appointment of a successor to the Alexandrine Patriarchate is the same as that used of any other see—*διαδέχεται τὴν λειτουργίαν*. Further, in a council at Alexandria

¹ Published with a Latin translation by Selden, under the title *Conventio Gemmarum*.

held in 324, Ischyra was deprived of his orders on the ground that he had been ordained by Colluthus, who was a presbyter; by this time, therefore, non-episcopal ordination was not recognized in the Alexandrine Church. Lastly, there is a full account of the election of St. Athanasius, who succeeded Alexander, the patriarch, according to Eutychius, who effected the change. There is no talk of the College of Presbyters. And it is a little surprising that, whereas the Arians did assail the validity of the election of St. Athanasius, they made nothing of the unusual method employed. Surely if St. Athanasius had not been elected in the manner to which the Alexandrine Church was accustomed, such a convenient ground of attack would not have been neglected by enemies so ingenious and so unscrupulous. We are sorry that Dr. Bigg should have given his countenance to this theory, which, in spite of the modern authorities in its favour, seems to us to rest on the most shadowy evidence. The history of the Alexandrine Presbyterate is obscure and exceptional, and we think a less dogmatic tone would have been more suitable in describing it.¹

We have praised Dr. Bigg's book as the work of a careful and erudite scholar. The materials of a judgment upon the period are to be found in it, set down in a convenient order and intelligible form. But we cannot think that he has approached the constructive side of the book with nearly the same degree of success. It is, as we have said, the first requisite to the understanding of the past that the facts should be clearly set forth; but this is not all. The really valid interpretation of the facts requires far more than this. It requires a real sympathy with the motive which underlies them—a union in spirit which overcomes the barriers of time. To a certain extent Dr. Bigg possesses this sympathy. The existence of it was probably the motive of his book. But at the same time we cannot but feel that in both the philosophical and theological regions his want of complete sympathy has prevented him from giving an adequate estimate of the authors he describes. The philosophy which he brings with him to the task is a somewhat rough-and-ready philosophy. This comes out in his treatment of the whole question of Free-will and Grace: 'No wise man will attempt to find a precise solution for the eternal antinomy of Freedom and Necessity' (p. 80). 'Already the door is opened for all the barren disputes that troubled the Church and the Schools from

¹ Cf. Simcox, *Lectures on Church History*, p. 359.

the days of Augustine to those of Pascal' (*ibid.*). The same tone reappears in the comparison between Origen and St. Augustine on this same point (pp. 284 *seqq.*). To this we shall have to return.

A similar indifference to philosophical or theological accuracy is shown in the following notes. In one case, speaking of Origen's belief in the eternity of creation, Dr. Bigg says: 'The same argument in Origen's mind proved the eternal generation of the Son and the eternity of creation. Later theologians regarded it as admirable in the first case, and abominable in the second.' We agree with the later theologians, notably with St. Athanasius (cf. *Or. c. Ar.* i. 29), and St. Thomas Aquinas (cf. *Summa*, I. xlv.). It is shown by St. Athanasius that there is a difference between a *γέννημα* and a *ποίημα*. The former is proper to the essence of the Father, the other is not. The former does not depend upon an act of will, but is eternal like the Father. The *ποίημα* is brought into being *ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων*. If it be urged that this doctrine implies a change of will in God, St. Thomas in the passage referred to shows that there is a difference between a change of will and willing a change. Again, on p. 270-271 there is a long note dealing with the various heresies ascribed to Clement and Origen. Clement is accused of Docetism. Origen also was charged with 'preaching "two Christs,"' as afterwards was Nestorius. In all three cases the accusation has no other root than an unreasoning bitterness, of which the most ardent controversialist would now feel ashamed.' Whatever may be the truth as regards Origen, surely the accusation had the merit of being true in the case of Nestorius. We cannot conceive that Dr. Bigg supposes that the difference between Nestorius and the Church was a mere question of terms—a controversy for controversy's sake. We do not press phrases which may have crept through oversight into the notes, but they sound ill-omened.

It is not, however, only in details in footnotes that we feel a sense of want in Dr. Bigg's treatment of Christian Platonism. From time to time he seems conscious that the methods of Platonism are not fully adequate to deal with the Christian creed. So he says, in reference to Clement's account of the Incarnation (p. 71), 'His (*i.e.* Christ's) Flesh was not wholly like ours, inasmuch as it was exempt from all carnal desires and emotions, even the most necessary and innocent. And as his Platonic dislike of the body has led Clement here, though no Docetist, perilously near the confines of

Docetism, so another Platonic theory, that all suffering is corrective, has induced him to speak of the passion of Jesus as undesigned by God.' So again he points out the inadequacy to perform what was required of it of Origen's modified Platonic doctrine of pre-existence¹: 'All he could accomplish by his departure from Plato was to push the insoluble problem a step further back, and to stereotype Clement's vicious theory of the indifferentism of the will.' But although he is alive to some of the failures of the Platonists in dealing with Christian truth, he never attempts to give any such complete account of the differences between Christian and Platonic assumptions as will enable him to mark with certainty and confidence the points where the two systems are necessarily irreconcilable. This is not due altogether to a want of appreciation that there are irreconcilable differences as to a confusion of thought in respect of the regions in which these differences are to be sought. The points indicated as failures due to Platonic preconceptions are isolated; they are not shown to rest on a basal difference in principle. Yet this we believe to be the case. Once only, so far as we remember, and that in a footnote, does Dr. Bigg display any conception of this. On p. 159, commenting on Origen's view of the nature of God, he says: 'His point of view is *moral*, not, like that of Clement, pseudo-metaphysical. Hence all the so-called negative attributes sink into the second place. The more the reader reflects upon this, the more important, I feel persuaded, he will see it to be.' Nothing could be more direct than this. It expresses, as we believe, exactly the point of difference between the right and the wrong ways of looking at the nature of God. Yet a more free use of this test would have given clearness and stability to the treatment of Alexandrine thought, which at present we lack. The point at issue is of the most vital importance, as we hope to show later on; it will therefore be worth while to mark the chief points all along the line where we differ from Dr. Bigg in his estimate of his authors.

The first signs of the confusion in thought of which we have spoken occur in the lecture on Philo. We are there told (p. 9, *note*) that 'Philo never for a moment ceases to think of God in Platonic fashion, as pure spirit opposed to matter.' And this a little further back (p. 8) is said to have been the point of view of some of the Rabbis: 'Others, fol-

¹ Is it not too strong an expression to say, as Dr. Bigg does (p. 283), that 'this belief might claim support from the well-known passage in St. John's account of the healing of the man born blind'?

lowing the lead of the prophets and developing the conception of the ineffable name, refused to think or speak of Jehovah except as a pure spirit.' Further on we learn, somewhat to our surprise (p. 156, *note*), that 'πνεῦμα of itself does not connote immateriality.' Surely there is here a great confusion. In the first place, we believe, on the authority of Dr. Westcott (*Ep. of St. John*, p. 167), that the assertion πνεῦμα ὁ Θεὸς is absolutely unique. The phrase, 'the Spirit of the Lord,' had occurred before, but the spiritual nature of God had never before been asserted. Next, we believe we are right in saying that the word πνεῦμα is never used in Plato except in a more or less material sense. The word for the nature of God is νοῦς. No wonder therefore that those who used Platonic ideas in order to elaborate the philosophical aspects of the nature of God found the word πνεῦμα not 'necessarily connoting immateriality.' This may seem a small point to make, a mere anachronism in the use of a term. But we must remember that language with all its history and associations has a powerful influence on thought, and that by the substitution of what is apparently a synonym we may distort all the real facts of the case. Even to the modern mind there would seem to be some degree of arbitrariness in using Spirit as a synonym for Intellect, and this arbitrariness is multiplied tenfold when the substitution is tacitly made in the Alexandrine period. Spirit is a much fuller, more concrete, more living word than Intellect. In its widest application Intellect can only be one mode in which a Spirit expresses itself, and Intellect is just for this reason without those possibilities which are necessary to the idea of a spiritual being. To Philo it was most natural to think of God under intellectual forms. Although he was so devoted a Jew, yet his associations were Hellenic. He does not understand, apparently, that the word Lord in his own Scriptures is merely a substitute for the ineffable name. He interprets it in accordance with his own prepossessions as a power of the Eternal—His justice as opposed to His goodness (p. 13). This, and many other facts which might be adduced, must lead us to suppose that νοῦς for him would have meant the same as it would for Plato, and that God in his mind is the abstract Platonic God: a being wholly short of the Living God of the Jews. He struggles hard to keep his two lines of thought in harmony one with another, but whenever one has to go to the wall it is the Hebrew, and not the Greek. This point is of great importance to the Philonic doctrine of the Logos. In relation to this Dr. Bigg

criticizes Dr. Westcott's contention that the Logos in St. John is derived, not from Philo, but from the Palestinian schools. Dr. Westcott's chief argument is that in Philo Logos is reason, and not will. 'But to a Platonist like Philo there is no difference between reason and will' (p. 18, *note*). It would be truer, perhaps, to say that to a Platonist like Philo will is an inconvenient subject of which the less said the better. It was just the point which Platonists always found so intensely difficult to deal with at all on their principles. It involved, as it seemed, change, and therefore imperfection. The complex system of powers was a rather clumsy effort to cover the gap between the changeless passionless Being who was in some way responsible for things as they are, and the fleeting phenomena of the material world. Now the word 'logos' in St. John may have come from Philo, if Dr. Bigg pleases; but he must surely admit that the idea and its associations in Philo are wholly different from that in St. John. To the Platonic point of view 'the Incarnation is an impossibility' (p. 25). To St. John it is the natural climax of the previous self-manifestations of the Word of God. St. John, of course, is not controversial in his statement. There is no suggestion in the opening words of his gospel that he was conscious of any difference of usage or meaning in relation to the word *logos*. He only chooses it as a word which his readers will understand, and his assumptions about it and associations with it are to be gathered from his use of it. Whatever may be said of the source from which he derived it, it is clear that the meaning he gives to it falls in exactly with the three great statements of the nature of God which occur in his work—God is Spirit, God is Light, and God is Love. All these imply life and action; they require no cumbrous system of powers or æons to account for self-manifestation. They involve a conception of God which is moral and spiritual, not pseudo-metaphysical, and in this they differ *toto cælo* from Philo's 'Eternal Negation.* Great things frequently arise from small causes, and we do not think that Dr. Bigg would have made these assertions about the divine Logos unless he had confused spirit with intellect, or at least allowed that Plato or any Platonist could have meant spirit in the Hebrew sense of the word when he said *voûs*. It is not perhaps much of an argument for our Logos-doctrine to appeal to the authority of names, yet we think that Dr. Westcott and Dr. Harnack, whom we follow in this matter, are not accustomed to be wrong when they make statements of this nature.

In approaching the question of the doctrine of the Trinity, we are of course involved in the greatest difficulties owing to the vagueness of the statements of those who were under the influence of Alexandrine thought. But here, too, we think that the conception of God as living and active will form a test of the closeness to Christian theology of the various Trinitarian, or partially Trinitarian, formulæ.

It is frequently asserted that the doctrine of the Trinity is traceable to Plato. The whole history of the question is excessively confused, as Dr. Bigg remarks (p. 248), and, in spite of some expressions in Plato himself which seem to countenance the assertion, we should probably be safer in accepting Dr. Bigg's statement (p. 249, *note*): 'With the exceedingly dubious exception of the Second Platonic Epistle, it may be confidently affirmed that no Trinity is to be found in any Pagan philosopher who was not well acquainted with Christianity.' Yet, in spite of this vagueness and uncertainty as to the reality of the Platonic Trinity, it is perfectly clear that a great many conceptions which are traceable to Plato found their way into the writings of the Alexandrines, and were used by them to describe the nature of God. So Philo gives the following account of God (p. 8): 'He is above Space, being Himself Space and Place, inasmuch as He embraces all things and is embraced of none; above time, for time is but the register of the fluctuations of the world, and God, when He made the world, made time also. . . . He is unchanging. . . . He has no name. . . . The phrases that Philo himself prefers to employ are "The One," "He that is," "Himself." From all this it follows that God is incomprehensible.' He expresses himself in the Word and other powers. To the Word 'belong many of the Divine titles by right. He, too, 'is the Sun, the Darkness, the Monad, God, the Second God' (p. 17). He is also the Creator of the world, the *ἰδέα ἰδεῶν*, 'the Helmsman and Pilot of the Universe.' Very closely parallel to this is the account of God given by Clement: 'We know not what He is, only what He is not. He has absolutely no predicates, no genus, no differentia, no species. He is neither unit nor number. He has neither accident nor substance. Names denote either qualities or relations. God has neither' (p. 63). After this it seems to be an unnecessary piece of self-denial for Clement to avoid 'using the Platonic phrase *ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας*.' This definition of God naturally precludes all possibility of revelation—at any rate of direct revelation of the Father. 'God, then, being indemonstrable, is not the object of knowledge, but the Son is Wisdom and

Knowledge and Truth, and whatsoever else is akin to these, and so is capable of demonstration and definition' (*ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει καὶ διέξοδον*). 'He is the ideal Many, the Mind, of which the Father is the principle of identity. He is, in fact, the consciousness of God' (p. 64). As regards the Holy Spirit, there is some uncertainty in Clement. It is not clear under what forms he conceived of the relation of the Three Persons of the Godhead. He regarded the Holy Spirit as a distinct hypostasis (see p. 70). To Origen God is the absolutely Perfect Being, Triune. 'The Father is "the God," "the only true God;" the Son is "God," without addition, because His Deity is derived' (p. 180). He possesses all the attributes of the Father, unchangeably and fully. Though subordinate and derived, He is fully God. Origen bases this doctrine on Scripture—on our Lord's own words: 'My Father is greater than I;' 'None is good, save One.' It is not, in other words, an *a priori* speculation rising out of some philosophical doctrine: it is his interpretation of the actual words of Scripture. So also he asserts the Divinity of the Holy Spirit; indeed, this is the distinctive belief which marks off Christianity from Paganism. The effect of Platonic ideas is less apparent here than in Origen's treatment of Creation already noticed. 'Creator and Creation are correlative notions; the one cannot be thought of without the other. God must, indeed, precede logically, as the cause is in conception prior to the effect, but his inner perfection implies external realization' (p. 160).

In all these three writers we have strongly metaphysical conceptions of God, and in all three cases we cannot carry them far without meeting with some startling, if not actually pagan, development. Of Philo we cannot, of course, expect Christian Truth. But Clement and Origen come before us offering to connect the utterances of the world's wisdom with the revealed truths of Christianity. To us they seem to have fallen far short of the Christian standards; and we cannot but attribute their failure to their excessive submission to the current philosophical categories. We are quite willing to credit them with the best intentions, the most sincere zeal, and philosophical precision in drawing their inferences; but here our commendation stops. They tried to evolve the idea of a living God out of conceptions which were not big or full enough to hold it, and hence they failed. How much more true to the Scriptural idea of God is the conception of St. Irenæus of God as the self-limited: 'Mensura Patris Filius.' Or, again, how much more complete and satisfactory is the doctrine of the Trinity to be found in St. Augustine's great

work *De Trinitate*. St. Augustine confines himself to an attempt to formulate as clearly and fully as he can the idea of triplicity in unity. And in order to this he searches through the whole field of nature and human thought for analogies. He never attempts, as these writers attempted, an *a priori* deduction of the Trinitarian idea. The result of this is that they are involved in all the final difficulties which are associated with the categories in which they chose to represent theology. The Trinitarian idea is said to be found in Plato, but no one can say definitely in what sense. So in Clement the doctrine of the Trinity, wherever described in philosophical terms, is really only intelligible on Platonic assumption. It does not cohere with the doctrine of God at all. The revelation of the Trinity, as given by Christ, is a revelation of the Being of God ; the Trinitarian idea as found in or inferred from Plato is the final result of reflection on nature. No doubt men discern the invisible things of God by reflection on the things which are made, but the function of revelation is gone if the mere exercise of his normal powers places a man in exactly the same position as the voice of the Son of God Himself. Plato's loftiest ideas bear with them always the marks of their origin in the attempt to grasp the meaning and truth of the natural world. And hence it is that they are not fit to be the final expressions for our fullest knowledge of God. To the mind speculating on nature God appears as its cause. And it is to be observed that cause and effect are strictly relative terms. Or He is thought of as Pure Intellect as opposed to matter, Real as opposed to phenomenal. This is developed from the opposition erected between the form and the content of a thought ; between the fleeting, changeful phenomena which belong to the world of matter and the eternal changeless ideas which belong to the world of form. Or He is the absolutely Universal. This arises out of the opposition between the universal and particular. This is closely connected with the other two. The particular represents the union of the ideal and the phenomenal ; it is less true, therefore, than the unqualified universal. Carried out to their logical conclusion, these notions land us in impossibility. The Universal, instead of being the term which could be predicated of a particular, becomes that of which nothing can be predicated—a mere negation. So, too, the ideal loses all phenomenal content ; it becomes pure form, negative and void, opposed to mere material, limitless, formless, without any principle of rationality in it at all. And not only do these oppositions land us in negation, they also

produce a situation of deadlock. The pure form, the negative universal, have no principle of action in them ; the formal is defiled by the material, and yet all along it has been assumed that in some sense the universal or formal is the cause of the particular or material. How is this hopeless difficulty to be overcome ? There are various expedients. We may assume intermediary beings and fill up the gap with them. This is one of the metaphysical reasons for the Gnostic conception of æons and for the divine powers of Philo. Thus, when Moses asks to see God's glory (Ex. xxxiii. 18), the answer given him is thus explained by Philo. God Himself is *ἀορατός καὶ νοητός* ; yet He has powers (*δυνάμεις*) which, though *νοηταί*, can make themselves known to souls which have the power and will to see them, as a seal can stamp itself wherever it finds matter that is suitable. These stand between God and the world in a great series, of which the lower are produced by the higher, and through them He acts. At the end of the series appear the attributes of God manifested through matter. The whole idea is an expedient for bridging over the unmanageable gap which has arisen between the material and intelligible. Clement is prevented by his Christian presuppositions from producing quite so elaborate a scheme, yet the passage quoted above to illustrate his doctrine of God will show how largely he was influenced by this notion. The *ἐπὶνοιαί* of the Son occupy in Origen's system a very similar position. But his tendency is not quite the same as Clement's. Dr. Bigg remarks (p. 70) that Clement is 'jealous of the slightest approach to Pantheism.' We do not wish to add to the accusations which have been heaped on the head of Origen, but it must be observed that his doctrines of the Eternity¹ of Creation—of the Pre-existence of Souls—lie very close to Pantheism. There is no absolute beginning : God and the world are equally eternal ; the two aspects of the same relation.

Surely all these difficulties arise from the attempt to formulate the Christian faith in a living, loving, self-manifesting God in terms of the metaphysic of nature, of the philosophy of nature, as the object of knowledge. If we could bring ourselves to think of the Doctrine of the Trinity first, and then see how far intellectual forms helped or hindered us, we should run far less risk of being involved in untheological conclusions.

¹ Dr. Bigg says, p. 161, that, according to Origen, 'God created matter and made it what it is by His own reason and His own beneficence.' We do not see how this is reconciled with the other point of view.

We should think of God's Triune Nature as closely connected with His revelation of Himself as Love. We should know that Love as eternal and complete. We should be involved in no difficulty about the existence of the world, for we should have no presuppositions entangling us with the world. God exists, and that is all. We have begun with the contemplation of His existence—His self-sufficing, self-limited existence. Then He creates. Still out of His Infinite Love 'He had allowed a work to take form and substance away and apart from Himself: He had suffered His almighty power to go forth out of its holy and hidden abode in Himself, and to become active, and strong, and substantial, in the establishment of a life, which, however, proceeding out of God, was yet other than God's own, distinct from God, a thing to be looked at apart from God.'¹ There is here no stretching of some reluctant formula to make it express an idea which is wholly beyond it. We have begun with God, and the Love of God, and this carries us through. Questions will arise as we come into these regions as to the relations of this idea of a loving God to our intellectual forms—such as Time, for instance. But these, though important, are secondary. It is of primary importance, at least, for the theologian to secure that his idea of God should not be clipped and docked in order to make it fit some human category; this treatment it must necessarily undergo, if the process which we are criticizing is allowed.

There would have been much more to be said in favour of this use of Platonic forms, if it had been reasonably successful. But it was not. Not only in the regions which we have just traversed was it a failure, but in many others also. As we have seen, there was a strong Platonic prejudice against matter. It was the Unlimited, Formless, and in some thinkers was actually the cause and centre of evil. This made a full doctrine of the Creation and of the Incarnation almost impossible. Clement approaches perilously near Docetism. Thus (*Strom.* VI. ix. 71), he says Christ was *ἀπαξανλὼς ἀπαθής*, and ate and drank only to forestall Docetism. He was exempt from all carnal desires and emotions, even the most innocent (p. 71). Origen was far more governed by actual Scripture phrases than Clement, and therefore was less under the absolute rule of Platonism than his predecessor. Yet it is one of his characteristic thoughts 'that the Incarnation was a weakening of the Divine Glory, not the highest and profoundest revela-

¹ Holland, *Logic and Life*, p. 102.

tion of the Divine Love' (p. 262). In the 'beautiful fancy' that the followers of Judas were unable to recognize our Lord, because 'the darkness of their own souls was projected upon the features of Him they sought,' 'we may, perhaps, recognize the last faint trace of Docetism.'¹

There remain but two points requiring comment, the Alexandrine Doctrine of Freedom and the Alexandrine Doctrine of Sacraments. We will endeavour to treat them as shortly as possible. The question of Freedom does not stand alone: it is closely bound up with the questions of the Origin of Evil and of Grace, and these again with the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The problem arose in connexion with the origin of evil. They had to account for the fall of the first man. How was it that Adam fell, if he were created good? The answer was found in Indifferentism. The will is, according to Clement, 'an independent faculty, knowing both good and evil, and choosing between them, selecting and in fact creating its own motive' (p. 79). 'Evil, then, is not a power but an act. It is not the Platonic "lie in the soul," nor the Pauline "law of sin;" not a vicious motive, nor a false belief, because these have no constraining force. Vice consists in acting the lie, and we need not act it unless we choose. Clement could not then believe in any inherited depravity of human nature' (p. 80). The Doctrine of Grace falls in with this. 'There is no entailed necessity between Adam's sin and ours. . . . We are created capable of wisdom, goodness, felicity, which yet we can only attain by grasping the Divine Hand outstretched to lift us up. Not without special grace does the soul put forth its wings' (p. 82). The view of Origen as to the will is much the same as that of Clement: 'Evil comes from the will of man' (p. 196). But he goes beyond Clement in placing this fall in a previous state. The account of this, given by Dr. Bigg, is worth quoting in full.

'Except the Holy Trinity nothing is incorporeal. Each of the created spirits had from the first an envelope, a principle of differentiation, a body, adapted to the nature of its environment, at first then of fine ethereal texture, fitted in all respects for its celestial habitation. The spirits were equal and like, but they were free. Some sinned and fell, some remained steadfast in their first estate, or rose to higher levels of power and goodness. The latter are the stars, the angels in the various degrees of their hierarchy. Of those who rebelled, some became devils, fiends, or archfiends, according to the manifold proportions of their transgression. But those whose error was less, whose love of God is cold, yet not extinct (it is one

¹ Bigg, p. 191.

of Origen's fanciful etymologies), turned into souls, better or worse, according as the faculties of sense and desire gained the upper hand over the intelligence. For these, at any rate, there is hope of restitution, yet only through chastisement. The appointed scene of their discipline is this world, a later and grosser model of the first. It is infinitely various, to afford scope for the treatment proper to every phase of character, "like a great house, in which are vessels of gold and silver, of wood and clay, some to honour and some to dishonour." [In this passage the fanciful etymology is the derivation of $\psi\chi\eta$ from $\psi\acute{\upsilon}\chi\omega$.]

Origen's view of grace is the same as that of Clement: 'God perpetually incites, surrounds sustains, rewards, but does not constrain the will. To use the language of a later time, Grace is prevenient, concomitant, peculiar, but not efficacious' (pp. 201-2). So he explains away the texts which assert predestination.

'He could admit neither election nor reprobation. If, he argues, God predestines only those whom he foreknows, it follows that He does not know those whom He does not predestine. This is absurd. We are compelled, therefore, to drop the proposition. Foreknow is the same as know, know in countless passages of Scripture is equivalent to love. God knows only the good, whom he loves; of evil He has no knowledge. Again, "whom He did predestinate, them He also called according to purpose." According, that is, to their own purpose; or if according to the purpose of God, then because He knew that they desired salvation.'

In the last lecture this doctrine is compared with Augustinianism, considerably to the disadvantage of the latter (pp. 283-290). The Alexandrine aspect of the question is regarded as essentially Pauline (p. 283), and described as aiming at this end—to show that 'the Christian must be holy yet free, obedient yet intelligent, able to judge and act for himself, a true son of God, needing no earthly director because guided by his Father's eye' (*ibid.*). Certain misconceptions did arise in connexion with the Alexandrine point of view, and though the Pelagian controversy did much to lessen them, yet 'the real lesson of the debate was obscured by the misplacement of the point. It was made to hinge on the insoluble problem of the Freedom of the Will. But this is in truth a side issue. The really fruitful question is the nature of the motive, not the mode of its operation' (p. 284). The one point, 'the initial desire of amendment, is all that Origen, and even Clement, postulates' (p. 285), for the solution of the problem, and this, 'small as it may seem, involves an insuperable speculative difficulty' (*ibid.*). St. Augustine may be

said to have 'no theory,' or, rather, that which he seems to have regarded as his theory is 'inconsistent with itself, is not in harmony with the facts of experience, and involves a moral paradox' (p. 285). 'It would have been far better if he had made the same confession of ignorance as regards free will that he makes frankly as regards the origin of the soul. But then the Pelagians could not have been condemned' (p. 287, *note*).

Surely it was not simply the desire of condemning the Pelagians which led St. Augustine to the point of view which he adopts. To him, and we confess to us also, it would seem morally paradoxical that the initiative, even in the acceptance of the terms of salvation, should rest in the will of man. There is no doubt much speculative mystery surrounding the whole of the inner side of man's salvation. Even more, the whole idea of *action* at all seems to involve speculative mystery. But certain moral facts seem to come out clearly. There has been a Fall, which infected with a taint of sin the whole nature of man. And between this condition and that of Regeneration we cannot conceive that there is an unbroken continuity. 'That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit.' 'Ye, my brethren, were made dead (*ἐθανατώθητε*) to the law by the Body of Christ, that ye should be married to another, even to him that is raised from the dead.' In other words, there is needed an infusion of new life from the side of God, and the self-surrender of faith on the side of man. Now, when we look at this self-surrender, we shall find that it is by no means irrelevant to ask whether it comes of a free undetermined will or not. We shall find ourselves landed in the assertion that man attains his salvation by his own unaided act—a thing which is morally paradoxical and tends to depreciate Christ's saving activity—unless we can put up with the speculative paradox of an action which is free and is our own, but yet is the result of Grace preventive and efficacious. The view of freedom advocated by the Alexandrians seems not to be that of St. Paul. St. Paul does not contemplate the possibility of absolutely isolated action. Man is the servant of sin, or the servant of God; this he states as a matter of every-day experience. But whatever he is, under whichever of these powers he is, he is by an act or acts for which he is responsible. Surely the passage quoted from St. Augustine by Dr. Bigg (*De Grat. et Lib. Arb.* 15), is nearer St. Paul than anything he has told us of Origen: 'Semper est autem in nobis libera voluntas, sed non semper est bona. Aut enim a justitia libera est, quando servit peccato, et tunc est mala: aut a peccato libera est, quando servit justitiæ, et tunc

est bona.' Cf. Rom. vi. 20-21 : ' For when ye were the servants of sin, ye were free from righteousness. . . . But now being made free from sin and become servants of God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life.' From another point of view man is free when his powers are realized, when he is unimpeded by the hampering and distorting influence of sin. The Alexandrine view of the human soul is too much that of a monad. It is speculative and metaphysical ; emphasizes unduly the separateness of each soul ; passes by the influences, natural or divine, which go to make it what it is. Even though Origen believed in the 'solidarity of all that thinks and feels' (p. 68), yet he has failed to apply his 'master-thought' in the place where it would most have helped him. It supplied him with the idea of analogy afterwards adopted and worked out by Butler ; but it does not help him, as it should have helped him, to a better solution of the problems which lie round Free Will and Determinism. Here, as before, he fails from the excessively metaphysical view which he adopts.

One word on the Sacramental Theory of the Alexandrines. The opinions of Clement on the subject of the much-contested words, ' Priest, Altar, Sacrifice, the Body and Blood of Christ, the Power of the Keys . . . were at variance with the spirit of the age' (p. 58). He was, therefore, driven to employ the 'immoral doctrine of Reserve.' There were two types of doctrine—the one the special prerogative of the true Gnostic, the other suitable for a person living the lower life of Faith. For the latter the letter of Scripture was enough. The true priest, the antitype of the priest of the Old Covenant, was the true Gnostic. 'The one office assigned to the presbyter is that of "making men better," and this is also the special function of the Gnostic' (p. 102). The Eucharist is an allegory. 'The Body is Faith, the Blood is Hope, which is, as it were, the life-blood of faith' (p. 106). 'Christ is present in the Eucharist in the heart, not in the hand' (p. 107). This is the account given by Dr. Bigg. It has, of course, been contested, but it seems on the whole to fall in with many of his ideas and prepossessions. 'The Church is one, true, ancient, Catholic, because the doctrine and tradition of the Apostles is one ; the heretic who has forsaken her fold has "an assembly devised by man," "a school," "a sect," but not a Church' (p. 100). Origen 'ranked far higher than Clement the authority and privileges of the clergy' (p. 214). 'The ordinary Christian is a priest only in a spiritual sense ; the ordained priest is the vicar of God' (p. 215). He declares, but does not bestow,

Absolution, yet he alone has received judgment of souls. The rule of faith which is authoritatively given by the Church is binding on all Christians. It is elaborately stated at the opening of the *De Principiis*. The language of Origen on the subject of the Holy Eucharist is much more definite than Clement's, much less suggestive of attenuation in the interests of the 'spirit as opposed to the letter.' 'There is a Presence of Christ, but it is a spiritual, and, therefore, in Origen's view, the only real Presence, real precisely because in nowise material' (p. 221). "It was not that visible bread, which He was holding in His hand, that God the Word called His Body: it was the word as a symbol whereof that bread was to be broken" (*In Matt. Comm.* Series 85, quoted, Bigg, p. 221).

May we not see in these doctrines a survival of the Platonic distrust of matter? Dr. Bigg describes Origen's view of Allegorism as 'one manifestation of the sacramental mystery of nature. There are two heavens, two earths—the visible is but a blurred copy of the invisible' (p. 134). This seems to us to be a fair account of Origen's view, but to contain a most inadequate view of a sacrament. We do not deny that the whole sacramental order may be in a sense economical; but surely, while it lasts, the material side is just as real, as important, as true, as the spiritual. The material becomes the vehicle of the spiritual, but conveys its spiritual grace just by the fact that it remains material, and so reaches our senses. As the Body of Christ Incarnate was fully and entirely human, and yet is so united to the Divine Word as wholly to reveal Him to men, so it is with the Holy Eucharist. We cannot insist on the spiritual side of it without also maintaining the reality of its material media. They are not 'blurred copies' of the invisible; they convey it as material vehicles.

We have now gone through some few of the points of interest and importance in this work. There are many which space compels us to pass by. We have chosen those which seem to lie nearest to questions of our own time. For the Alexandrine period is in many respects like our own. We also have forced upon us the claims of philosophy based on the interpretation of nature or of thought. We, too, have the task before us of doing what we can to smooth away differences where they arise merely from misunderstanding; of showing how the faith once delivered to the saints has still in it stores of fresh vigour, is still the truest satisfaction of all the highest aspirations of the human mind and will. We do not come forward, as Clement and Origen came forward, to champion a

new way, against the angry contempt of older systems. We have to show that our most holy Faith has not become effete, as those old religions did ; that it is not, like them, incapable of answering any further demands, or of looking new facts in the face. What, then, can these Alexandrine thinkers teach us as to the best way of fighting our battle? The Church has always looked askance upon the work of Origen, especially in the East. He has been condemned ; he has given rise to the fiercest controversy. Clement, on the other hand, has been canonized, though his name was removed from the Roman Martyrologies by Clement VIII. (Bigg, p. 272). Must we say, then, that this is just another of those cases where the Church has been on the side of ignorance, and moralize on the inveterate hatred of superstition for real enlightenment and progress? We think there is a preferable alternative. There is in this careful withholding of unbounded confidence a real and necessary faithfulness to the Rule of Faith ; there is in the attitude of Clement and Origen a real unfaithfulness, however little intended, to the Church's Creed. It is true that the Church had to win its victory in the intellectual field as well as in the moral ; but it was to be a real victory and not an unconditional surrender. Platonism provided forms, which to some extent the Church could adopt. It developed points of view which were a real gain and help to Theology. But when all is said and done, it was the result of the free investigation of Nature and Thought, and it must in its highest manifestations retain the limitations which belong to its origin. It has no words to express the Faith which is the key to this world and the next. It was this sense of the inadequacy of the solution offered which led the Church to reject it. We cannot but feel that this rejection was right, if we conceive for one moment what would have been the result of the other plan ; the history of the doctrine of Transubstantiation is enough to show the ruinous misfortune of binding the Church to one form, to one stage in philosophy. At the present time we are invited, in view of the present conditions of philosophic speculation, to modify our dogma, to adopt the terms and assumptions of one or another system, and throw overboard all that they will not hold. The Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection, even the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, can be held in the old way no more. Philosophy will show us a more excellent way. We have no need to cut ourselves adrift from these speculations, although they may seem menacing ; they are the real outcome of the period in which we live, and express much that is true. We shall find, perhaps, that many

of our beliefs have an analogy in the philosophic realm, or that our own theology is fragmentary, so that we have brought upon our heads the scorn of philosophers, when a full statement of our point of view would show it to be undeserved. This fault, it is to be feared, is not unknown in the Church of England. Let us not shrink from acknowledging it, so far as it is imputable to us, and let us make amends, not by feebly accepting anything and everything which is offered us, but by a fuller and bolder statement of the Eternal Faith of the Church of Christ. The true theology contains the true philosophy, natural and moral ; for in the knowledge of God is all Truth and Eternal Life.

ART. IV.—PAPAL INFALLIBILITY AND GALILEO.

1. *The Case of Galileo.* (*Nineteenth Century*, May.) By the REV. JEREMIAH MURPHY. (London, 1886.)
2. *The Pontifical Decrees against the Doctrine of the Earth's Movement, and the Ultramontane Defence of them.* By the REV. W. W. ROBERTS. (Oxford, 1885.)
3. *Essays on the Church's Doctrinal Authority.* By WILLIAM GEORGE WARD, Ph. D. (London, 1880.)
4. *When does the Church Speak Infallibly? or, the Nature and Scope of the Church's Teaching Office.* By the REV. FR. KNOX. (London, 1870.)
5. *The Catholic Church and Biblical Criticism.* (*Nineteenth Century*, July.) By ST. GEORGE MIVART. (London, 1887.)
6. *Mr. Mivart's Modern Catholicism.* (*Nineteenth Century*, October.) By Mr. Justice STEPHEN. (London, 1887.)
7. *Dr. Mivart on Faith and Science.* (*Dublin Review*, October.) By the Bishop of NEWPORT AND MENEVIA. (London, 1887.)

IN the May number of the *Nineteenth Century*, 1886, appeared a rejoinder from the Rev. Jeremiah Murphy to the article by Mr. St. George Mivart, to which we called attention in our issue of January 1886. In commenting on Mr. Mivart's article, we expressed an opinion that, while such an attack upon the Roman ecclesiastical authorities was most improperly

made by one professing to be at the same time 'a loyal and consistent Roman Catholic,' it was nevertheless delivered with such effect that those authorities would find it difficult or impossible to sustain or reply to it. The Rev. Jeremiah Murphy, against whose criticisms in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* Mr. Mivart's article was specially directed, is not of our opinion: he rather thinks and, as he deems, clearly demonstrates that 'Mr. Mivart's parallel then breaks down at all points, and his headlong and unaccountable assault on ecclesiastical authority is a complete, a lamentable breakdown' (p. 735). Even with the new light that Mr. Murphy brings, we are unable to detect a single point at which Mr. Mivart's 'parallel breaks down;' on the contrary, it is even clearer to us than before that his parallel is well and truly drawn. Partly, then, to uphold the judgment passed in our former article, and partly taking occasion of this discussion to remark upon certain matters connected with the lately decreed Papal Infallibility, we propose again to review the question with the assistance of Mr. Murphy's article.

We are chiefly impressed in reading that article by the writer's want of candour, in evading rather than fairly and straightforwardly meeting the argument of his opponent. We venture to say that there is not a single criticism that he makes on Mr. Mivart's presentment of the Galileo case (which he calls a false and distorted version of it) that has not been abundantly and triumphantly anticipated either by Mr. Mivart, or by the Rev. W. W. Roberts in his admirable little work, *The Pontifical Decrees against the Doctrine of the Earth's Movement*. To what purpose would controversy be carried on if, when an argument had been fully and fairly met and refuted, it might again be calmly advanced as if it held the field without dispute? Mr. Murphy is like those combatants in our sham-fights, who obstinately refuse to be 'dead,' no matter how untenable the position they have taken up, or how withering the fire to which they have exposed themselves. He reproduces, *e. g.*, the old objection that heliocentrism is not a matter of faith or morals and therefore does not fall within the scope of Papal Infallibility. 'What the Pope's opinions may be on matters not revealed or not in any way connected with Revelation . . . need be of no concern to Catholics' (p. 728), as if the Roman authorities would have dealt with the matter at all if it had been 'in no way connected with Revelation;' as if Mr. Roberts and Mr. Mivart had not over and over again pointed out that the matter at issue was, not the truth of Copernicanism, but the true interpretation of Scripture; as if Dr. Ward, that

great champion of Papal Infallibility, had not admitted, 'Supposing, therefore, that Paul V. had really pronounced the judgment *ex cathedrâ*, his definition would have been nothing less than a definition of faith.'

'Galileo,' says Mr. Mivart, 'was suspected of holding the Copernican theory and therefore of heresy. "I am," he was made to say, "suspected of heresy: that is, that I hold that the earth moves and the sun does not;" and to make the matter quite clear in the "Monition," it was expressly stated that Copernicus was suspended because his principles were *contrary to Scripture and to its true and Catholic interpretation.*'¹

Mr. Murphy cannot be ignorant of these arguments: why, then, does he ignore them?

Even more earnestly do we protest against Mr. Murphy's statement of the Roman Catholic doctrine concerning the scope of Papal Infallibility. On p. 728, quoting the Vatican decree, he lays down three conditions, the fulfilment of which is necessary to entitle any papal pronouncement 'to rank as *ex cathedrâ* teaching in the sense defined by the Vatican Council.' We assert, and we challenge Mr. Murphy to meet our assertion, that these conditions are perfectly illusory and can be adapted to the real teaching of Roman theologians, say of Father Knox, whom he quotes as an authority on the next page, only by explaining them away. Here and there, Mr. Murphy, unconsciously of course, misrepresents his opponent. Mr. Mivart does not, *e. g.*, 'introduce Galileo as an argument for the undoubted orthodoxy of Evolution.' Mr. Mivart does not write nonsense: his contention is that science need not concern itself with orthodoxy at all. Mr. Murphy seems to cast a doubt on Mr. Mivart's statement that 'he knows two London priests who are anti-Copernicans and are so because they believe the Church is committed to that doctrine,' for he himself with his wider knowledge of Catholic priests is unacquainted with any such 'fossils.' The *Dublin Review* represents, we believe, the educated Roman Catholics of England and Ireland; and, if Mr. Murphy will turn to the January number, 1886 (p. 276), he will find there 'A Wrangler' commended for having raised doubts of Copernicanism. "'A Wrangler" will have done good service,' it says, 'if he has succeeded in inspiring doubt of that which, however probable, still admits of doubt.' Why is it good service to inspire doubt of Copernicanism rather than of the Theory of Fluxions, say, or the rotundity of the earth, unless because 'the Church'

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, July 1885, p. 38.

is at least seriously compromised by her condemnation of it in the seventeenth century? Mr. Murphy plainly does not know or heed much that appears in the *Dublin Review*—we will quote a few passages for his behoof later on—but surely he will not say that it represents only the ‘fossils’ among his brethren.

Lastly, we think it necessary to remind Mr. Murphy that the truth or falsehood of a doctrine does not depend on the character or the knowledge of the person who teaches it. He would lead us off on a wrong scent when he urges that ‘for his treatment Galileo had himself largely to blame; they say that he was overbearing; that, not content with science, which was his province, he was perpetually meddling with theology, which was not’—a charge that might easily be retorted upon the ecclesiastical authorities. And again, ‘No unprejudiced reader can deny that his own conduct tended very largely to bring on the trial before the Inquisition’ (p. 732). Dr. Ward, somewhat in the same fashion, argued that Copernicanism, *although true now*, was rightly condemned at that time, because it was only ‘a random scientific conjecture.’ It ought not to be, but in the face of such argument it is, worth while to say that, if the sun is really the centre of our system, then heliocentricism has been true from the beginning of the world, and would be true when uttered by the most abandoned criminal the world has ever seen, or by an idiot talking in his sleep. It was never a mere ‘random scientific conjecture;’ it was *a fact*.

We have criticized somewhat sharply the attitude which Mr. Mivart has taken up towards the authorities of his Church, but we cannot allow that Mr. Murphy is in a position to rebuke him as ‘claiming not freedom but wanton licence, the offspring of intellectual pride,’ as having ‘shocked and pained Catholics by his extraordinary assertions;’ for, as we will presently show, there is very little to choose between Mr. Mivart and Mr. Murphy in respect of reverence to ecclesiastical authority, and ‘people that live in glass houses should not throw stones.’

We will now pass on to consider the alleged ‘breakdown’ in Mr. Mivart’s parallel. What is the parallel that he has sought to draw? He tells us that ‘with the assistance of well-known and universally-esteemed experts in theology’ he put forward the theory ‘that the body of the first man was evolved by the same ordinary secondary laws as . . . evolved the bodies of his fellow animals,’ and claimed that this doctrine might be accepted by the strictest Ultramontanes. Mr. Murphy

'turned to the Catholic theologians themselves' (not to Mr. Mivart's 'experts in theology,' we presume), and, as he tells us, 'very soon the conviction forced itself upon me that the whole weight of Catholic theological teaching was opposed to the application of the evolution theory to man.' He owns that he 'cannot point to a solemn definition ; but he has authority just as strong in 'the *ordinary magisterium* of the Church,' which we are as strictly bound to believe as if it had been defined by a General Council or by a Pope speaking *ex cathedrâ*.' One would have thought that an infallible judge was required to decide in any case what the ordinary magisterium of the Church might be ; and the *Dublin Review* seems to be much of the same mind in a passage which we will quote for Mr. Murphy's consideration. 'After all,' it says (July 1880, p. 119), '*ordinary magisterium* as commonly used is a phrase which covers a large body of practical teaching, many details of which *are not authoritative at all*, but shade off into mere pious opinions, or even at times touch upon abuse and superstition.' And again (p. 126) :—

'The only fault we should be inclined to find with Dr. Ward' (says the Rev. Jeremiah Murphy) 'is . . . that he hardly recognizes with sufficient clearness *the difficulty there is and must be in deciding in any case what is, or is not, included in the scope of that magisterium*. The Church teaches by the mouths of men. Bishops publish pastorals, priests preach and instruct, theologians write, professors teach, *Catholic journalists write their articles*, the faithful . . . use their prayer-books and follow their devotions. *But any one of these organs of teaching, or of witness to teaching, may, in individual cases, fall into corruption or error.*'

The words we have italicized might have given pause even to a bold man, but Mr. Murphy felt himself equal to the responsibility of deciding upon the ordinary magisterium of the Church in this case, and opposed it to Mr. Mivart's theory, citing a number of theologians to still further and superfluously strengthen his position. Mr. Mivart then drew his parallel. Just such another theory as mine, he said, was opposed in precisely the same way, two hundred years ago. In the former case the long array of theologians, the ordinary magisterium of the Church, were on the wrong side. Once wrong, they cannot be infallible ; therefore, not as against me and my application of the theory of evolution to man. Nor in any question between religion and science can they claim to pronounce an infallible judgment. Nay, in the former case, there was a solemn *ex cathedrâ* definition, which Mr. Murphy owns he cannot quote against me ; so that, to use an Hibernicism

which Mr. Murphy will assuredly pardon, my case is *more parallel* and an argument not *à pari* but *à fortiori*.

Mr. Murphy answers that Galileo's theory is in no way parallel to Mr. Mivart's ; nor is the condemnation it received at the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities at all to be compared with that which he himself has pronounced upon the doctrine of evolution as applied to man.

'The solar system,' he says, 'is not so important for students of revelation as the creation of the first man. The doctrine I have set in opposition to Mr. Mivart is an explanation of an article of faith founded on texts of Scripture as clear apparently as any that exist. Mr. Mivart adduces a doctrine in no sense necessarily connected with an article of faith, and the Scriptural expressions are indirect and incidental' (p. 725).

Then as to the ordinary magisterium of the Church :—

'Even Bellarmine does not by any means hold the consensus to be decisive against Copernicanism ; for in his letter to Father Foscari he says that "although he does not believe that any proof of the earth's motion will be adduced, yet, should that occur, he is quite prepared to change his view as to the meaning of the Scripture,"' &c. (*ibid.*).

Ergo, Copernicanism was an open question of no particular importance 'and in no way connected with revelation.' But now let us hear the Sacred Congregation of the Index against Mr. Murphy, which calls the doctrine in question 'tam perniciosa, falsa et omnino contraria sacrae et divinae scripturae ;' and again, 'Proposizione assurda e falsa in filosofia e formalmente eretica per essere espressamente contraria alla sacra Scrittura.

As to Bellarmine's opinion, let us read a little more of his letter to Father Foscari. After observing that the Copernican interpretation of Scripture is already under the ban of the Council of Trent, he proceeds :—

'You are aware that the Council forbids us to interpret Scripture in a sense opposed to the consent of the holy Fathers ; and if your paternity will read, I do not say only the holy Fathers, but also modern commentators on Genesis, the Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Josue, you will find that they all adhere to the literal exposition that the sun is in the heaven and revolves round the earth with very great velocity, and that the earth is very far from the heaven and remains immovable in the centre of the universe. Consider with yourself as a man of prudence, whether the Church can permit Scripture to be interpreted in a sense opposed to the mind of the holy Fathers and of all modern commentators. Nor can you reply that the matter is not one of faith ;

for though it is not a matter of faith *ex parte objecti*, it is a matter of faith *ex parte dicentis*.¹

Let Mr. Murphy note this also :—

‘A few weeks before the date of this letter the cardinal’s opinion was reported to Galileo . . . in the following unmistakable terms : “With regard to the opinion of Copernicus, Bellarmine told me himself that he holds it to be heretical, and that the doctrine of the earth’s motion is beyond all doubt (*senza alcuno dubbio*) contrary to Scripture.”’²

The contention that Bellarmine and the Sacred Congregation considered Copernicanism an open question and professed their willingness to accept it, should a demonstration of it ever be offered, is sufficiently met by the fact that Father Foscarini was condemned for ‘*endeavouring to show that that doctrine was consistent with the truth* ;’ and Galileo, for *adducing arguments of great efficacy in favour of it*’ after he had been ‘*forbidden to hold, defend, or teach in any manner the aforesaid false doctrine*.’ How can it be said that they thought it possible to adduce or were ready to welcome a demonstration of the doctrine when they forbade it to be treated of in any way whatever, and when it was an offence in Galileo to have adduced *arguments of great efficacy in favour of it* ?

Father Murphy, then, with his principal Fathers and theologians is, if not ‘paralleled,’ at least well matched with Bellarmine and the ‘holy Fathers and all modern commentators.’ It is manifest also that the matter in question was not a scientific theory, but the interpretation of Holy Scripture, which Mr. Murphy will admit is not ‘a doctrine in no sense necessarily connected with any article of faith.’ We should like to learn, therefore, whence Mr. Murphy derives the authority to pronounce upon the ordinary magisterium of the Church. Bellarmine opposes it to Copernicanism, and Mr. Murphy says Bellarmine was mistaken. Mr. Murphy quotes it against Mr. Mivart, and it is equivalent to and must be accepted as ‘a solemn *ex cathedrâ* definition.’ Is Mr. Murphy the better theologian ? or has he some *charisma* that the great cardinal had not ? May not Mr. Mivart echo the memorable words of another great cardinal—‘I acknowledge *one Pope, jure divino*’—thereby *not* meaning Mr. Murphy ? And we should be especially glad to learn the meaning of this sentence (p. 725)—‘And if there was ever anything like an ecclesiastical tradition against Copernicanism, it was broken down long before Galileo’s time.’ Does it mean that long before Galileo’s time

¹ Roberts, p. 25. The italics are ours.

² *Ibid.* p. 27.

there was an *unbroken tradition* against Copernicanism—which infallibly condemned it as false? Or, in other words, does it mean that the chain of witnesses unbroken in one century may be broken in another, and so the ordinary magisterium may in different ages infallibly decide for and against a given doctrine. And if Mr. Murphy does not mean this, what *can* he mean?

Mr. Murphy proceeds to deal with the condemnation of Galileo by the Sacred Congregation of the Index. This, he says, was 'the judgment of a number of men . . . who *happened*' (happened! in formal session and judicial sentence) 'to express an erroneous opinion on a subject on which they are confessedly fallible. It proves what requires no proof, that a number of theologians may err.' Who are these 'fallible men' and 'erring theologians'? They were 'a Congregation acting under the provision of a Bull which distinctly gave the Church to understand that decisions of the kind would invariably be examined and ratified by the Holy See before publication, and would go forth to the world armed with the papal authority.' This Congregation, then, issued a decree in 1616 which Mr. Murphy quotes on p. 727. This decree, he says, is in no way the act of the Pope:—

'He does not speak in it as Universal Teacher; *he does not speak in it at all*. There is no doctrine of faith or morals promulgated in it; the thing decreed in it is the prohibition of certain books, and the suspension of certain others. That is, it is a merely disciplinary decree, which may be altered according to circumstances, and such a decree is not rendered dogmatic by the approbation of the Pope.'

And we should have been inclined to agree with Mr. Murphy, for the references to 'that false Pythagorean doctrine, altogether opposed to Holy Scripture,' seem to be merely *obiter dicta*. But, unfortunately, Galileo thought, or pretended to think, so too, and the Sacred Congregation, 'in emphatic and unmistakeable terms, repudiated the notion that its decree might be considered as anything short of an absolute settlement of the whole question.'

'Understanding,' the Congregation said, 'that through the publication of a work at Florence, entitled *Dialogo di Galileo Galilei delle due massime Sistemi del Mondo Ptolemaico e Copernicano*, the false opinion was gaining ground of the motion of the earth and the stability of the sun, it had examined the book, and had found it to be a manifest infringement of the injunction laid upon you, since you have in the same book defended an opinion already condemned and declared to your face to be so, in that you have tried in the said book by various devices to persuade yourself that you leave the

matter undetermined and the opinion expressed as probable ; the which, however, is a most grave error, since an opinion can in no manner be probable which has been *declared and defined* to be contrary to the Divine Scripture. And when a convenient time had been assigned you for your defence, you produced a certificate in the handwriting of the most eminent lord Cardinal Bellarmine . . . in which certificate it is affirmed . . . that the *declaration made by our lord the Pope*, and promulgated by the Sacred Congregation of the Index had been announced to you . . . this very certificate . . . asserts that the above-mentioned opinion is contrary to Holy Scripture ; yet you dared to treat of it, to defend it, and advance it as probable.' (Roberts, pp. 71, 72.)

Mr. Murphy still holds out and affirms that the Congregation was fallible in the second decree as in the first ; for, he argues, the Pope's infallibility cannot be delegated, and it is exercised only when he speaks *ex cathedrâ*. He goes on to quote the Vatican Council as to the conditions of an *ex cathedrâ* pronouncement, and cites various theologians to bear him out in the distinction he draws between dogmatic definitions and *obiter dicta*—a distinction which is rendered quite nugatory by the fact that (we quote from the *Dublin Review*, July 1880, p. 127) 'there is often considerable practical difficulty in knowing whether such "dicta" are "obiter dicta" only or formal pronouncements ; or, indeed, in recognizing what pronouncements are *ex cathedrâ*, and what are not.' With regard to his conditions of an infallible decree, we will quote one of those 'Ultramontanes of the most pronounced type' whom he claims to have on his side. Dr. Ward says to Father Ryder (or to Mr. Murphy), 'You often reason as though the supreme Pontiff were tied by God's law to certain particular forms and methods of exercising his office of universal teacher.' And again : 'If there is abundantly sufficient evidence of an instruction having been inculcated on the Church by the Pope, you have no right to reject it on some *à priori* theory as to what dress such an instruction should wear.' And whereas Mr. Murphy holds that the decree was purely disciplinary, and could not have been rendered dogmatic (infallible?) even by the Pope's approbation, Dr. Ward is of opinion that if Paul V. had really pronounced this judgment *ex cathedrâ*, it would have been nothing less than a definition of faith. It is the common teaching of Ultramontane theologians that congregational decrees, issued in the name of the Pope, are beyond doubt infallible. Thus Bouix (*Tractatus de Curia Romana*, part. iii. cap. 7, p. 471) affirms that decrees which (1) the Pope puts forth in his own name after consulting a Congregation, (2) those which a Congregation puts forth

in its own name with the Pope's confirmation or express order to publish, are certainly *ex cathedrâ*. The decree against Copernicanism was decided upon in the Pope's presence; it was officially made known to Galileo as the *declaration of our Lord the Pope* himself; it dealt with a matter of doctrine. The Congregation emphatically asserted that it should have come to Galileo as a definition fully armed with the Pope's authority and finally decisive of the question. Mr. Murphy's objection that the Congregation had no power to *define* anything, tells against himself; for something certainly was *defined*, and as it could not have been the act of the Congregation, it must have been the act of the Pope himself. Moreover, nothing was done 'nisi jubente et mandante Sanctissimo.' At the very least the Pope was silent when supreme authority was claimed for a congregational decree. Can we suppose that he would have silently endured to see his authority usurped? And if so, would not his silence have been a failure of his infallibility, seeing that, according to the Bull *Speculatores* of Alexander VII., the Church has the right *and the duty* not only of refusing to tolerate but also of proscribing and condemning all errors.

This Bull of Alexander VII. *Speculatores domus Israel*, on which Mr. Mivart so much relies, is treated by Mr. Murphy as altogether beside the mark. It is merely a *list* of decrees, 'an authentic copy of the Index containing all the decrees published by the Congregation up to that time. *It is a reissue by public authority* of all these decrees; but it leaves each decree just as it was. No new obligation is imposed, no change in the character of any of these decrees is made by this Bull' (pp. 723-4). How will this be made to agree with the teaching of all Ultramontane theologians that a confessedly fallible decree of a Congregation becomes undoubtedly infallible when issued in the name of the Pope himself? How could a reissue by public (*i.e.* by Papal) authority leave a decree just as it was, if before it had not the Papal authority? How does the language of the Bull itself support such a view? 'This same general Index,' it runs, 'which we will should be considered as inserted in these presents, *together with all and singular the things contained therein*, we, having taken the advice of our cardinals, confirm and approve with Apostolic authority by the tenor of these presents, and command all persons everywhere to yield this Index a constant and complete obedience.' What, we ask, would be the meaning of confirming and approving with Apostolic authority—a catalogue? And how were all per-

sons everywhere to yield a constant and complete obedience to—a list? Is it not evident that the Pope's intention is to embody in his Bull and make himself responsible for, and give the sanction of his supreme Apostolic authority to, and bind all his subjects to the observance of, not a catalogue of decrees—which would have no meaning—but to *all and singular the things contained therein*, to the subject-matter of the decrees?

But perhaps the best way of dealing with Mr. Murphy is to ask him what would be thought by Roman Catholics of any member of their Church who should treat the ecclesiastical authorities of the present day as he treats those of the seventeenth century, who should persist in preaching a doctrine that had been repeatedly condemned by the Sacred Congregation of the Index, the Pope at least giving his tacit assent and approval to their acts, on the ground that a Congregation is only 'a number of fallible men,' and their decree 'only proves what needs no proof, that a number of theologians may err.' Would he not be considered almost a heretic, and at least be excommunicated? And remembering that the Copernican decrees are still in force, *i.e.* have never been withdrawn, how would Mr. Murphy show that he is not liable to such a penalty? This is why we say that, in respect of obedience to ecclesiastical authority, Mr. Murphy has nothing to boast of over Mr. Mivart. For his article seems to address Mr. Mivart somewhat in this fashion: 'Mr. Mivart, I, with many loyal Catholics, am pained and shocked by your extraordinary assertions. The licence you claim for scientific men the Church will not and cannot grant: it is the offspring of intellectual pride. For you have maintained that in your scientific speculations you are "completely independent, even of supreme ecclesiastical authority," and you "will in no wise allow your efforts after truth to be checked by the declarations of the ecclesiastical authorities."' This is flat heresy, and the Catholic Church, if your ideas were to prevail, would be "a Church without a fixed and definite creed;" which fixed and definite creed, notwithstanding certain additions to it, say, in 1851 or 1870, is her chief glory, and that which distinguishes her from all other religious bodies. And this licence is wanton; for the Church leaves you free enough. For look! not only I, the Rev. Jeremiah Murphy, but a Cardinal of the Sacred Congregation of the Index may oppose to your doctrine of evolution as applied to man the ordinary magisterium of the Church; and you may disregard him and still be perfectly orthodox. The Sacred Congregation, assembled in

formal session in the presence of the Holy Father himself, may condemn your doctrine as heretical and most dangerous to the Catholic faith, and contrary to the true sense of Holy Scripture, and their decision may be communicated to you as the "declaration of our lord the Pope" himself; yet you may reassure yourself by reflecting that their act is only the judgment of a "number of fallible men," who have "happened" to take an erroneous view of the matter. But even this is not the whole length of your tether. The Pope may force you in your infirm old age to make a long and toilsome journey to Rome, and present yourself before this Congregation of erring theologians. They shall imprison you and severely rebuke you for having disregarded their fallible decree. They shall threaten you with torture, and force you publicly to abjure your scientific theory as heresy; but all the time its orthodoxy will be unimpeachable. But your independence is more complete than this—more even than you desire; for you shall be actually put to the torture (since this, however painful to you, makes no difference to the argument); you shall, by order of the said Congregation, with at least the tacit assent of the Pope, suffer a horrible death at the stake—but still you will be perfectly orthodox. For, "like the judges in our law courts" (very like!), 'the infallible Pope may order or permit you to be burned alive on a mistaken charge of heresy—in his private capacity!! And even so, your liberty is not exhausted; for, years after, some other Pope may issue a bull, in which he will have inserted the decree that condemned you to death, and confirm it by his Apostolic authority, and order it to be observed always by all. And yet, in that liberty of which your terrible death will be the pledge, all Roman Catholics accepting your theory of evolution will be as orthodox—as I am; and as free to hold it—as you were. Why all this coil, then? Why this outburst of temper in the *Nineteenth Century*? Let me counsel you to act, not perhaps less *fortiter in re*, but somewhat more *suaviter in modo*. Above all, brother, let us be orthodox—you know what I mean.'

This whole discussion raises many questions which it is impossible adequately to treat of at the end of an article; but, we consider, it powerfully illustrates and confirms some conclusions concerning Papal Infallibility which we have long since arrived at, and which we submit for the consideration of Mr. Murphy and of Roman Catholic controversialists generally.

We hold (1) that if the Pope were the infallible guide he

claims to be, the supreme pastor of souls, his voice would give forth no uncertain sound, but when it spoke infallibly would make that fact indubitably clear. We cannot believe that our Lord left His divine truth bound about with the *red tape* of the *Curia Romana*—that it should need experts to discover where it is and what it is, and extricate it from the mass of preambles, arguments, *dicta*, *obiter dicta*, &c. The light of truth can hardly be the *luminous haze* of the Vatican. We hold (2) that his infallibility would be of such a kind as to attach to every official act, not a kind of pontifical robe to put on or off as he chose; not only though he omitted to express his intention of speaking infallibly, but even if he expressly disclaimed such intention, he would speak infallibly. And since some papal acts, even official ones, might be considered too trivial, we should contend that, in spirituals, the excommunication of any member of the Church (which is a direct exercise of the power of the keys), or, in temporals, the sentencing any one to death, is an act of sufficient magnitude to call into exercise and serve as a test of his infallibility. So that if the Pope, acting as head of the Church, has ever sentenced any one to death unjustly, that act is enough to demonstrate him fallible. The absurdity of the contrary view is shown by Mr. Murphy's suggestion that the Pope, like any other 'fallible theologian,' may err in *his private capacity*, just as 'the judges in our law courts' may, 'who may be in error as to law in a given case, and are not infallible expounders of law in any case.' Is this Mr. Murphy's way of drawing parallels? Do our judges decide cases in their private capacity? And is the Pope not an infallible expounder of law in any case? (3) An infallible voice would not only speak infallibly but would *infallibly speak*; it would not remain silent on a matter of critical importance, especially when a fallible voice, usurping its authority and imitating its accents, was teaching error. For, according to the Bull *Speculatores*, it is not only the *right*, but the *duty*, of the Pope to condemn error. According to Mr. Murphy's own admission, the Pope stood by in silence while a Congregation of cardinals, of which he was the president, which referred all important matters to him for the mature decision of his Apostolic authority, persecuted an innocent man and forced him in prison to abjure as a heresy what, according to Mr. Murphy, is now admitted by the Roman Church to be 'not in any way necessarily connected with revelation.' 'The Pope does not speak in it [the decree of the S. Cong. of the Index] as universal teacher; *he does not speak in it at all.*' There is the breakdown, then, in his

infallibility. To stand by while his authority was used on the side of error and injustice, and then to plead that he took no part in the transaction—that is not like Christ; it is like Pilate washing his hands in token of his innocence of the blood of this just man. For, note, if Galileo had been burnt as a heretic, Mr. Murphy could, and would be bound to, argue in precisely the same way—the Pope did not speak, and if he assented, it was in *his private capacity*. The Pope's voice is infallible? But how if this infallible voice be *dumb*?

(4) We do not know that attention has ever been sufficiently drawn to the silence of the Pope's infallible voice on matters belonging to what is in some respects the more important department of his jurisdiction. 'The Pope cannot err in faith or morals, for he is our infallible guide in both,' says the Roman Catholic. But while doctrine is defined with the utmost precision and assent exacted with the utmost rigour, *morals* are severely left alone—practically, as we may observe in Ireland at the present time; theoretically, as may be seen in any volume of Moral Theology, say that of St. Alphonsus Liguori, or the Compendium by P. Gury. Here are to be found literally hundreds of questions concerning practical right and wrong to which the Roman Catholic can get no certain answer. Opening Gury at random, we come upon such a question as 'How long an omission to pray constitutes a grave sin?'—*a grave* or *mortal* sin meaning one that, in the elegant language of the *Dublin Review*, 'merits hell' (*passim*). Surely a question of conduct that may involve everlasting punishment is one of the first importance, and seems to demand a plain answer; surely it is just such a question as calls for the *dictum* of an infallible voice. The oracle, however, is silent, and the question is left to the theologians: who say, some that a month's, others that as little as a week's, others again that not less than a year's, neglect to pray makes a grave sin; and the confessor is advised to leave the question alone. Hundreds of questions are 'answered' in the same way. The infallible guide in faith and morals—prudently, no doubt—says nothing.

This, we conceive, should be a matter of most careful consideration to those who feel drawn to the Roman Church by the hope she holds out that in her communion all doubts are solved, all questions answered; 'who,' in the language of Fr. Knox, 'weary of their searchings after a truth that is perpetually slipping from their grasp, yearn for nothing so much as an infallible teacher, whose eye will ever be on them and *whose voice will never fail them*.' Never! though in a

question involving eternal punishment it will allow three uncertain answers!

Lastly and chiefly, we would point out that the Roman Church has two standards of infallibility, one for foreign and the other for domestic use, one for the heretic outside and the other for the faithful within the fold; so as to obtain the maximum of power with the minimum of responsibility. Arraign any act of a Pope's, and Mr. Murphy or some other counsel for the defence will plead that the infallibility of the Pope was not exercised in it at all, inasmuch as the Pope claims to speak infallibly only when he speaks as (1) Universal Teacher, (2) on some matter of faith or morals, (3) intending to bind all the members of the Church to accept his teaching; and it is only his express teaching that is infallible, not the title or preamble or arguments or *obiter dicta*. And so the assailant is beaten off. But let him, feeling that, after all, the infallibility claimed by the Pope is very limited, be persuaded to become a Romanist, and he is taught: (1) Many truths . . . not theological but philosophical, political, historical, physical . . . the Church can declare infallibly (Ward's *Essays*, p. 445); (2) God has not obliged the Pope to any determinate form of speaking *ex cathedrâ* (p. 463); (3) A pronouncement may be *ex cathedrâ* which, as regards its form, is not addressed to the whole Church (p. 465). It appears from the history of the Louvain decrees that a decree may be infallible which the *Holy See requires to be kept secret*; the *Dublin Review* even declares that a Roman Catholic 'may be obliged, at times, loyally to accept what may afterwards turn out to be erroneous' (July 1880, p. 117). And the same Review, whilst instructing us that the *dicta* of a papal instruction alone claim infallibility, adds (July 1880, p. 127): 'There is often considerable difficulty in knowing whether such *dicta* are *obiter dicta* or formal pronouncements; indeed, in recognizing what pronouncements are *ex cathedrâ* and what are not' (see *ante*, p. 345). And so in spite of Mr. Murphy's 'three conditions,' F. Knox (p. 103) lays down:

'We can neither set limits to her teaching nor free ourselves from the obligation of obeying her [the Church, *i.e.* the Pope]. Since He [our Lord] has put no restriction on the obedience she can claim from us, it follows that whatever she bids us do we are bound to do, and whatever she bids us believe we are bound to believe. *She can bind us to what she pleases and in what way she pleases.* Our obedience must be *unbounded, absolute, unreasoning.*'

Attack Papal infallibility, and the Pope will ask only the limited domain of the Vatican decree. Become a subject of

the Pope, and see how his theory develops in practice until it is found that he exacts absolute and unreasoning obedience in every department of action and thought; thus reversing another maxim of old Rome in making his policy

'Parcere Superbis, debellare Subjectos.'

Since the above was in type this controversy has advanced another stage. Not having received 'even the slightest hint of disapprobation from any ecclesiastical authority,' although he had 'purposely so stated his case as practically to challenge censure,' but having, on the contrary received many messages of praise and thanks, amongst them one from the superior of a Mediæval Religious Order, Mr. Mivart considers that 'all danger of conflict between "the Church" and Biology is for ever at an end,' and 'biological science is, in respect of Catholic controversy, an affair of the past' (p. 32). But there are other departments of science, he fears, with which 'the Church' is likely to come into early and desperate conflict, and chief among them is Biblical criticism.

To this important department of science Mr. Mivart has had his attention directed and has devoted some study since writing his former article. He has found it possible 'without having any recourse to the Hebrew tongue,' to form satisfactory judgments about many Biblical matters, and more particularly to decide that certain conclusions of critics like Reuss, Colenso, Wellhausen, and Kuenen concerning the dates, authorship, and historical value of the several books of the Old Testament, are indefinitely nearer to the truth than the old beliefs on those points 'which are still most widely accepted by the Christian world, and were universally accepted till the middle of last century' (p. 42). These new views have great weight, and must on the whole be accepted as correct, because they solve satisfactorily a number of problems which otherwise appear insoluble, and, 'moreover, a refutation of them has not even been seriously attempted by Catholics.' The novelty and startling character of these views may move 'the Church' to exercise her infallible authority and pronounce upon them. If she is guilty of such temerity, Mr. Mivart can foresee only one result—a defeat as decisive and crushing as that she suffered over the question of Copernicanism, and as that which she would have suffered from Biology if she had not saved herself by a timely surrender. Indeed, 'there are men of mark' who 'are convinced that the great Catholic Church—the ship of Peter—after successfully riding the swelling billows of physical science, will at last be

engulfed in the whirlpool of Biblical criticism' (p. 31). To save her from this disaster, he counsels and implores her to lighten the ship by casting overboard her charts and compass. So certain is he that she will be worsted in any conflict, that he solemnly warns her to keep out of the fray and not again venture to measure her strength with an enemy who has invariably proved the stronger. And this counsel is the more salutary, he urges, that 'this is an age of synthesis, and *naturally augmenting Catholicism*;' an age 'in which we ought to do all we can to promote the spirit of conciliation, sympathy, and brotherhood, and to cultivate above all a large-hearted charity, while remaining scrupulously zealous for every atom of scientific truth' (p. 36)—a sentence which would have a more logical conclusion if instead of *scientific* he had written *religious* truth.

Mr. Mivart's views are not at present our concern, or we might remark that, if before his next article he has time to study the modern criticism of the *New Testament* in the works of such writers as Strauss and Renan, he will arrive at as strange views concerning our Lord Himself as he has already reached concerning Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, *e.g.*, of whom it is thought to be 'in the highest degree unlikely that they ever existed,' and 'no passage of the history of any one of them is of the slightest historical value' (p. 41). Mr. Justice Stephen points out that Christianity is based on certain facts related in the Old and New Testaments, and with these facts must stand or fall. Either issue, indeed, he can contemplate with equanimity, but he clearly foresees that for the Church to allow some at least of these facts to be called in question, to be described as doubtful, unhistorical, or untrue, would be to surrender all that she exists to preserve, and allow the ground to be cut away from under her feet. 'Surely you do not call *that* history,' says the pious lady in the *New Republic*, referring to the Old Testament. 'I should think *not*,' answered the sceptic with a sneer: and the sceptic was right, though in a sense not his own—or Mr. Mivart's. The Bible is not history—that is, is not mere history. It is much more than history. It is a revelation of God to man, given through the Church, and error in the Bible is tantamount to a flaw in her own title-deeds. In whatever sense and to whatever extent it be inspired, it stands apart from all other books, even from those which in the modern cant are most *inspired*; and the Church cannot suffer it to be dealt with as other

¹ The italics are ours.

works. Mr. Mivart, indeed, can hardly mean all that his words imply. If modern Biblical criticism should conclude that our Lord was not born of a Virgin, that He did not say and do the things recorded of Him in the Gospels, or that He did not rise from the dead, he would not, we hope, consider it necessary or safe for the Church to accept or tolerate such conclusions, or charge her with being an 'obstructive' if she branded them as false, heretical, and subversive of the Catholic faith. Mr. Mivart is in the first enthusiasm of his Biblical studies. We doubt not that after he has made some further progress he will return to his more sober judgment. Leaving him, then, to continue his Biblical studies, we turn to the purpose which we have chiefly set before ourselves in watching this controversy, viz. to observe the action of the Roman ecclesiastical authorities, and try to estimate the value both of the Unity which Roman Catholics make their special boast and proudly contrast with the unhappy divisions of other branches of the Church, and also, of the newest weapon that has been forged to preserve that unity, the personal infallibility of the Pope.

That 'infallible teacher, whose eye will ever be upon them, and whose voice will never fail them'¹ has, it is almost needless to say, been *silent*. 'There were not wanting persons,' says Mr. Mivart, 'who anticipated that I should incur severe blame, and I have reason to know that others earnestly solicited my condemnation;' but 'up to the present time I have not received even a private hint of disapprobation from any ecclesiastical authority' (p. 31). Perhaps the Pope is waiting for the opinion of those 'erring theologians' 'who may be in error as to law in a given case and are not infallible expounders of law in any case,' to quote Mr. Murphy. No wonder that his silence has encouraged or provoked Mr. Mivart to 'Call him louder!'

It is equally edifying to observe the *unity* of Mr. Mivart's fellow Roman Catholics. 'Their unanimity is wonderful.' Many of them, 'members of the clergy, most varied as to rank and position, and a much smaller number of the laity, have sent him most gratifying messages of warm thanks for his first article.' A most esteemed superior of one of the Mediæval Religious Orders writes:

'Since your *Nineteenth Century* article, I have frequently had to explain your views both in England and elsewhere. *There is not a shadow of a shade of unorthodoxy about them.* That also is the

¹ Vide ante, p. 351.

opinion of Cardinal —, with whom I had a conversation there-
 anent. Your article was telling in the right direction, even for theo-
 logical science. What a pity it is to find such narrowness amongst
 those whose duty it is to teach the noblest science of all! Deep and
 far-seeing theological thinkers are rare; but there are some to be
 found, though they write comparatively little. They have, I am
 happy to say, more influence at headquarters than some people
 think' (p. 32).

On the other side, Mr. Jeremiah Murphy testifies, as we
 have seen, that 'Catholics who have read Mr. Mivart's article
 are pained and shocked by the extraordinary assertions it
 contains.' Since Mr. Mivart's second article appeared, Dr.
 Hedley also, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Newport and
 Menevia, has entered the lists against him, and goes so far as
 to say that he 'has said some rather strong things which are
 wrong in point of theology—erroneous principles—views
 which in some cases implicitly contradict the defined Catholic
 faith' (p. 402).

Bishop Hedley deals very tenderly, almost timidly, with
 Mr. Mivart:

'Just hints a fault, and hesitates dislike;'

and gives him, we think—and Mr. Murphy agrees with us—
 undue credit for certain dubious expressions of loyalty to his
 Church. 'A loyal Catholic must of course say that when
 any matter is clearly of faith, his conclusions must be wrong
 if they are opposed to it.'¹ 'And I admit,' says Bishop
 Hedley, 'that he never knowingly contradicts or nullifies this
 latter avowal'—whereas we have ourselves pointed out that
 he nullifies this avowal in the very next sentence, which runs:
 'But after all, and in every case, he has but his own judgment
 to rely on as to the fact or nature of the supposed conflict.
 It is only through his reason informed by his senses that he
 can possibly know that any decision has been made. . . and
 therefore he has always the choice whether to distrust the
 fact of the decision or the fact of physical science.' This, Mr.
 Murphy says, 'completely neutralizes' the avowal that gives
 so much satisfaction to Bishop Hedley, and is equivalent to
 saying that 'loyal Catholics are free to believe just what they
 please.'

Indeed, we cannot but regard it as unfortunate that these
 two champions of unity and orthodoxy did not come to some
 agreement together as to the line they should take in this
 controversy. For example, Bishop Hedley, speaking in
 defence of Mr. Murphy, says:

¹ Mr. Mivart, July 1885, p. 45.

'The Rev. Jeremiah Murphy. . . denied that Catholics were free to hold the doctrine, &c., &c.; but he took care to add, "On this ordinary meaning of Scripture we can insist unless the evolutionists show that there is sufficient reason for departing from it. This they have not done, and consequently the *prima-facie* Scriptural view need not be abandoned." Could anything show more clearly that Fr. Murphy is not an obstructive? Had he acted in the spirit of Mr. Mivart's articles, he would have said, "Theology belongs to the Church; man's creation is a theological matter, and therefore no scientific investigation can possibly affect the Church's view about the formation of the body."

Now this is, we take it, precisely what Mr. Murphy did say and mean and means to say. Whether the *primâ-facie* Scriptural view need be abandoned or not is irrelevant; the question is, *May it not* be abandoned? Is it unorthodox to abandon it? So Mr. Mivart understood Mr. Murphy's article, and so must every candid reader. Is it possible that Bishop Hedley's views are not quite orthodox? Or again, is it possible that Mr. Murphy, even in condemning Mr. Mivart, took care to *hedge*? Does Bishop Hedley mean that 'a doctrine asserted by the ordinary magisterium of the Church,' which 'we are as strictly bound to believe as if it had been defined by a General Council or by a Pope speaking *ex cathedrâ*,' can be abandoned if 'evolutionists show that there is sufficient reason for departing from it.' Does he deem it consistent with his faith to consider *any* reason that might be adduced as, in this sense, *sufficient*?

Bishop Hedley promises another article, in which he will consider Mr. Mivart's views on the inspiration of Holy Scripture. Meantime he goes to the root of this controversy, and handles Mr. Mivart's test question, the Condemnation of Galileo. He gives us one more version of the affair, has recourse to just one more ingenious, but far from ingenuous, shift to escape from the facts of the case. His contentions are: (1) Admitting, merely for the sake of argument, that Galileo was infallibly condemned, nevertheless the heresy of which he was condemned was *technical* and *constructive* only. (2) That this is so is shown by the fact that, even while his theories were being condemned as heretical, they were considered by Bellarmine and other 'instructed persons' who could fairly interpret the mind of the Church, as possibly true, and not impossible to be one day so clearly demonstrated as to prevail over the then orthodox belief.

With regard to the first point, he proceeds thus: Copernicanism was condemned as a heresy; but this condemna-

tion was founded on a *reason*, viz. that it contradicted Holy Scripture: and this contradiction is the very essence of the heresy. We must therefore chiefly regard, not the condemnation, but the reason—the alleged contradiction of Holy Scripture. But further, the term, Contradiction of Holy Scripture, is used in two ways: (a) Strictly, signifying ‘the formal contradiction of God’s Word—the contradiction of the undoubted, admitted and unassailable interpretation of God’s Word;’ (b) ‘in a much looser sense, to imply a contradiction of the common, but not necessarily Catholic, view of what Scripture says.’ In this latter sense Galileo’s theory was condemned; and so far from its being heresy in the stricter sense, ‘there would be no harm in discussing it privately, so as not to scandalize the general Catholic flock’ (pp. 408–9).

Mr. Murphy tells us that in any infallible pronouncement, ‘it is the thing decreed and not the preamble *or the reasons for it* that is affected’ (p. 729). But let that pass. All that we have to do is to oppose to Bishop Hedley’s elaborate ingenuity the words of the condemnation itself. Whereas, in his view, Copernicanism was condemned as contradicting the common but *not necessarily Catholic* view of the Holy Scripture, the *Monitum* of 1620 condemned it as contradicting *the true and Catholic interpretation* of Scripture: ‘Sacrae Scripturae ejusque verae et Catholicæ interpretationi repugnantia’ (Roberts, p. 122). That there would be no harm in discussing it privately is in the teeth of the emphatic words, ‘Et ut *prorsus tolleretur* tam perniciosa doctrina;’ of the prohibition to teach, defend, or treat of the theory in any manner; and most of all, of the sentence upon Galileo which says, ‘You have rendered yourself vehemently suspect of heresy to this Holy Office in having *believed and held* the false doctrine,’ &c. (*ib.* p. 130). Galileo was examined under threat of torture as to whether he *believed in* heliocentricism; he was required to abandon with ‘a *sincere heart* and faith unfeigned,’ what Bishop Hedley says he or anyone else was perfectly free to discuss privately.

But Bishop Hedley further holds that, however clear and emphatic the terms in which Copernicanism was condemned, they must be interpreted according to what we know of the sense put upon them by ‘instructed persons who were on the spot and mixed up in the controversy. For words mean what they are intended to mean’ (p. 410). Anyone but a Roman Catholic controversialist in a difficulty would prefer to maintain that *words mean what they say*; inasmuch as

honest men use those words which will express what they mean, or, if Bishop Hedley will have it so, what they intend to mean. But, surely, the right way to get at the mind of the Church tribunals is to examine their own official documents rather than to interpret them by unofficial statements or by mere gossip. An Act of Parliament is interpreted by the terms in which it is expressed, and not, *e.g.*, by the remarks on it in the daily press before and after it is passed. The decision of a court of judges is not to be read in the light of some expressions that one of them has let fall at a dinner-party the night before. And so, any private opinion that Cardinal Bellarmine may have expressed concerning the subject-matter of the decree of the S. Cong. of the Index is nothing to the purpose in examining the official act, in which, after due discussion, as we may suppose, he joined with his brother-cardinals to issue a solemn, authoritative and final decision. Then again, it is not as if there were any dearth of words by which the precise *note* of condemnation could be affixed to the doctrine. The ecclesiastical vocabulary is, in this kind, as ample as precise. We are informed by Roman theologians that we cannot be too precise in the interpretation of these *notes*, seeing that the utmost precision is observed in applying them. If the Pope did not mean to condemn Copernicanism as *heresy*, he might have branded it as *hæresi proxima*, or *hæresin sapiens*, or *falsa*, or *temeraria*, or *piis auribus offensiva*, or in any other way that would have exactly expressed his meaning. But he condemned it as *heresy*—simply and plainly *heresy*; we will take leave, therefore, in spite of Bishop Hedley's private judgment to the contrary, to assume that he meant what he said.

But the most interesting point that Bishop Hedley raises is, whether at the time that Copernicanism was condemned as *heresy*, it was considered by Bellarmine and other instructed persons as a 'theory that might some day be demonstrated to be correct, and therefore plainly not a matter concerning which an infallible definition was possible.' With an air of triumph masking a very desperate move, Dr. Hedley rebukes Mr. Mivart for stopping short just at the most interesting passage of Bellarmine's letter to Padre Foscarini. We will quote as much of the letter as is necessary to get the full force of Bishop Hedley's comment, which we consider one of the most remarkable utterances in all controversy. Bellarmine writes (p. 408):—

'All the Fathers and modern commentators have interpreted literally those passages which speak of the sun in the heavens and

its revolution round the earth and of the earth's immobility in the centre of the universe. Think calmly and prudently whether the Church can allow a meaning to be given to Holy Scripture which is contrary to that of the Fathers and all interpreters, Greek or Latin. Do not say that this is no matter of faith: if it is not a matter of faith *ex parte objecti*, it is a matter of faith *ex parte dicentis*. Thus it would be heretical to deny that Abraham had two sons or Jacob twelve, as it would be to deny that Christ was born of a Virgin, because both assertions are made by the Holy Spirit through the mouth of the Prophets and Apostles. *If there were any true demonstration that the sun was in the centre of the universe and that it does not revolve round the earth but the earth round the sun, then it would be necessary to proceed very solicitously and carefully in the explanation of those passages of Scripture which appear to be contrary, and rather to say that we do not understand than to say that what is demonstrated is false. . . . In case of doubt we ought not to abandon the interpretation of the Fathers.*"¹

Here the Cardinal says, as plainly as words can speak, that geocentricism is the interpretation of the Fathers and all interpreters; that we must not say it—the literal interpretation—is no matter of faith; for although the relation of the sun to the earth is a physical and not a religious truth (*ex parte objecti*), the truth of the Scripture which affirms it is a religious truth (*ex parte dicentis*). Just as Abraham's having had two sons may not be denied, not because that is a religious truth, but because the truth of the Holy Spirit is as much involved in it as in the Gospel statement that Christ was born of a Virgin.

Now, how does Bishop Hedley torture this plain statement? He says:

'The Cardinal sees all the time that the Scripture statements as to the earth and the sun are *not* [!] really so plain and categorical as the statement about the sons of the patriarch. He sees, therefore, that the literalness of these statements *could* be denied [!] without necessarily proclaiming Scripture false. He sees, in other words, that the literal meaning cannot be of faith either *ex parte materie* or *ex parte dicentis*' !!

Before such comment as this we can only rub our eyes and ask if *black* really can be *white*, and *yes* and *no* mean the same thing. 'Do not say,' writes Bellarmine, 'that this is no matter of faith: if it is not of faith *ex parte objecti*, it is of faith *ex parte dicentis*.' 'He sees,' coolly explains Bishop Hedley, 'that the literal meaning *cannot* be of faith either *ex parte objecti* or *ex parte dicentis*.' But then we only know what Bell-

¹ Italicised by Bishop Hedley.

armine said: Bishop Hedley doubtless knows not only what he said but what he 'intended to mean.'

But how then, Bishop Hedley will ask, shall we deal with the passage he has italicized, which surely speaks of a doubt, and entertains the possibility of a future demonstration of the Copernican theory. Could he consider a view to be possibly reformable which had been declared to be a matter of faith? We do not think it difficult to answer this question. It is common in argument to put a case *per impossibile*. When a certain bookseller complimented a certain poet by saying, 'Sir, your epic will be read when Homer and Milton are forgotten—but not till then,' the poet was probably not very much flattered. The common saying, 'If the sky falls, then we shall catch larks,' does not imply any doubt of the stability of the firmament. In the same way, we submit, Bellarmine, *per impossibile*, supposes a future demonstration of the Copernican theory, and speculates as to what course would then have to be adopted in interpreting the Holy Scripture, without at all admitting that such a demonstration would ever really be furnished. This was certainly the case with Caramuel, whom Bishop Hedley quotes on the next page as, 'notwithstanding the judgment of the Inquisition, considering that the heliocentric view might prevail.' Fortunately, Caramuel has explained the nature of his doubt. In treating this question, he says:

'Assero igitur, esse impossibile quod olim moveri terram demonstrative suadeatur. Quid si suaderetur demonstrative? Respondeo: Uno impossibili admissio, non esse absurdum si impossibilia et absurda sequantur.'¹

These are the words of Bishop Hedley's own witness, and we put it to him, Do they express the doubt of one who did or did not believe that the condemnation of heliocentrism was irreformable, and the supposition of its truth a manifest absurdity?

But, after all, Bellarmine is for ever silent, and although we know what he said, we do not profess to know, although Bishop Hedley is ready to inform us, what he intended to mean. That is not the case, however, with the Rev. Jeremiah Murphy, who has expressed a doubt concerning the possibility of demonstrating the evolution of man in almost exactly the same terms as Bellarmine's doubt as to the possibility of demonstrating Copernicanism.

¹ *Theologia Fundamentalis*, lib. i. n. 28, p. 210; quoted by Roberts, p. 34.

'On this ordinary meaning [of the text of Scripture] we can insist, *unless the evolutionists show that there is sufficient reason for departing from it. This they have not done, and consequently the prima-facie Scriptural view need not be abandoned.*'¹

'*If there were any true demonstration that the sun was in the centre of the universe &c., then it would be necessary to proceed very solicitously and carefully in the explanation of those passages of Scripture which appear to the contrary. . . . In case of doubt, we ought not to abandon the interpretation of the Fathers.*'²

Here are doubts expressed in perfectly equivalent—practically identical—terms. Bellarmine, as we have said, is beyond our questioning, but Mr. Murphy is not. To Mr. Murphy, therefore, we put the question: Does he consider 'the immediate formation of our first parents' to be doubtful, although, in his own words, 'it is asserted by the ordinary magisterium of the Church which we are as strictly bound to believe as if it had been defined by a General Council or by a Pope speaking *ex cathedrâ*'? Has he condemned Mr. Mivart's theory 'with the implicit understanding that it may possibly one day be proved to be correct'? If not, then we make answer to Bishop Hedley: 'Cardinal Bellarmine's doubt means just as much and just as little as Mr. Murphy's or Caramuel's.' If, on the other hand, Mr. Murphy only means that Roman Catholics must hold the immediate formation theory to be infallibly true *until science has proved it to be untrue*, then we conjure him to say so, and put an end to a ridiculous discussion that begins and ends in an *infallible doubt*.

ART. V.—THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC REACTION.

1. *Renaissance in Italy. The Catholic Reaction.* By JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. In two volumes. (London, 1886.)
2. *Chapters in European History.* By W. S. LILLY. In two volumes. (London, 1886.)
3. *Short Studies in Ecclesiastical History. A Biography.* By the Rev. H. N. OXENHAM. In one volume. (London, 1885.)

IT was recently suggested in the leading literary journal of the day, that an inquiry into the reason for the interest which

¹ Mr. Murphy quoted and italicized by Bishop Hedley, p. 405.

² Cardinal Bellarmine quoted and italicized by Bishop Hedley, p. 408.

the study of Italian literature has always aroused in this country would form a good subject for a prize essay. Such an essay might well rest for its basis upon the works of Mr. Symonds; for, among the many enthusiasts whom Italy enrols under her banner, it would be difficult to find one who has studied more profoundly the fascinating subject under all its aspects.

In the great highway of Italian literature, beginning with the *Introduction to the Study of Dante*, published some years back, through the more recent *Italian Byways*; from the broad political problems, spiritual and secular, first propounded in the *Divina Commedia*, and ever since the text to which the great writers of all nations and ages have referred, down to the narrow issues of every petty principality which now appear so insignificant, but which have yet in their time contributed their little piece of mosaic to make up the wonderful *pietra dura* of Italian life, and literature and history, Mr. Symonds has studied and observed, and noted and compared, till it becomes a subject of speculation whether the hitherto apparently inexhaustible mine will not some day yield up its last treasures to his indefatigable pen.

The *Catholic Reaction* represents one of his largest studies upon Italy. It forms, as he himself says, 'a logically necessitated supplement' to the five former volumes upon the *Renaissance*, and it is treated on a method analogous to that adopted for the former study. In the volumes now before us for consideration, their subject may be said to divide itself under three distinct heads. The Spanish influence and position in Italy; the conduct of the Council of Trent; and the organization of the Jesuits. With these three clues in his hand the reader may thread with comparative ease the labyrinth of political intrigue, the gloomy horrors of the Inquisition, and the tangled social skein presented by the close study of Italian history during the first seventy years of the sixteenth century in Italy. The retrospect of the period immediately preceding this epoch (1494-1530) is given in a few masterly strokes describing the character and condition of the five great powers which represented Italy. The kingdom of Naples, largest in extent, but stupefied by conquest, and ground under the iron heel of Spain, the most backward in civilization. The Papal States, which each successor in turn to the chair of St. Peter, whether Riario, Della Rovere, Borgia, or Medici, tried in vain to form into one homogeneous kingdom. Equally futile for its purpose and fatal in its consequence, their policy, which must have appeared so crooked and complicated to

their contemporaries, was in reality simple. It consisted in placing the wealth and authority of the Holy See at the disposal of their relatives, military delegates, of whom Cæsar Borgia will ever remain as a typical representative. For their own part, despite the absorbing fascination exercised to this day by the temporal interests of the Papacy upon each successor to the Holy See, their attention was at that time forcibly diverted by the pressing claims of General Councils and the hardy attacks of the Reformers, which threatened to shake to its very foundation the spiritual authority of the papacy.

The Duchy of Milan is included in the five great powers, not on account of its size, but, because of its position, its agricultural and commercial resources, it was ever the apple of discord cast down at the opening of each fresh campaign between France and Germany, tossed to and fro till, after the disaster of Pavia, it eventually fell into the lap of Charles V.

Venice had only begun to play a part worthy of her position and power upon the scene of Italian politics. Hitherto her attention had been concentrated upon her Levantine dominions and commercial interests, but when across the golden East, with its sparkling gems and exhaustless treasures, there fell the dark shadow of the advancing infidel invasion, Venice bethought herself in time of strengthening her position by the acquisition of territory upon the mainland. When her seaboard extended till it reached from Aquileia to the mouths of the Po, and her possessions in Lombardy as far as Bergamo, she could stand in the first rank among the powers who made up the scheme of Italian politics, a position from which she was afterwards dethroned, having incurred the displeasure of Rome by the league of Cambrai.

To Florence, the sister republic, this period, one of transition while the republican constitution made its last stand for existence, had resulted in the final triumph of the Medici, and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany now represented in one compact principality the struggle of the last three centuries within and without the ancient walls of the city.

Such was the federation which formed what can only be called the independence of Italy by contrast with the surrender of the country to the Empire, when, after the duel in which the ambition of France received a mortal wound, Charles V. came out with triumphant laurels to receive at the hands of Clement VII. at Bologna the Imperial insignia of the iron and golden crowns.

Mr. Symonds needs no excuse for enlarging on so solemn an epoch in Italian history, and the only lines which could

be spared out of the brilliant pages which describe the muster of the princes, men of letters and artists, to witness the coronation of Charles, is the illustration (vol. i. pp. 36, 37) where the effort to discredit the grace of the Sacraments is of no service in adding point or force to the passage. This and similar passages which occur from time to time throughout the book are unworthy of the pen which can produce so masterly a description as that which sums up the tragic effects upon Italy of the Spanish rule, a description which may be said to form the keynote to those dark masterpieces by Morone in which he has preserved for posterity, alike in the sombre dress introduced by the Emperor into Italy and the determined melancholy of the expression, a record of the eclipse cast by Spain over what is so ably described as 'the constellation of commonwealths from which all intellectual culture, arts of life, methods of commerce, and theories of political influence had been diffused' (p. 54). The following chapter is devoted to what is described by the writer as the counter-Reformation, a term which, he carefully explains in a note, is intended

'to denote the reform of the Catholic Church which was stimulated by the German Reformation, and which, when the Council of Trent had fixed the dogmas and discipline of Latin Christianity, enabled the Papacy to assume a militant policy in Europe, whereby it regained a large portion of the provinces that had previously lapsed to Lutheran and Calvinistic dissent.'

The full significance of the term becomes evident when the writer, passing in review the Councils which preceded the Council of Trent, points out the two methods which were the result of the deliberations of the Council of Constance 1414.

1. The way suggested by John Hus, 'that the Church should be reconstituted after a searching analysis of the real bases of Christian conduct, an appeal to Scripture as the final authority, and a loyal endeavour to satisfy the spiritual requirements of individual souls and consciences.'

2. An inquiry into the existing 'order of the Church, and detailed amendment of its flagrant faults, with preservation of the main system' (vol. i. p. 100).

The first of these two methods, commending itself to the Teutonic race, produced in the next century the rapid and palpable result of the Reformation, while the counter-Reformation was a tardy result of the adoption of the second method by the Latin races in the reforms suggested for the purgation of the Church by the Council of Trent.

If the organization of the counter-Reformation was slow and deliberate by comparison with the rapid propagation of the Reformation doctrines, yet when at last it began to take shape and effect there was neither hesitation nor delay in its action, and the Council of Trent convened by the Emperor Charles V. and the Pope Paul III.—two of the most astute politicians who have ever worn the imperial diadem or the papal tiara—was able to cast up in defence of the Church of Rome a bulwark which was of strength and durability sufficient to stem the wave of reformation, then at the high tide of enthusiasm, and against which it has ever beaten in vain.

‘Rome,’ it is commonly said, ‘was not built in a day,’ and it took nearly a quarter of a century to erect the bulwark which so effectually propped the tottering foundation of her spiritual power.

Officially opened at Trent in 1542 by Cardinals Pole and Morone, legates of Pope Paul III., it was transferred to Bologna lest the powerful influence of the Emperor Charles V. should carry the reforms urged by the Spanish bishops, which were to secure the independence of their episcopate, and then back again to Trent in 1551, where it continued its deliberation under the successive pontificates of Julius III. and Marcellus II.

In 1555, in the domineering influence of Cardinal Caraffa, who under the title of Paul IV. succeeded to the Holy See, the Papal ascendancy became again manifest in proportion as the Imperial influence subsided; the reins which had fallen from the powerful hands of Charles V. being feebly lifted by Ferdinand, while on behalf of Spain Philip II. made a vain attempt to contend with the fierce will which was divided between two objects—the emancipation of Italy from the Spaniards, and the establishment of the most rigid orthodoxy in the Church. Yielding the former point, even when Alva stood triumphant before the gates of Rome, he became afterwards, in the Pope’s iron grasp, a fitting tool with which to manipulate the process of the counter-Reformation, the other supreme ambition of this determined successor to the chair of St. Peter; and for ever associated with their two names will be the first outline of the dark shadow cast by the Inquisition upon the history of the time.

The genuine reformation of ecclesiastical abuses which had been the declared object of the reign of Paul IV., while it worked a miracle at Rome, stimulated the efforts of the Tridentine Council, and brought it to a conclusion under the succeeding pontificate of Pius V., with the result of ‘leaving

an undisputed sovereignty in theological and ecclesiastical affairs, with the Papacy.'

It only remained for Pius V. to support the spiritual supremacy with temporal authority, and by organizing an alliance between the sovereigns of Europe and the Holy See so maintain his position against the aggressive advance of the Protestants.

Such an alliance was the crowning success for Rome of the Tridentine Council. The steps by which this result was attained, the clever diplomatic stroke by which the ecclesiastical authorities on the Council were transformed, at the conclusion of their labours for ecclesiastical reform, into so many ambassadors from the different Courts of Europe ; and the solemn Conclave into a political conference, are described with vigorous touches as the subject reaches its climax—touches which would have lost none of their interest, and gained instead of alienating the full confidence of the reader, if the profane satire with reference to the Holy Ghost (p. 121) had not been quoted as an illustration, or at least not repeated three times, and twice in one page (p. 131).

The Council terminated, its decrees were ratified (December 26, 1563) by a Bull reserving to the Pope the sole right of interpreting them in doubtful or disputed cases.

Throughout the pages of this brilliant chapter upon the Tridentine Council it seems as if each successor to the Holy See became instinct with life as he approaches in turn to occupy the chair of St. Peter, and by his individual characteristics, whether it is the caution of Paul III., the fiery nature of the Neapolitan Paul IV., the far-sighted powers of calculation and diplomacy of Pius IV., or the ascetic severity of Pius V., each and all contribute their quota to produce for the Papacy that position of absolute sovereignty, that acknowledged headship of Christendom which, remaining as a fact for more than three centuries in Europe, has hardly lost its influence, even when divested of actual temporal dominion.

With the Council of Trent the first epoch of Ultramontanism is closed. It had commenced with the Council of Constance, when, as we have seen, the two methods or principles of reformation were balanced in the scales of Christendom.

Had the opposite method been adopted, the religious schism would not have been completed, and the Church would have remained catholic without the narrowing epithet of Roman—a direct result of the Ultramontane policy, but which formed no part of the wide scheme of Hildebrand, the greatest Pope (Gregory VII.) who ever occupied the chair of

St. Peter. His election to it has been considered one of the four landmarks of history, the turning point of the Middle Ages, which began with the coronation of Charlemagne and closed with the fall of Constantinople. And as in modern history the Council of Trent may be looked upon as the pivot upon which the affairs of the Papacy and the Roman Church may be said to turn, it will not be out of place to consider two events of such vital importance together.

We are indebted to Mr. Lilly for reminding us in his *Chapters on European History* of a striking metaphor which, by seizing upon the imagination, fixes the first two epochs in our minds. 'Charlemagne,' remarks M. Villemain in his rhetorical way, 'in decorating the Pope with so many titles, had merely wished to raise a gilt statue which should place the Imperial crown upon his own head. After Charlemagne, when his empire was ruled with a feeble hand, and divided by factions, the pontifical statue came to life and wanted to reign.'¹

But, although in the person of Hildebrand 'the statue wanted to reign,' it was not from motives of personal ambition; and the investigations of the last half-century, especially those of MM. Villemain and Guizot, have gone far to remove the popular conception of him as a man of insatiable ambition and spiritual pride, and to represent him as an earnest reformer upon the basis of morality, justice, and order. His idea was a reform at once voluntary and thorough, purely for the spiritual welfare of the Church, not, as in the case of the Tridentine Council, a concession wrung from the Pope at the last moment because his temporal position would be endangered by a refusal to permit it.

The honest policy of Hildebrand has its full value when contrasted with the manœuvres and subterfuges by which each succeeding Pontiff throughout the eighteen years' session of the Council of Trent endeavoured to mask his determination to uphold the temporal supremacy of the Holy See at whatever cost—a determination which would even lead them to invite the assistance of Soliman and his Turkish forces, or side with the Protestants when they could be made a thorn in the side of the Emperor, although, as Sarpi observes, 'ben voleva la depressione dei Protestanti ma non con aumento delle cose di Cesare.'²

¹ Lilly's *Chapters in European History*, vol. i. p. 119; see also Rosmini's *Five Wounds of the Holy Church*, chap. iv. pp. 194-5.

² 'He earnestly desired the damage of the Protestant cause, but not if it was to result in the advantage of Cæsar [the Emperor].'*Ist. del Conc. Trid.* vol. ii. p. 49.

For the same reason also, as we have seen, Paul III. moved the Council from Trent to Bologna, that he might more effectually crush the claims of the Spanish episcopate. It was not for such treatment as this that Hildebrand rescued episcopal investiture from lay hands. It was no wish of his that the Bishops should become so many police officers whose duty it was to sacrifice all claim of national independence or individuality at the slightest sign from the Vatican. His conception of the position of the Church was such as to put to shame any notion so petty and so vulgar, and it has been well described by Mr. Lilly in one of his most eloquent passages:—

‘His aim was the liberty of the Church. To free her from the fetters whether of vice or earthly tyranny, and vindicate her claims to absolute independence in carrying out her mission—as a society perfect and complete in herself, divine in her constitution, divine in her superiority to the limit of time and space, in the world, but not of it, a supernatural order amid the varying forms of secular polity.’¹

Before so grand a conception as this even the proud *urbi et orbi* appears infinitely small, for such an ideal would seem to be reserved the fulfilment of the Divine promise that ‘all things are possible,’ because it implies the full persuasion of the belief which is the first condition of the promise. In all his battles for the Church Hildebrand never lost sight of her spiritual character; when he fought for her liberties, it was not for the aggrandizement of the Papal dominions by this or that petty State; it was not for the indulgence of evil passions which were sufficient to bring the Holy See into perpetual disrepute: it was for the voice of conscience, the principle of responsibility to One whom it is better to obey rather than man; it was for the liberty with which Christ has made us free to serve Him and accomplish His work—that liberty which Hildebrand, by his famous *non possumus*, refused to surrender when, seized in the dead of night, while celebrating mass on Christmas Eve 1075, he hardly escaped the fate of Beckett at the hands of a baron as ruthless as Tracy or Morville, the servant of a master as unscrupulous as our English Henry.

Out of that struggle, characteristic of a fierce nation and a barbarous period, he came forth victorious. The result of the Council of Trent was also to leave the victory with the Papacy; but if it is a vain speculation as to what might have been the position of the Church had there been then a Hilde-

¹ Vol. i. p. 137.

brand to guide her counsels, we may at least enumerate some of the advantages from the negative side.

The religious wars in France would not have culminated in the horrors of the St. Barthélemy, the Thirty Years' War would not have desolated Germany, the Civil War in England would have lost its primary incentive, Charles I. need not have died a martyr to his religion, and the shuddering tale of the French Revolution would have remained untold.

These were the struggles for a liberty which no Divine Master ever authorized, struggles which need never have taken place, but which were the result more or less direct of the tyranny exercised by the Roman Church when from her strengthened position she sent forth to accomplish her arbitrary decrees those two 'bad angels,' as Mr. Symonds advisedly terms them, 'on whose assistance she relied in her crusade against liberties of thought, and speech, and action. These were the Inquisition and the Company of Jesus.'

Two very powerful chapters are devoted to the consideration of these twin subjects. The insolence of the Holy Office, that supreme misnomer for the Inquisition, which, as it increased in pride and power, fearlessly insulted thrones and episcopates, nay, even the Papacy itself, is well designated, and the subsequent horrors perpetrated by Torquemada and his 'black guards,' but upon these last there is no occasion to dilate; they are familiar to every student of history, though perhaps they never appeared more hideous than when summed up in these pages.

Less known than these barbarous horrors, but more interesting, is the account of the growth of the Index, described by an Italian writer as a dagger drawn from the scabbard to assassinate letters, and by another 'as the finest secret which has ever been discovered for driving men out of their senses.'¹

The wholesale and more vulgar method of destruction by fire which prevailed in the Middle Ages with regard to heretical writings, and which, stretching into modern times, produced the holocaust of six thousand volumes at Salamanca, destroyed in 1490 by Torquemada on the charge of sorcery, gave place to the elaborate regulations of the Index. The date of the institution of the Index is easily fixed, because it followed close upon the heels of the discovery of printing, and was indeed the chief weapon in the armoury of the Vatican for carrying on the literary warfare against the diffusion of the

¹ 'In somma non fu mai trovato più bell' arcano per adoperar la religione a far gli uomini insensati' (Sarpi, *Ist. del Conc. Tridentino*, vol. ii. p. 91).

Protestant opinions throughout the world by means of the new and wonderful discovery.

The foundation of the Index was laid by Sixtus IV. ; it began by prohibiting the publication of books not previously licensed by ecclesiastical authority. This was confirmed by Alexander VI., who placed all books under the censorship of the episcopacy and the Inquisition, and finally solemnly ratified by a Lateran Council in the time of Leo X.

A list of prohibited books was then drawn up by the Inquisition ; the Universities of the Sorbonne in Paris and Louvain for the Empire, under their respective monarchs, Francis I. and Charles V., were instructed to prepare their lists ; the catalogues were published, and whoever read or owned the works of Luther throughout the Empire was threatened with the penalty of death, while in France a royal edict was issued (1535) prohibiting publication through the press altogether.

The catalogues of the Sorbonne and Louvain formed the nucleus of the Index, which, after the Council of Trent and by means of the Inquisition, grew to the proportions which might be expected from such hands and under such a guidance. 'It was a penal offence to print, sell, own, convey or import any literature, of which the Inquisition had not first been informed, and for the diffusion or possession of which it had not given its permission' (i. p. 211).

Venice, Florence, and Milan contributed their list of prohibited books, and Philip II. and Paul IV. issued their edicts. The Tridentine Council and the Congregation of the Index worked hand in hand, and by 1595, under the pontificate of Clement VIII., the machinery of statutes and decrees had been brought into working order, and that engine of destruction of the human intellect was as completely equipped for its purpose as the torture chambers of the Inquisition with their horrible paraphernalia for the mutilation of the human body. The doctrines of Luther, Zuinglius, and Calvin were utterly condemned ; the translation of the Holy Scriptures into any vernacular idiom wholly excluded from public use and circulation ; all polemical and controversial works, any compilations by heretics, such as dictionaries or concordances, were also prohibited until revised by censors of the press. The prohibition extended next to treatises dealing with occult arts, magic, sorcery, predictions of future events, reservation being made, only to be flagrantly violated in the memorable instance of Galileo, in favour of scientific observation 'touching navigation, agriculture, and the healing art.'

The next point was the censorship or correction of books

which had passed the ordeal, and might be allowed to enter the press ; and it is a curious instance of the vigilance inculcated upon the censors that they were not only to investigate the 'notes, summaries, marginal remarks, indexes, prefaces, and dedicatory epistles,' in search of pestilent opinions, but they must even eliminate 'epithets in honour of heretics and anything that may redound to the praise of such persons.'

And if after such severe censure and expurgation any work composed by a condemned author was licensed for the press, although the book might be accepted, the author would remain under condemnation ; the title of the book would be printed, as, for example : *The Library*, by Conrad G, 'a writer condemned for his opinions, which work was formerly published and proscribed, but is now expurgated and licensed by superior authority.'¹

To complete the injustice of the system, the office of censorship was often made over to ignorant persons, who condemned books they did not understand, and many were the expostulations addressed to the Vatican by sons of the Church whose faith had stood even the test of the Inquisition, calling attention to the ignorance and incapacity of the officials they employed.

Commentaries on the Greek Fathers or the Hebrew Psalter would be corrected by persons who, guiltless of the knowledge of either language, concentrated their attention upon discovering passages which did not exactly tally with the Vulgate, for the purpose of annoying the author ; or they were instigated by a yet baser motive, that of extorting money by menaces of denouncing the unhappy writer to the Inquisition. In such circumstances the literature of the day had a hard struggle for existence.

Many a passage could be quoted from Sarpi's letter complaining of the impossibility even in Venice of getting books ; and Latino Latini, one of the most learned students of the day, writing from Rome, asks his correspondent :

'What are you dreaming of when now that almost every book is interdicted, you still think of making new ones ? Here, as I imagine, there is no one who for many years to come will dare to write except on business or to distant friends.

'An Index has been issued of the works which none may possess under pain of excommunication, and the number of them is so great that very few indeed are left to us, especially of those which have been published in Germany. This shipwreck, this holocaust of books, will stop the production of them in your country also, if I do not err, and

¹ *Renaissance in Italy—the Catholic Reaction*, vol. i. p. 219.

will teach editors to be upon their guard. As you love me and yourself, sit and look at your bookcases without opening their doors, and beware lest the very cracks let emanations come to you from those forbidden fruits of learning.'¹

Not content with stifling the literature of the period, the censors carried their odious task of mutilation into the old libraries, and laying their ruthless hands upon the precious volumes, erased with printer's ink or pasted over with opaque paper those passages which did not accord with the new theories and practices of the Vatican.

And yet while this secret machinery was in full force the attitude openly assumed by the Holy See towards the new discovery of printing was intended to convey a totally different impression. It formed one of the main features of the counter-Reformation. If the heretical doctrines were to be suppressed at all costs, the Popes had a cherished object, to restore, in their own way, ecclesiastical and theological learning; and when Paolo Manuzio and Aldo il Giovane were fetched in turn from Venice to conduct the Vatican press, it was for the purpose of printing the Fathers and diffusing Catholic literature to counteract the active efforts of the Protestant printing-presses in Germany. But the men of erudition collected for the purpose, with the fear of the Inquisition before them, cramped and intimidated, dared not let the light of knowledge have fair play. If the Vulgate was pronounced inviolable by a Tridentine decree, what was the use of Hebrew scholarship to collate it with the original manuscripts? The Vatican Library was sealed to all such inquiries, and the scholars who were chosen to prepare the manuscripts for the press were no match for students like Erasmus, Casaubon, or Sarpi.

In the present century it is sufficient to cite the name of Rosmini to recall the treatment that is meted out to the scholar who, while perfectly loyal to his Church and his creed, endeavours to bring the light of reason to bear upon those fatal errors of her government which in his treatise are described under the mystical though significant title of the 'Five Wounds of the Holy Church.'²

The hasty condemnation of this book was, it is true, after a lapse of time rescinded, and all the works of Rosmini pronounced free of censure; but their author only survived his acquittal one year. Nor did their error of judgment, of which

¹ *Renaissance in Italy*, vol. i. p. 223-4.

² *Of the Five Wounds of the Holy Church*, Rosmini. Rivingtons, 1883.

they remained, so to speak, self-convicted, have any effect in deterring the Congregation of the Index from dealing out the same cruel measure to the next eminent writer, Padre Curci, who ventured while remaining within her pale to proclaim with persistent courage the ever-unwelcome truth that the spiritual life of the Church was choked by her zeal for temporal interest.¹

The iron determination of Rome to maintain at all costs (1) the Catholic dogma as put forth by herself, (2) the supremacy of the Church, remains unaltered now, as it was then at the period of the counter-Reformation. There was yet another weapon in her armoury more subtle and more deadly in its operations than even the violence of the Inquisition or the unjust tyranny of the Index. These two last dealt with accomplished work, but prevention was better than cure, and the task of the organized Company of Jesus was to penetrate into the secret chamber of the heart and intellect, to drop the poison of deceit and hypocrisy at the source, before ever the thoughts could form themselves into words.

That such was the office of the worse of the two 'bad angels' of Rome, Mr. Symonds endeavours to show in the following chapter. With extraordinary ability—but with an almost ferocious bitterness which begets some doubts as to the writer's accuracy—the whole system is laid bare, beginning with the founder, whose strange and powerful character, a compound of enthusiasm, of chivalry and religious zeal, would leave the moralist at fault in his speculations as to how much to admire and how much to deprecate, were it not for the eternal voice of conscience, which reminds us of the awful condemnation awaiting those who say, 'Let us do evil that good may come,' and bids us repel with horror the primary article of the Jesuits' Creed: 'If the Church teaches that what seems to us white be black, we must declare it to be black on the spot.' The result of this teaching was, it is true, obedience. But never was there a more forcible example of the truth that an exaggerated virtue becomes a vice. Unquestioning obedience became under the cruel system of the Jesuits blind, servile, and—if we were able to place full confidence in Mr. Symonds's translations of the Institutes—unscrupulous. It is, however, certain—as will be seen from the subjoined note—that the passage cited on p. 283, vol. i.—'A sin, whether venial or mortal, must be committed, if it is commanded by the Superior in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, or in virtue of

¹ *Il Vaticano Regio.*

obedience'—instead of being a version, is a gross perversion of the original.¹ We confess, this example of Mr. Symonds's

¹ The following is the passage in the Constitutions of the Company which Mr. Symonds, we presume, had in his mind when he gave the summary in the text, the correctness of which we have impugned. The chapter is headed, 'Quod Constitutiones peccati obligationem non inducant,' and then proceeds: 'Cum exoptet Societas universas suas Constitutiones, Declarationes, ac vivendi ordinem omnino juxta nostrum Institutum, nihil ullā in re declinando, observari, optet etiam nihilominus suos omnes securos esse vel certē adjuvari, ne in laqueum ullius peccati, quod ex vi Constitutionum hujusmodi aut ordinationum proveniat, incidant: Visum est nobis in Domino, præter expressum votum, quo Societas Summo Pontifici pro tempore existenti tenetur, ac tria alia essentialia, Paupertatis, Castitatis et Obedientiæ, nullas Constitutiones, Declarationes, vel Ordinem ullum vivendi posse obligationem ad peccatum mortale vel veniale inducere, nisi Superior ea in nomine Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, vel in virtute Obedientiæ juberet; quod in rebus vel personis illis, in quibus judicabitur, quod ad particulare uniuscujusque vel ad universale bonum multum conveniet, fieri poterit, et loco timoris offensæ succedat amor et desiderium omnis perfectionis, ut major gloria ac laus Christi Creatoris ac Domini Nostri consequatur' (*Constitutiones Societatis Jesu anno 1558*, pars vi. cap. 5). The first remark we have to make on this passage is (1) that the gist of it and the language of it did not originate with the Jesuits, as will be seen from the Constitutions of the Tertiaries of St. Francis of Assisi (A.D. 1221) and of the Dominicans (see Holstenius, iii. 42, iv. 13). (2) That such expressions as '*obligationem ad peccatum mortale inducere*,' and the like, do not mean, as Mr. Symonds would fain have us believe, 'to impose an obligation on anyone to commit mortal sin,' but 'to impose an obligation the non-fulfilment of which would be a mortal sin.' (3) That the word *ea* after the word *Superior* in the above extract does not refer to *peccatum* (as Mr. Symonds takes it: in which case it would have been *id*), but to the 'Constitutiones, Declarationes,' &c. &c. The phrase to which we have referred, viz. '*obligare ad peccatum*,' is part of the recognized terminology, as Mr. Symonds might surely have known, of the Moral Theology of the Schoolmen. Take, for example, the following passage of St. Thomas Aquinas (II. II. qu. 186, art. ix.): 'Sed si quælibet transgressio eorum quæ in Regula continentur, religiosum *obligaret ad peccatum mortale*, status religionis esset periculosissimus propter multitudinem observantiarum. Non ergo quælibet transgressio eorum, quæ in Regula continentur, *est peccatum mortale*.' It will be seen that '*obligare ad peccatum*' and '*est peccatum*' are here used as equivalents. The framers of the Jesuit Constitution would seem to have had this passage of Aquinas in their minds, the whole drift and object of the above extract being that none of the Statutes (with the exception of the four great vows specified) were to bring those who transgressed them into mortal or venial sin, except in those cases where the Superior, for some specific object, should enforce the fulfilment of them in the Name of Our Lord and in virtue of Holy Obedience. We believe it was Ranke, in the *first* edition of his *History of the Popes*, who first discovered the mare's nest about the Superior commanding the commission of a mortal sin. In his *second* edition (vol. i. p. 151 n., Austen's translation) he made a retraction by which every subsequent writer has profited, with the exception, it seems, of Mr. Symonds, whose blind fury led him into the pitfall. The whole subject has been thoroughly thrashed out by G. E. Steitz in the *Jahrbücher der Deutschen Theologie* (1864). See also Gieseler, *Kirchengesch.* iii. 2. 536,

treatment of his authorities makes us look with great suspicion on the other maxims which he professes to quote from Jesuit documents, but for which, unfortunately, he gives us no *specific* references.

The study of the sketch of the *Exercitia Spiritualia* reveals the terrific mental tortures by which at the outset of his training the Jesuit's mind was cramped and stunted for all future exercise of the intellectual faculties ; the conscience manipulated so as to have lost for ever all power of discerning between good and evil ; and the result of this teaching and influence is summed up in a passage of remarkable force :—

‘It remains, however, to inquire in what the originality, the effective operation, and the modifying influence of the Jesuit Society consisted during the period with which we are concerned. It was their object to gain control over Europe by preaching, education, the direction of souls, and the management of public affairs. In each of these departments their immediate success was startling, for they laboured with zeal, and they adapted their method to the requirements of the age ; yet, in the long run, art, science, literature, religion, morality, and politics all suffered from their interference. By preferring artifice to reality, affectation to sincerity, shams and subterfuges to plain principles and candour, they confused the conscience and enfeebled the intellect of Catholic Europe. When we speak of the Jesuit style in architecture, rhetoric, and poetry, of Jesuit learning and scholarship, of Jesuit casuistry and of Jesuit diplomacy, it is either with languid contempt for bad taste and insipidity, or with the burning indignation which systematic falsehood and corruption inspire in honourable minds.’¹

Upon this general statement follows an individual instance, selected out of many, when, in 1584, thirty young noblemen of Siena were lured away from their families to fill the Jesuit ranks, in one case two brothers, sons of Pandolfo Petrucci, being actually induced to commit a theft to get them into the power of the Society. Blackest of all is the list of their political intrigues and crimes with which the chapter concludes, and which, beginning with the attempted murder of the Prince of Orange in 1580, and his actual murder in 1584, include the assassination of two French monarchs and the instigation of

Anm. 30 (German edit.) ; Herzog's *Encyclop. der Theologie* (first edit.), vol. vi. p. 533, xix. p. 671 ; comp. Besombes, *Moralis Christiana*, Tract. IV. art. II. tom. i. p. 58 b. (ed. Ven. 1757). We think that after reading this note every unprejudiced person will admit that when Mr. Symonds states, ‘The obedience of the Jesuits was to be absolute, extending even to the duty of committing sins at a Superior's orders’ (vol. i. p. 264), he states what is not true.

¹ Vol. i. p. 103.

the Gunpowder Plot in England, and reach a climax of audacity in the unaccountably sudden death of three Popes in succession who were supposed not to favour their order.

Aghast and breathless, the reader may well pause to moralise upon the fatal fundamental error of a system which could make a society, originally founded for the purpose of benefiting mankind, a company marching under the standard of the Name than which none other is given under heaven for our salvation, individual lives of self-sacrifice crowned in many instances by a martyr's death, yet all finally result in what can only be described as an organized system of crime, bringing with it its own fearful retribution in the violent suppression of the Order after an existence of two hundred and thirty years.

The story of the suppression, barbarous, violent, and unjust, avenging upon innocent individuals the guilt of a system for which they were not responsible, has been often told, but it is very ably condensed by Mr. Lilly in his chapter on the eighteenth century.¹ For the sake of impartiality it is also well to consider, side by side with the formidable indictment against the Jesuits just cited, his eloquent pleadings on their behalf, although it will be observed that some of the most tremendous accusations are passed by in silence.

If the public welfare of States suffered grievously from the interference of the Jesuits and the Inquisition, the chief agents of the counter-Reformation, their influence upon the social and domestic morals of Italy was not less disastrous; but the chapter devoted to this subject appears very weak by contrast with the preceding one, and is, in point of fact, nothing but a catalogue of the most revolting crimes, so revolting in unnecessary detail as to disqualify the book from the general reading to which on many grounds it is so eminently entitled. It is, moreover, unworthy of a writer of such eminent literary skill to string together one after the other a series of bald narratives badly translated from the original sources; and we miss the reference to Manzoni's famous *Colonna Infame* in the description of the plague at Milan, with the attendant horrors of the 'Untori,' which gave the name of 'La Peste degli Untori' to that awful visitation of 1629-30.

The first volume of Mr. Symonds's book is entirely occupied with the discussion of the Catholic reaction, which forms the sub-title of the work; but, as treated by the author, it makes a natural prelude to his main subject—'The Renaissance.' The word alone opens a vista of thought at once so vast and so

¹ *Chapters in European History*, vol. ii. pp. 99-107.

complicated that the student alike of history, literature, and art is glad to be able to gather into his hands the clues with which others have threaded the difficult labyrinth before deciding the question for himself. The works now before us for review may be said to adequately represent the condensed conclusions of the two great schools of thought upon the subject. The object of Mr. Symonds's five previous exhaustive studies of the Renaissance were, as he himself says, 'devoted to showing how Italy in the Renaissance elaborated a new way of regarding man and the world, a new system of education, new social manners, and a new type of culture for herself and Europe.'¹ It was, he proceeds to say, a 'period of transition from the middle ages,' and while 'she was engaged in this work she lost sight of Catholic Christianity,' till, forcibly reminded of its necessity by the violent progress of the Reformation, she was obliged in self-defence to organize the Catholic reaction in the methods which have been described at length in the first volume of his latest work, the one now under discussion.

The second volume endeavours to prove that this effort to crush Protestantism involved the simultaneous destruction of all Liberalism, such as the renaissance of literature and art and the political liberties of the people.

Three types of representative Italians of this period are selected as victims of such a system—Tasso in the madhouse of St. Anna, Giordano Bruno at the stake, and Fra Paolo Sarpi, who barely escaped the stilettoes of the Papal hirelings. Of these three very able monographs, the most powerful sketch is that of Fra Paolo Sarpi, which deserves the attention of all who desire a more intimate knowledge of the life, habits, and modes of thought of that great ecclesiastical historian, the Savonarola of his age, who nearly shared Savonarola's fate.² His life suggests also many points of resemblance with that of his living follower, Padre Curci, in its simplicity, his love of study, and zeal for the Church, which made him long for the reform of those corruptions which in this century were, as we have already seen, again exposed by Padre Curci in his *Vaticano Regio*. The following passage might have been written for both :—'What he really had at heart was the restoration of the Church of God to unity, to purer discipline, and to sincere spirituality.'³ He believed that this reconstruction would have been accomplished by the Council of Trent ; but, although 'the

¹ Vol. ii. p. 413.

² See the article on Sarpi in *C. Q. R.* for October 1886.

³ Vol. ii. p. 243.

dearest hope of his heart was frustrated, he did not vent his own disappointment in laments, which might have seemed rebellions against the Divine Will.' Both Fra Paolo Sarpi and Padre Curci *protested* against the worldliness of Rome, the ecclesiastical abuses, and the temporal power of the Pope; but they were not on that account *Protestants*, because they continued to believe firmly in the dogma, sacraments, and Divine institution of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church; and Padre Curci, when he made his submission to the Pope, was but echoing the words of Fra Paolo Sarpi—'It is better to suffer certain rules and customs that are not in all points commendable than to acquire a taste for revolution, and to yield to the temptation of confounding all things in chaos.'¹

The next chapter presents a sharp contrast to its grave predecessor, and, in a masterly quartet of Guarini, Marino, Chiabrera, and Tassoni, gives the picture of the decline of Renaissance literature; nor could any but so practised a literary hand have sifted the chaff of mannerism from the beauties of the *Pastor Fido*, have exposed the prolixity and false rhetoric of the *Adone* of Marino, while indicating its merits, have condemned Chiabrera as a failure, and have dissected with consummate skill the pungent satire of the heroico-comic poem, the *Secchia Rapita* of Alessandro Tassoni.

No picture of the Renaissance could aspire to the name without touching upon music and painting, and the two final chapters of the work are devoted to showing the effect of the counter-Reformation upon these.

However inadequate for their purpose the Tridentine decrees may have been in the larger matters of reform, we are indirectly indebted to the 'Decree on Church Music' for Palestrina's masterpiece, the 'Mass of Pope Marcellus.' The state of confusion to which ecclesiastical music had been reduced, the open profanity of the words, while every law of music was set at defiance in the execution, had made the Fathers of the Tridentine Council resolve that the scandal must be reformed, even at the cost of excluding all music but plain song from the service of the Church. So the committee of cardinals summoned to deliberate upon reform determined:

1. That masses and motetts in which different verbal themes were jumbled together should be prohibited.
2. That musical motives taken from profane songs should be abandoned.
3. That no countenance should be given to compositions or words invented by contemporary poets.

Further, that there

¹ Vol. ii. p. 247, quoting *Lettere di Fra Paolo Sarpi*, vol. i. p. 227.

should be a plain and intelligible enunciation of the sacred words. But the college of pontifical singers, accustomed to the more figured style of music, declared that it was impossible to put in practice such theories, and in this position of extreme difficulty the aid of Palestrina was invoked. He was to write—

‘a mass in sober ecclesiastical style, free from all impure and light suggestions in the themes, the melodies, and the rhythms, which should allow the sacred words in their full sense to be distinctly heard, without sacrificing vocal harmony and the customary interlacing of fugued passages. If he succeeded, the cardinals promised to make no further innovation; but if he failed, Carlo Borromeo warned him that the Congregation of Reform would disband the choral establishments of the Pontifical Chapel and the Roman churches, and prohibit the figured style in vogue in pursuance of the clear decision of the Tridentine Council.’¹

That he succeeded in his most arduous task was the universal verdict at the time, and it has since been confirmed by all who have heard the ‘Mass of Pope Marcellus,’ so called out of compliment to the good Pope Marcellus, whose brief pontificate of twenty-two days, so full of promise for the welfare of the Church, had been abruptly closed by an untimely death. This Mass and the ‘Arie Divote,’ written by Palestrina for the oratory of San Filippo Neri, to words composed by San Filippo himself, redeemed for ever ecclesiastical music from profanity and placed it in a position it had never occupied before; and, as Mr. Lilly beautifully expresses it—

‘From Palestrina to Carissimi, from Pergolese to Bach, from Gluck to Mozart, from Handel to Haydn, the heavenly secret was whispered down. No generation lacked gifted souls who caught and recorded, for the perpetual joy and solace of mankind, the outpourings of eternal harmonies which fell upon their trembling ears.’²

By a strange coincidence, simultaneously with the grave music of the oratorio, and composed in many cases by the same eminent masters, the brilliant and marvellous production of the opera were being elaborated in the Palazzo Vernio at Florence, and the appeal—

‘Sphere-born harmonious sisters, Voice and Verse,
Wed your divine sounds and mixed power employ
Dead things with inbreathed sense able to pierce’—

represents the last effort of the creative genius of Italy. For painting was already in a rapid decline, and to the influence

¹ Vol. ii. p. 354-5.

² Lilly, *Chapters in European History*, vol. i. p. 291.

of the counter-Reformation Mr. Symonds attributes all the faults of the mannerist school.

An unsparing criticism of the coarseness and vulgarity of the Caracci precedes a careful analysis of Guido, Albani, and Domenichino, ascribing the defects of the 'Martyrdom of St. Agnes,' Domenichino's masterpiece, to the *Exercitia Spiritualia*, and tracing to the same pernicious influence the horrible pictures of tortures, martyrdoms, and acts of violence by which Italy was inundated, and which, as Mr. Symonds truly observes, 'inspire neither terror nor pity, only the sickness of the shambles.' This feeling became still further intensified when the naturalist school of painting, led by Caravaggio and Lo Spagnoletto, succeeded to the mannerist, and painted the same subjects with a crude realism which rendered them still more revolting; but Lo Spada and Guercino are rescued from this category, and the masterpieces of Guercino receive a due meed of praise.

The general observations and criticisms on painting close with a reference to Sir Joshua Reynolds, and with, we think, an unnecessary apology from Mr. Symonds for 'noticing' his 'obsolete doctrine.' If the doctrine is 'obsolete,' it is singular that on the main points of art it should corroborate Mr. Symonds's own criticisms. We find in Mr. Symonds's work the admonition of Goethe quoted—

'To live in the whole,
The good, and the beautiful.'

Sir Joshua gives, it is true, the admonition a more practical direction with regard to art; but the sentiment is the same, when he devotes an entire discourse¹ to prove that genius consists principally in the comprehension of a whole: 'Excellence in every part and in every province of our art, from the highest style of history down to the resemblance of still life, will depend on this power of extending the attention to the whole, without which the greatest diligence is vain.' Then, as to the substitution of a false ideal for the faithful representation of nature, Mr. Symonds observes with truth:—

'The substitution of generic type for portraiture, the avoidance of individuality, the contempt for what is simple and natural in details, deprived their work of attractiveness and suggestion. It is noticeable that they never painted flowers. While studying Titian's landscapes, they omitted the iris, and the caper-blossom, and the columbine which star the grass beneath Ariadne's feet. The lessons of the rocks and chestnut-trees of his "St. Jerome's Solitude" were lost on

¹ *Discourse xi.*

them. They began the false system of depicting ideal foliage and ideal precipices—that is to say, trees which are not trees, and cliffs which cannot be distinguished from cork or stucco. In like manner, the clothes wherewith they clad their personages were not of brocade, or satin, or broadcloth, but of that empty lie called drapery. The purpled silks of Titian's "Lilac Lady" in the Pitti, the embroidered hems of Boccacini da Cremona, the crimson velvet of Raphael's "Joanna of Aragon," Veronese's cloth of silver and shot taffety, are replaced by one monotonous, nondescript stuff, differently dyed in dull or glaring colours, but always shoddy. Characteristic costumes have disappeared. We shall not find in any of their Massacres of the Innocents a soldier like Bonifazio's "Dall' Armi." In lieu of gems with flashing facets, or of quaint jewels from the Oreficeria, they adorn their kings and princesses with nothing less elevated than polished gold and ropes of pearls. After the same fashion, furniture, utensils, houses, animals, birds, weapons are idealized—stripped, that is to say, of what in these things is specific and vital.¹

All this is but the unconscious echo of Sir Joshua's eloquent passage :—

'Never lose sight of nature ; the instant you do you are all abroad, at the mercy of every gust of fashion, without knowing or seeing the point to which you ought to steer. . . . The art of seeing nature, or in other words, the art of using models, is in reality the great point to which our studies are directed. . . . He who recurs to nature, at every recurrence renews his strength : the rules of art he is never likely to forget, they are few and simple ; but nature is refined, subtle, and infinitely various, beyond the power of retention of memory ; it is necessary, therefore, to have continual recourse to her. In this intercourse there is no end of improvement ; the longer he lives the nearer he approaches to the true and perfect idea of art.'²

Mr. Symonds writes with condescending pity of the 'delusion' Sir Joshua fell into in his admiration of the 'so-called grand style,' as portrayed by the Caracci ; but, in reality, when the parallel passages are compared, the criticisms will be found to be the same, only expressed in different language :—

'Though the Caracci [writes Mr. Symonds] invented fresh attributes, and showed complete mastery of the human form, their types remained commonplace.'³

'The Caracci [observes Sir Joshua] it is acknowledged adopted the mechanical part with sufficient success. But the Divine part, which addresses itself to the imagination, as possessed by Michael-Angelo or Tibaldi, was beyond their grasp.'⁴

But the most conclusive testimony of all is to be found in the final paragraph of the *Discourses* ; for it proves that the one

¹ Vol. ii. pp. 405-6.

² *Disc.* xii.

³ Vol. ii. p. 377.

⁴ *Disc.* xv.

purpose of their now 'obsolete doctrine' was to give the highest place in art to Michael-Angelo, to 'bear testimony of my admiration of that truly divine man; and I should desire that the last words which I should pronounce in this Academy, and from this place, might be the name of *Michael-Angelo*.'¹

Mr. Symonds arrives at precisely the same conclusion when he selects Michael-Angelo as the highest type of artist; but when he also gives him the title of 'Prophet, or Seer of the Renaissance,' two questions again force themselves before our mind—What is the meaning of the word Renaissance? When did the Renaissance take place? In the first place, is the common acceptance of the word, 'the new birth of freedom,' true? Is liberty the characteristic note of the Renaissance? Many writers of great reputation have answered in the affirmative. They are summed up, one under the other, by Mr. Lilly when he gives quotations from Michelet, Pater, Freeman, and the highest place in that school of thought to Mr. Symonds's five previous volumes upon the subject.²

But this definition is capable of a fuller construction when employed by the opposite school of thought. With them liberty is not only 'the absence of restraints upon the true development and right exercise of the human faculties,' it has a positive side also—

It 'is the undimmed possession of inward light, the enjoyment of the vision and faculty divine, unobscured by arbitrary rules, unrestricted by false conventionalisms; *but* there are rules which are not arbitrary, and conventionalisms which are not false, whereby the thinker is enabled to discern, after his measure, the objective quality of things—to look through phenomena upon the venerable face of Nature, to apprehend truth in his own mind, and creatively to fashion it there. For truth is the object of the human intellect in whatever department of thought engaged; and where its bright beams are shut out there is no freedom, but—worse imprisonment—the darkened mind becomes the dungeon of itself. Philosophy, morals, art, do but contemplate different sides of truth, for nothing but truth is good or beautiful, and nothing is good or beautiful that is not true; all truth, goodness, and beauty of which we have knowledge being but faint emanations, the dim shadows of Him who alone, in the highest sense, *Is*.'³

Such a construction as this, far from bearing out the common acceptance of the word and the period at which it is generally fixed, will on the contrary disprove the claim of the Renaissance on all grounds, political, social, scien-

¹ *Disc.* xv.

² Lilly, *Chapters in European History*, vol. i. p. 255.

³ *Ibid.* p. 258.

tific, literary, and artistic, to the title—of a new birth unto liberty.

In order to arrive at the date vaguely assigned to the Renaissance, we must go over again the accepted division of European history into three epochs—1. The first eight centuries of the Christian era. 2. The next seven centuries of the Middle Ages; and the three succeeding ones down to the closing decade of the last century—to fix the Renaissance epoch.

This general division established, we may follow, for the purpose we have in view, Mr. Symonds in assigning the years 1453–1527 as convenient for fixing ‘in the mind the narrow space of time during which the Renaissance culminated and the highest point of the culmination during the eight years of the pontificate of Leo X.’¹

The picture of political Europe at that time, viewed in a general aspect, and of Italy in particular, when described by Mr. Symonds as ‘The Age of the Despots,’ will show no ‘new birth unto liberty;’ it was, on the contrary, nothing but the beginning of the ‘March of Absolutism,’ which, by the end of the sixteenth century, wielded its sway throughout Europe.

If the Renaissance was not a new birth unto political liberty, can the title be claimed for it in poetry? Again the answer is an emphatic negative. It is like comparing the respective merits of creation and imitation to attempt to set side by side with the unfettered freedom of Dante’s noble intellect the poets who share with him the laurels of the Italian Parnassus.

Like the eagle of his own divine poem, he fixed his eye on the eternal sun, and drawing his inspiration thence, soared with spiritual insight beyond the reach of time and space, so that his thoughts will endure throughout all ages as a *κτήμα ἐς αἰῶνα*, ‘a possession and a joy for ever.’ This was liberty indeed, beside which the poetical inspirations of Petrarch, Ariosto, and Tasso, however beautiful, attractive, and alluring by their polished refinement, yet seem, when compared with the flight of the eagle, but the gyrations of a trained falcon. She also can soar with infinite grace, and sometimes to so lofty a height as if she were about to be lost in space, but she is a captive notwithstanding, and at the beck of her master she must return to the earth whence she took her flight.

The subject of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* was indeed

¹ *Age of the Despots*, preface, p. 1.

sufficient to carry the trouble-tossed mind of the writer heavenward beyond the reach of his tormentors ; but in the artificial age to which he belonged his free thought was for ever checked and clogged by the fetters of classical pedantry, just as, to the shame of the age be it stated, his hands were loaded with manacles in the foul dungeon of St. Anna. The Renaissance or 'new birth unto liberty' in poetry was not by any means with him.

Art is next put forward as the especial field of the Renaissance influence ; but when the 'arts of design' are taken one by one, neither in architecture, sculpture, nor painting can the period commonly assigned to the Renaissance be said to bear the stamp of liberty.

'Renaissance architecture [writes Mr. Ruskin] is the school which has conducted men's inventive faculties from the Grand Canal to Gower Street ; from the marble shaft and the lancet arch, the wreathed leafage and the glowing and melting harmony of gold and azure, to the square cavity in the brick wall.'¹

No touches certainly are required to complete that picture.

In sculpture the observation is so obvious as almost to appear trite, that it reached its zenith with Michael-Angelo—in which case Mr. Symonds's appellation of prophet or seer of the Renaissance is not well chosen—and that after that it declined to a servile copying of the classical or living model or an equally servile imitation of the *chefs-d'œuvre* of antiquity. The Renaissance cannot therefore be said to be a 'new birth to liberty' in sculpture. Nor yet in painting, for the same universal consent which bids all sculpture lead up to a climax in Michael-Angelo would make Raphael represent the culmination of the art of painting, and thence the decline of art is gradual but steady till it reaches those depths of which Mr. Symonds's latest volumes afford such convincing proof.

Lastly, science. Was it 'a new birth unto liberty' which narrowed down to the study of the mere physical sciences of this material world the knowledge which in the thirteenth century was centred upon Him who created it all, by whose breath it was made, and by whose word 'The heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up'?² How infinitely grander, freer,

¹ *Chapters in European History*, vol. i. p. 284, quoting *Lectures on Architecture*, p. 134.

² 1 St. Peter iii. 10.

and more noble was the conception of the Schoolmen which placed theology on the throne of science, round which the other sciences revolved, borrowing their light from thence !

‘With the old Schoolmen that God was the basis of all truth, the foundation of all sciences, was not a piece of pious rhetoric, but a scientific axiom. Necessary truth is unchangeable, they said, simply on account of His immutability ; His All-Holy Nature is the source of morality, His Eternal Word the sanction of certainty. In this spirit they pursued their labours in every department of human thought, freely using in their search after truth every instrument proper for its discovery : observation, induction, deduction, abstraction, speculation.’¹

When, therefore, the ‘Revival of Letters’ had for its result the study of the humanities of literature to the exclusion of, or with the purpose of discrediting, the study of theology, in other words, the knowledge of God, man, by the exchange of the infinite for the finite, restricted instead of enlarging the confines of his reason, and the Renaissance must forego her claim to having wrought ‘a new birth unto liberty’ for science.

What, then, was the Renaissance? If it is to be taken in the sense of a ‘new birth unto liberty,’ we have seen that it will not fit the period generally assigned to it in history by one great school of writers upon the subject. The evidence of facts would rather indicate that it ceased to exist at the time when, by a common but vague and misleading acceptance, it is supposed to have begun—that is, at that period of European history when from one cause or another the spirit of religion ceased to guide those highest intellectual faculties which, as they are derived from God, can only receive from Him their fullest and most perfect development.

We must retrace our steps further down the stream of time, but we need not leave the beautiful country with which the word is pre-eminently connected, when we can find in Dante, Donatello, and Michael-Angelo living examples of the Renaissance in the highest, truest sense of the word ; nor is the word ‘living’ misapplied, for from Him who can alone give immortality they derived the inspirations which have rendered their works immortal.

Mr. Symonds’s indictment against the Church of Rome is tremendous, and it is just, but he does not realize that the flagrant errors of the Catholic reaction were due to her having lost sight of her spiritual character and her divine commission, not because she insisted upon them too much.

¹ *Chapters in European History*, vol. i. p. 294.

What he terms in one place 'a venerable delusion' and in another 'the false deities of an antiquated religion,' is in truth 'the faith once delivered to the saints,' which was placed in sore jeopardy when those who should have been its guardians were the victims of worldly ambition and vice. But the remedy is not to be found in rationalism, which it is much to be regretted *has* 'penetrated and permeated the Christian races,' nor yet in Protestantism, nor any rash handling of the faith of Christ.

'Vie più che indarno da riva si parte,
Perchè non torna tal qual ei si muove,
Chi pesca per lo vero, e non ha l' arte :
E di ciò sono al mondo aperte prove
Parmenide, Melisso, e Brisso e molti
I quali andavan, nè sapean dove.
Sì fe Sabellio ed Arrio e quegli stolti
Che furon come spade alle scritture
In render tórti li diritti volti.'¹

Par. xiii. 121-9.

Nor can the heart created to love, serve, and worship, rest content with the mere cold negation of error.

Nearly half a century ago one of those earnest minds and zealous natures who, from the very ranks of the Church of Rome, have from time to time pleaded with fearless self-sacrifice the cause of truth and justice, suggested, while leaving the events of history to slumber in the 'domaine paisible du passé,' a noble future for

'l'institution Catholique languissante et persécutée, principalement par les pouvoirs qui affectent de s'en déclarer protecteurs. Il pensoit qu'elle devoit étendre ses racines presque desséchées dans le sein de l'humanité même, pour y puiser de nouveau la sève qui lui manquoit et qu'en unissant sa cause à celle des peuples, elle pourroit recouvrer sa vigueur éteinte, régulariser le mouvement social et le hâter en lui imprimant ce caractère religieux qui naturellement lié à tous les instincts de l'homme est aussi une force et la plus grande. Quelque chose de semblable à ce qui se passa lors de la première prédication de l'Evangile paraissoit nécessaire pour ramener au Catholicisme

¹ 'Since he returns not such as forth he went,
He goes far more than vainly from the shore
To fish for truth, who lacks art competent.
Parmenides, Melissus, and (with more)
Brissus, this plainly to the world disclose ;
Who went, and knew not whither their way bore.
So did Sabellius, Arius, and those
Whose folly made them mar, as swords, the pure
And perfect features that the Scripture shows.

Haselfoot's Trans.

defaillant les populations qui s'en éloignoient. La fraternité universelle proclamée par Jésus, cette doctrine si belle, si constante, si divine, recueillie dans les profondeurs désolées de l'âme humaine y ranima soudain les germes flétris du vrai et du bien, que Dieu y avait déposés originairement. Ce qu'une société égoïste et corrompue avait abaissé le Christ le releva, Rénovateur des lois immuables, de l'oubli desquels étaient sortis tant de maux, tant de crimes, tant d'oppressions, il effaça devant le commun Père, qui ne fait point d'exception entre ses enfants, toutes les distinctions créées par l'orgueil et la cupidité. Il plaça le pauvre en face du riche, le faible en présence du fort, et il demanda quel est le plus grand ? Et le plus grand, ce ne fut ni le fort à cause de sa force, ni le faible à cause de sa faiblesse, ni le riche à cause de son opulence, ni le pauvre à cause de sa dénûment, mais celui qui accompliroit plus parfaitement le souverain précepte d'aimer Dieu et les hommes. Les droits les plus sacrés, parce qu'ils n'avoient d'autre défense qu'eux-mêmes, furent les droits de ceux à qui jusque là on n'avait reconnu aucuns droits : les devoirs les plus étendus furent les devoirs de ceux qui s'étoient cru au-dessus de tout devoir. Le titre de serviteur devint la définition même du pouvoir. On dut se faire le dernier pour être le premier.¹

Since these eloquent words were penned, the future of Italy has advanced far upon its way, and Mr. Symonds does not paint his picture in too bright colours when he says that

'in this year of grace we have before us the spectacle of a resuscitated Italy. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the work of her heroes, Vittorio Emmanuele, Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Cavour, stands firmly founded. The creation of united Italy, that latest birth of the Italian genius, that most impossible of dreamed-of triumphs through long ages of her glory and greatness, compensates for all that she has borne in these three hundred years.'²

But when, in order to traverse 'the space of time in front, incalculably longer than that which is left behind,' he proceeds to invoke the assistance of faith, hope, and charity, we feel that we need hardly recall to so practised a student of Dante that these are theological virtues placed on that account in the highest spheres of the Paradiso, and that they would point to a greater future yet, which, still beginning with Italy, may extend to the uttermost parts of the earth—a future which will only be fulfilled when united Christendom shall once more join in the worship of Him 'in knowledge of Whom standeth our eternal life, whose *service* is *perfect freedom*.'

¹ *Affaires de Rome*, par F. Lamennais, vol. i. pp. 5, 6.

² Vol. ii. p. 435.

ART. VI.—THE CULTURE OF THE HORRIBLE:
MR. HAGGARD'S STORIES.

1. *The Witch's Head.* A Novel. By H. RIDER HAGGARD. (London.)
2. *King Solomon's Mines.* By H. RIDER HAGGARD. Forty-eighth thousand. (London, 1887.)
3. *She. A History of Adventure.* By H. RIDER HAGGARD. Sixth edition. Thirty-first to Thirty-fifth thousand. (London, 1887.)
4. *Allan Quatermain.* Being an Account of his further Adventures and Discoveries in company with Sir Henry Curtis, Bart., Commander John Good, R.N., and one Umslopogaas. By H. RIDER HAGGARD. (London, 1887.)
5. *Jess.* Third edition. By H. RIDER HAGGARD. (London, 1887.)

IT requires no little consideration rightly to estimate the relation which novels bear to life in the present day. Whilst great advance has been made in every branch of human knowledge, and the accumulation of facts renders a mastery of any subject harder for ourselves than it was for our forefathers, the hurry and pressure of modern life tends to make those books most popular which awaken interest without demanding the exercise of thought. To meet this condition of the public mind every conceivable lesson, sacred and profane, scientific and artistic, historical and social, orthodox and sceptical, is disguised under the garb of fiction, until mere stories probably exercise a larger influence at this moment than at any other period in the world's history. If we may judge from some recent indications, we shall soon be reaping the natural result of this indulgence of modern craving for naked intellectual indolence. We have still amongst us many authors who worthily maintain the high dignity acquired for fiction by Miss Austen and Sir Walter Scott, by Thackeray and George Eliot; but is there not some reason to fear that novel-writing is rapidly descending to the level of mere narrative of startling incident? Is description of adventure not taking the place of delineation of character? Is the hasty dash of the scene-painter to supersede the thoughtful finish of the genuine artist? Is a taste springing up—to which some popular authors are not ashamed to pander—which craves

after pernicious stimulus, and has no enjoyment of chaste and thoughtful composition? So long as writers, whose books are disfigured by extravagance of assertion, unrestrained indulgence in semi-sensual and repulsive detail, and a pernicious familiarity with topics which good taste and Christian feeling prompt us to handle reverently—so long as such writers are left on the same shelf with M. Zola—we might be content to pass them by in silence; but when their works are praised by the acknowledged guides of English literary taste, circulated in periodicals held deservedly in high esteem, and pushed by all the arts of modern *réclame* to a sale of many thousands of copies, they become so serious a nuisance as to call for loud and immediate protest.

These remarks have been suggested by the popularity of Mr. Haggard's stories, whose titles stand at the head of our article. Let us admit frankly at the outset that they are not wanting in some of the qualities which deserve success. The author's genuine admiration of manly pluck and fighting skill are specially attractive in a day when athletic exercises are even apt to be overrated. His narrative flows on with uninterrupted rapidity. His style is easy, and some of his characters—such as his savage heroes and persons in the humbler walk of life—are simple, and the latter are endowed with a genial humour that occasionally degenerates into coarseness. One incident follows another so quickly as to keep the story from flagging, and the writer's acquaintance with African scenery and manners, and with the details of hunting larger game, gives reality and vigour to his pages. If, moreover, there are readers—and we presume from the commercial success of Mr. Haggard's writings that they form a numerous class—who can experience any other sensation than weariness from the perusal of page after page describing caverns and tombs and deserted cities—mere *châteaux d'Espagne*—the creation of architectural fancy run mad; if the disagreeable mannerism of pretended editorship, which allows the writer to make comments on his own narrative, and to correct affected mistakes by means of footnotes; if the constant re-introduction in successive stories of the same characters under the flimsiest of disguises, and most of these besides such mere *nominis umbræ* that it is hard to feel the faintest interest in them or in their fortunes; if the wiredrawn conceit of spreading an inscription over many pages by its repetition in different languages and in varied type; if the absence of most of the higher qualities of style which ensure a permanent place in literature—if all these defects ought to be condoned

on the plea of counterbalancing excellence, we should be content to pass them by without further criticism. For adventure pure and simple, written only to amuse, is a legitimate, if not a very lofty aim, and the hands of a competent artist would mould it into stories that should be delightful to the imagination as well as interesting to the understanding. Dexterity in construction, intricacy of plot, vivid powers of describing things fairly describable, and genuine enthusiasm might combine to present such stirring perils by flood and field as should kindle a keen, healthy interest, and foster manliness of thought and character. But such books could no more be produced without the conscious or unconscious observance of the canons by which the literature of the imagination is regulated, than a valid argument can be constructed in defiance of the rules of logic. Whether Mr. Haggard sins, and in what degree, against the laws of his art, we hope to make sufficiently plain to our readers.

Mr. Haggard's stock in trade is singularly limited. A few very shadowy characters, with a scanty sprinkling of more substantial actors—a description of a sunrise, a sunset, and a storm—scenes from life and sport in Southern and Central Africa—a battle involving terrific carnage and a desperate single combat described with the minuteness and refinement that would grace the account of a prize fight in a sporting newspaper—these, with the architectural details already adverted to—interspersed with agnostic reflections, morbid moralizing, and a queer vein of genuine but broad humour, form the warp and woof of these stories. If the dramatis personæ are mostly either fiends or fools, we have the satisfaction of seeing them gradually disappear as the story is developed, and the curtain falls upon a stage that has been cleared of many of the leading actors. With the exception of Jess and (as it has been well termed) 'that utterly impossible She,' there is very little delineation of character, and the author relies for his effects upon the skill, such as it is, with which he can interweave horrors into his narrative. We have them in every conceivable form. Indiscriminate and individual slaughter, whole corpses and dismembered limbs, skulls and bones, duels and suicide, torture and treachery, witchcraft and madness—all are available material for Mr. Haggard's purpose. He presents us with all the minutæ of the shambles and all the imagery of the charnel-house, and when the frightful scenes of suffering and slaughter have been duly exhausted in action, we have a distorted repetition of them in the actor's dreams. That the narrative at times trembles on the verge of sen-

suality, that the writer's humour does not disclaim the broadest farce, that his well-bred Englishmen can hardly be acquitted of vulgarity, and that sceptical theories should be gratuitously scattered broadcast in his pages, are subsidiary but serious blemishes in what may be designated as the culture of the horrible. We shall give our readers ample opportunity to determine how far these strictures are deserved, and shall also notice, as occasion offers, some other peculiarities of the author's style.

Now the first requisite in all works of pure imagination is self-restraint. It needs neither art nor genius to kindle superficial emotion if the writer has no reserve. It is easy to season a story with coarse attractions, to invest it with powerful though evanescent interest, and to gain a passing reputation for strength by vehement efforts to say extraordinary things; but very different qualities are essential to fiction of a high order. Simplicity and sincerity, delicacy and sympathy, are necessary to its construction, and these elements are conspicuous by their absence in Mr. Haggard's stories. His elaborate detail is too often only tawdry ornament. His raptures are so insincere and unreal as to suggest the uncomfortable suspicion that he is laughing at his readers. He knows not, or he utterly disregards, the sanctities with which mankind deems it fitting to shroud the secrets of the tomb and the solemn presence chamber of death. Nor are these defects a venial violation of merely conventional propriety. They are transgressions of innate and universal law,

‘Not easily forgiven
Are those who, setting wide the doors that bar
The secret bridal chambers of the heart,
Let in the day.’

But it is time to pass from general principles to their application. It is Mr. Haggard's wont to supply himself with certain invariable stage properties before he introduces his melodramas to his audience. These include, first, an insipid Adonis, of whom all the women are enamoured, and a champion pugilist, whose exploits fill a large space in the play; second, two or more women, whose affections are at cross purposes, to the eventual triumph in most cases of the least worthy; third, several scoundrels, civilized and savage, whose repulsive appearance and atrocious deeds form the leading attractions; and lastly, a crabbed, sententious sage, the guide, philosopher, and friend of the piece. The story of *Jess* apart, there are characters in each of the four other books before us

which might be bodily transferred and exchanged from one story to another without any sense of incongruity jarring upon the mind of the reader.

The Witch's Head opens with a pitched battle between Ernest Kershaw and Jeremy Jones, who become subsequently the Adonis and the champion of the story. The two boys are living, as is Jeremy's sister Dorothy, under the roof of Reginald Cardus. All three are orphans. Ernest is a nephew of Reginald's, and the other two are the children of Mary Atterleigh, to whom Cardus had been engaged, and by whom he had been jilted. Two sisters, Eva and Florence Ceswick—the former surpassingly beautiful and a fool, the other less fair and a fiend; Mr. de Talor, a vulgar, unprincipled, and wealthy *parvenu*; Rev. James Plowden, a diabolical and impossible clergyman; a maniac grandfather of Jeremy and Dorothy; and Mr. Alston, a sententious colonist—form the company. The story itself is sufficiently commonplace, its seeming purpose, if it have any, being to illustrate the mischief which may be wrought by the weakness of a beautiful woman, who, having won a man's true love, has not the firmness to be faithful. The tragedy is brought about by the infernal intrigues of Florence Ceswick, who is herself in love with Ernest, and is determined that Eva shall not marry him.

We feel that we must apologize to our readers for introducing them to *The Witch's Head*; but as its name appears on the titlepage of all Mr. Haggard's later works, he evidently exults in its authorship, and would take advantage of the popularity of *She* and *King Solomon's Mines* to promote its sale. We know not how to escape the imputation of harshness in handling it. The story is clumsy in construction, and so essentially coarse, alike in expression and in thought, that its pages bristle with sentences that outrage sound judgment, cultivated taste, and refined discrimination. The seashore adjoining Kesterwick is said to present a coast line out 'of which the waves had taken huge mouthfuls, *till it was as full of gaps as an old crone's jaw*.' Lady Kershaw (the one bright, lovable person of the story) knows that her blind husband *will be down on his luck* for at least a day after he has described the circumstances under which he lost his sight. Florence Ceswick soundly rates her future brother-in-law—

"Listen; it suits my purpose that you should marry Eva, and you shall marry her; but I will not stoop to play the hypocrite with a man like you. You talk of yourself as a gentleman—a *gentleman*, forsooth! A satyr, a devil in disguise!" . . . Mr. Plowden left the

house white with fury, and cursing in a manner remarkable in a clergyman' (pp. 204, 205).

It would be hard indeed to surpass the coarseness of these brief extracts, but even vulgarity may be aggravated by its intrusion at a specially incongruous season, and this literary feat Mr. Haggard has successfully accomplished. Ernest persuades Eva to sail with him one summer evening, and the one tender love scene of the story follows. With poetry and mutual vows of unwavering fidelity, with rapture and blandishment, they repeat the old, old story. When they return to the shore the boatman is awaiting them.

'Ernest paid the man, and they turned to go. Eva had not got many yards when she felt a heavy hand laid upon her shoulder. Turning in astonishment she perceived the mariner. "I say, miss," he said in a hoarse whisper. "Well, what?" "*Never you eat the rind of a Dutch cheese!*" [The italics are Mr. Haggard's.] "I says it as knows." Eva did not forget his advice' (p. 77).

We shall be so largely indebted to Mr. Haggard for quotations that we borrow another brief one as our sole comment on this extract. 'Ernest's was a fine-strung mind,' he tells us, 'and he shuddered when it was set to play such coarse music.' We shudder too.

We should hardly have troubled our readers with any further notice of *The Witch's Head*, but for the illustration it affords of Mr. Haggard's extraordinary predilection for the horrible. The title of his story is derived from a mere passing incident, introduced quite unnecessarily, without any influence upon the course of the story or the fortunes of the characters, but apparently suggested by the author's conviction that a tale, unless it be highly seasoned with horrors, is a very insipid affair indeed. The sea has encroached upon the churchyard of the village where Eva Ceswick and Mr. Cardus reside, and the young lady finds upon the shore a leaden box, which is brought to the house of Mr. Cardus and opened in the presence of the whole family.

'And this was what they saw there upon the box:—Let the reader imagine the face and head of a lovely woman of some thirty years of age, the latter covered with rippling brown locks of great length, above which was set a roughly fashioned coronet studded with uncut gems. Let him imagine this face, all but the lips, which were coloured red, pale with the bloodless pallor of death, and the flesh so firm and fresh-looking that it might have been that of a corpse not a day old; so firm, indeed, that the head and all its pendent weight of beautiful hair could stand on the un-

shrunk base of the neck which, in some far-past age, cold steel had made so smooth. Then let him imagine the crowning horror of this weird sight. The eyes of a corpse are shut, but the eyes in this head were wide open, and the long black lashes, as perfect now as on the day of death, hung over what appeared, when the light struck them, to be two balls of trembling fire, that glittered and rolled and fixed themselves upon the face of the observer like human eyes. It was these awful eyes that carried such terror to the hearts of the on-lookers when they cast their first glance around, and made them, not unnaturally, cry out that it was alive. . . . But perhaps the most dreadful thing about this relic of forgotten ages was the mocking smile that the artist who "set it up" had managed to preserve upon the face—a smile that just drew the lips up enough to show the white teeth beneath, and gave the idea that its wearer had died in the full enjoyment of some malicious jest or triumph. It was a terrible thing to look on, that long-dead, beautiful face, with its abundant hair, its crowning coronet, its moving crystal eyes, and its smile; and yet there was something awfully fascinating about it: those who had seen it once would always long to see it again.¹

This cheerful ornament, which irresistibly recalls a certain railway advertisement of Nubian blacking, possessed, like the witch, of moving crystal eyes, and, with the further attraction of swarthy features, is duly set upon a bracket and forgotten until the close of the story. The revenge of Reginald Cardus—another episode in this strange tale—is accomplished. 'Jones, *who was rich*, went fraudulently bankrupt, and ended by committing suicide.' De Talor is utterly ruined through the secret intrigues of Cardus, who, although apparently a country solicitor at Kesterwick, is really the head of three other firms practising respectively at Ipswich, Norwich, and London, as well as sole proprietor of a railway grease factory at Manchester, and partner in a leading house on the London Stock Exchange. Mr. Haggard does not do things by halves. De Talor is hopelessly penniless. Cardus is a millionaire. A month after this consummation is reached, the case containing the Witch's Head is burst open by the falling of some armour suspended above it, and everyone is 'unhinged' at the sight of the baleful eyes which seem to *nod, nod, nod*. That same night, mad Atterleigh stabs Mr. Cardus in his bed, and, mounting Ernest Kershaw's black horse, the Devil, plunges into the sea marshes, and is lost. The description is too long to be quoted in full, and no abbreviation could do justice to the absurdity of its style and language. Our old friend the sailor, who has been lost sight of for three hundred pages, appropriately reappears at the

¹ *The Witch's Head*, pp. 60-61.

closing scene. 'Bust me!' said the ancient one aloud, and shaking with a mortal dread; 'bust me, I have stood still and seed many a queer thing, but I never seed a thing like that!' Comment is superfluous.

She, King Solomon's Mines, and *Allan Quatermain* may be classed together. They are all stories of imaginary adventure, a type of romance, as it appears to us, utterly unworthy of the literary ability which has recently been devoted to it, but which, through the writings of Jules Verne, Mr. R. L. Stevenson, and others, has attained very great popularity. In some respects Mr. Haggard must be placed in the very front rank of writers of this class of fiction. He possesses very remarkable imaginative power. He can write descriptions of natural scenery, of sporting incident, and of perilous adventure with a vivid brilliancy that has rarely been surpassed. The ability to portray all the higher qualities of African savage life, and the writer's sympathy, as well as his acquaintance, with Zulu character, give a reality to his savage heroes which is wanting to the European characters in these three stories. The portraiture of the latter is confined to what any farce-writer would select in placing his piece upon the stage—oddity of feature, dress, and manner—trick of gesture or of phrase. Nor does Mr. Haggard lack special ingenuity in keeping the preternatural element so largely in subordination to what is possible as to make the two blend easily together. We may have to advert presently to the method which he employs to work out a realistic picture by introducing matters of daily experience into the substance of his wildest conceptions. Yet, without calling in question these important qualifications, we question whether three more repulsive books have for a long season been sent forth by publishers of good repute than *She, King Solomon's Mines*, and *Allan Quatermain*.

Most of the blemishes in Mr. Haggard's writings may be traced to his disregard of the sound rule *Nec nimis valde, nec nimis sæpe*. He knows nothing of the force of moderation. From more than a purely literary point of view the blots arising from this neglect of self-restraint are neither few nor unimportant. We are anxious not to be misunderstood. We do not wish to check the flight of Mr. Haggard's imagination. We do not object to the conception of life and beauty preserved unimpaired for two thousand years, nor to the weird journey in search of King Solomon's Mines, nor to the voyage by the underground river that passed through the subterranean volcanic lake and emerged in the lost country of the Zu Vendi. If we do not place a high value upon even well-

elaborated conceits of this nature it is because the ground has already been so fully occupied that we are satiated with such literary dainties, and still more because the marvels revealed by science are of such supreme interest as to make us impatient that any man's talents should be absorbed in working out unsubstantial wonders. But, accepting Mr. Haggard's work from an entirely neutral standpoint, it cannot bear the test of sound literary criticism; not because of the subjects selected, but because of his mode of handling them. The faults we have to expose would equally mar the attempt to deal through the medium of fiction with any section of the broad field of human life.

We have already alluded to Mr. Haggard's tendency to exaggeration. He continually overdoes his part. He has little sense of proportion. All his adjectives are superlatives. Once embarked on the stream of the supernatural the reader is prepared quietly to enjoy some of the wonders described under a temporary delusion of their reality; but this repose is forbidden us. We are perpetually stirred up by the energy of the writer's affirmations or the extravagance of his epithets. Sometimes these are so startling as to awaken not only our antagonism, but our strong repugnance. When we read in the description of She's incantations, 'down came the clenched hands to her side, then up again above her head, and, *as I am a living and honourable man*, the white flame of the fire leapt up after them,' we are provoked to brand the statement as the briefest and most odious of English monosyllables. A kindred feeling of irritation is awakened by the repetition *usque ad nauseam* of the assertion that the writer's powers are too feeble to convey an adequate idea of the marvels he is setting before us. It is the business of his art to give expression to beauty, emotion, and thought, and although it may be perfectly legitimate at times to assert that any of these were present in a form or degree which was indescribable, yet the continual reiteration of such a statement evinces poverty of skill and still more of pains. No more indolent device can be adopted to evade the trouble of accurate and exact description than to declare that anything is indescribable. How often Mr. Haggard betakes himself to this refuge for the destitute may be gathered from the following extracts, and our list is by no means exhaustive.

He 'cannot describe' two minutes of heart-breaking excitement amongst the breakers (*She*, p. 54), nor the look of wise and sardonic humour with which Bellali's whole countenance was instinct (p. 77), nor the grim grandeur of the tower-

ing volcanic mass above the plain of Kôr (p. 128), nor the melancholy chant of his hearers and the effect produced by their voices (p. 130), nor the attraction by which Holly was drawn through the dark passage to witness She's incantations (p. 161), nor the agony, the blind passion, and the awful vindictiveness displayed upon She's quivering features, and in the tortured look of her upturned eyes (p. 163), nor the sculptures in the cave of torture, which are so awful that he will not harrow the reader by attempting their description (p. 175, note), nor the awful and hideous grandeur of the arena lighted by torches of dead bodies (p. 218), nor the infernal and fiendish can-can danced at this fascinating spectacle (p. 219), nor the grandeur of the sight presented by the Temple of Truth (p. 259), nor the poet's dream of beauty frozen into stone (p. 265). No doubt some of these things present considerable difficulty even to a well-practised pen, but as Mr. Haggard has grappled with tasks no less arduous, and, in the opinion of his admirers, with no mean success, we feel that we are not intended to take him *au pied de la lettre*, and that it is only a stale trick by which he desires to goad our jaded sense of astonishment to quickened sensibility.

The painful sense of this inarticulate dumbness in presence of the mighty thoughts 'too big for words' that constantly oppresses Mr. Haggard's soul, finds occasionally very ludicrous vent. We are favoured at length with the terms in which She curses her rival, who had been dead now for a brief matter of 2,000 years, and the denunciation, which extends over more than a page, is made irresistibly comic by the words '*and so on*' at its close. The writer proceeds:—

'The flame rose and fell, reflecting itself in her agonised eyes; the hissing sound of her terrible maledictions—and no words of mine, *especially on paper*, can convey how terrible they were—ran round the walls, and died away in little echoes,' &c. (p. 164).

Are we to understand that, if vellum or papyrus had been available, the reader would have enjoyed a more vivid impression of the scene? Possibly we may congratulate ourselves that the conducting power of the medium was not more perfect when we learn the extraordinary effect produced by a glance at a piece of statuary in the Temple of Truth:—

'For in the exact centre of the court, placed upon a thick square slab of rock, was a huge round ball of stone, some forty feet in diameter, and standing on the ball was a colossal winged figure, of a beauty so entrancing and divine that when I first gazed upon it, illuminated and shadowed as it was by the soft light of the moon,

my breath stood still, and for a moment my heart ceased beating' (p. 264).

Mr. Haggard's lack of simplicity frequently neutralises some of the most marked excellences of his book. When he can resist the temptation to indulge in fine writing he presents us with sketches of scenery that, for beauty and truthfulness, cannot easily be surpassed. Take the following description of sunrise : except for some redundancy at the close, it is exquisite :—

'The moon went slowly down in chastened loveliness : she departed like some sweet bride into her chamber, and long, veil-like shadows crept up the sky, through which the stars peeped slyly out. Soon, however, they too began to pale before a splendour in the east, and then the quivering footsteps of the dawn came rushing across the new-born blue, and shook the planets from their places. Quieter and yet more quiet grew the sea : quiet as the soft mist that brooded on her bosom and covered up her troubling, as the illusive wreaths of sleep brood upon a pain-racked mind, causing it to forget its sorrow. From the east to the west sped the angels of the dawn, from sea to sea, from mountain-top to mountain-top, scattering light with both their hands. On they sped out of the darkness : perfect, glorious, like spirits of the just breaking from the tomb ; on, over the quiet sea, over the low coast and the swamps beyond, and the mountains beyond them ; over those who slept in peace and those who woke in sorrow, over the evil and the good, over the living and dead, over the wide world and all that breathes or has breathed thereon' (*She*, pp. 56-7).

Is it not strange that an author who has so clear an eye for poetic beauty, even though it may clothe his expression of it in too luxuriant language, should have allowed himself to compose such an extract as follows, which occurs in his account of country life amongst the Zu Vendi :—

'On other days we would pay visits to the country seats at some of the great lords' beautiful fortified places, and the villages clustering beneath their walls. Here we saw vineyards and cornfields, and well-kept, park-like grounds, with such timber in them as filled me with delight, for I do love a good tree. There it stands, so strong and sturdy and yet so beautiful, a very type of the best sort of man. How proudly it lifts its bare head to the winter storms, and with what a full heart it rejoices when the spring has come again ! How grand its voice is, too, when it talks with the wind—a thousand æolian harps cannot equal the beauty of the sighing of a great tree in leaf. All day it points to the sunshine, and all night to the stars, and thus passionless, and yet full of life, it endures through the centuries, come storm, come shine, drawing its sustenance from the cool bosom of its mother earth, and as the slow years roll by learning the great

mysteries of growth and of decay. And so on and on through generations, outliving individuals, customs, dynasties—all save the landscape it adorns and human nature—till the appointed day when the wind wins the long battle and rejoices over a reclaimed space, or decay puts the last stroke to his fungus-fingered work. Oh ! one should always think twice before one cuts down a tree.’¹

It would require a wider acquaintance with modern English prose than we can claim to parallel, within the limit of a single paragraph, the incongruities and absurdities of this piece of *bombastic fustian*. They are so numerous and involved as almost to defy analysis. To say nothing of the park-like grounds, so suggestive of an auctioneer’s advertisement of a tenth-rate suburban villa, we are sorely puzzled alike by the type here suggested and by the terms of the laudation so copiously bestowed. Is the similarity between a tree and the best sort of man confined to the first sentence, so that pre-eminent human excellence consists in strength and sturdiness, provided only that they are set off by beauty ? or does the best sort of man also bare his head to the winter storms, talk to the wind with a grand voice, and through centuries draw his sustenance from the cool bosom of his mother ? Is it the paradoxical endowment of a good tree to be passionless, and at the same time proud and rejoicing with a full heart ? Is it at all more congruous to assert that a thousand æolian harps cannot equal in beauty the sighing of a giant tree in full leaf, than to affirm that ten thousand grand pianos cannot equal in pathos the whisper of a grand lady in full dress ? In what intelligible understanding of the terms can a tree be said, any more than a tortoise or any other living thing, to learn the mysteries of growth and of decay ? Or by what rational sequence of thought can it be portrayed as outliving the landscape of which itself forms a part, *and human nature* ? Possibly it is not decay, but the pen of a modern novelist, to which, after reading such a paragraph, we should apply the new-coined epithet of ‘fungus-fingered.’

But we have more weighty objections to these stories than that they are disfigured by many literary blemishes. We regard them as a serious offence against the reverence and delicacy with which horrible things ought to be treated in books whose object is pure amusement. We look upon the repeated introduction of scenes of slaughter, and of every detail of the charnel-house, interspersed as these scenes are with purposely ludicrous effects and comic allusions, as a vio-

¹ *Allan Quatermain*, p. 174.

lation of the decency we have a right to demand from all who handle such solemn themes. We consider this offence to be further aggravated by the tone rather than the direct expression of sensuality which penetrates the whole story of *She* and much of *Allan Quatermain*. We object yet more strongly to the gratuitous intermingling of sacred names and sacred things in the narrative, to the heedless scattering of sceptical opinions, to the contemptuous allusions to religious subjects, to the jocular satisfaction in profanity. We hold that good taste and right feeling should restrain an author from masquerading in theological costume in tales of adventure, and from interjecting his suggestions of doubt when the reader's mind is off its guard and unfitted to weigh the deep questions so unseasonably thrust before it. We cannot recognize, indeed, any competency in Mr. Haggard to deal with matters of such unspeakable importance; but we hold that it would be better that he should state outright, even in the strongest terms which he can command, any difficulties with which the acceptance of Christianity troubles him, rather than that he should insert elaborate agnostic disquisitions, and then, after a faint protest that these are not his own convictions, should presently repeat them without supplying a full refutation. But we must once more pass from general principles to particulars.

A few illustrations shall first be given to show that our criticism is not unfounded before we proceed to consider each separate work. Perhaps nothing could bring out more strongly the degree in which these books are saturated with horrors than to quote some of the similes which occur in them. The silver moon is not generally regarded as pre-eminently suggestive of the horrible, but to Mr. Haggard's fancy it repeatedly inspires the most funereal thoughts. At one time the mountains on its face stand out weird and sharp like the bones on the face of a corpse; at another, its beams cast pencils and patches of light upon the blackness of a marble floor, like white flowers on a coffin. Even lichens clinging motionless to a rock recall the thought of a white beard hanging from a dead man's chin. Each story in turn is ghostly and ghastly. The sight of Frank Muller, seen with a background of fiery sunset, prompts the remark, 'He looks like a devil in hell: the fire seems to be running all up and down him.' The truly diabolical character of Muller, and the murderous work with which he is engrossed at the moment, serve to palliate Jess's strong language; but it is the mere wantonness of ill-timed levity to describe conciliating Billali, the Amahagger chieftain,

as making a friend of 'this Mammon of Unrighteousness,' or to drag in a sarcastic reference to the punishment of Nebuchadnezzar. No doubt there are some persons to whose taste a keen edge of wit is forged by profanity, but we are dull enough to see nothing but a pointless vulgarity and a shocking ribaldry in the account of the manner in which the three comrades in *King Solomon's Mines* pretend to cause an eclipse of the moon.

'I lifted up my hand solemnly towards the sky, an example which Sir Henry and Good followed, and quoted a line or two of *The Ingoldsby Legends* at it in the most impressive tones I could command. Sir Henry followed with a verse out of the Old Testament, whilst Good addressed the Queen of Night in a volume of the most classical bad language that he could think of. . . . "Keep it up, Good. I can't remember any more poetry. Curse away, there's a good fellow." Good responded nobly to the tax upon his inventive faculties. Never before had I the faintest conception of the breadth and depth and height of a naval officer's objurgatory powers. For ten minutes he went on without stopping, and he scarcely ever repeated himself' (pp. 185, 186).

The story of *She* is, in our judgment, one of the most repulsive that ever was conceived. *She* herself, half woman, half demon, with the form of a siren and the heart of a cynic; whose cold, calculating, chaste coquetry is almost more immoral than warm-blooded sensuality, and who is represented as delighting to kindle passion that she may gloat over its impotence as she alternately quickens and quenches it, will supply a new figure to the Walhalla of Monsters which modern fiction is gradually forming. The conception of her life of two thousand years with beauty unimpaired, and with all the gathered wisdom and experience of twenty centuries, spent in the cavern tombs of a deserted city and in the society of an embalmed corpse, surrounded by deaf and dumb attendants, and ruling over ferocious savages who crawl like reptiles into her presence, and whom she terrifies at intervals by unutterable tortures, is so loathsome that we are astounded at the commendation it has secured. Her persistent recollection of a terrible crime, her asserted acquaintance with the philosophy of varied schools, her irresistible power, as competent surely for weal as for woe, even her immutable fidelity to her long, long-lost Kallikrates—all fail to exercise one softening influence or to suggest one kindly sentiment.

Yet the central figure is not more hateful than the setting by which it is surrounded. The book is steeped in horrors. Leo the Adonis, Holly the mentor, and Job their faithful

attendant—this latter being the one only genuine specimen of true warm flesh and blood—have not got far on their voyage from Zanzibar before the chronicle of horrors commences. A squall wrecks the dhow in which they have sailed, and all the crew, save Mohammed the Arab captain, and the three Englishmen, are drowned. They pass through a lagoon into a swampy *cul-de-sac* with every prospect of perishing from hunger or malaria, and as Holly sinks into a doze he has a vision of the appearance which the boat and its crew will shortly present.

‘There she would lie, with gaping seams and half filled with fetid water, which, when the mist-laden wind stirred her, would wash backwards and forwards through our mouldering bones, and that would be the end of her, and of those in her who would follow after myths and seek the secrets of nature. Already I seemed to hear the water rippling against the desiccated bones and rattling them together, rolling my skull against Mohammed’s, and his against mine, till at last Mohammed’s stood straight up upon its vertebræ and glared at me through its empty eyeholes, and cursed me with its grinning jaws, because I, a dog of a Christian, disturbed the last sleep of a true believer’ (pp. 73, 74).

He is roused from this cheerful dream to find himself and his companions prisoners in the hands of the cannibal Amahagger, who put red-hot iron pots on the heads of strangers and eat their flesh. These amiable savages are the subjects of She.

We are now fairly launched upon the stream of horrors, and their intensity, as the story develops, increases until we wonder what new terror can be devised. We are bound to acknowledge that Mr. Haggard is equal to the difficulty. His repertorium of the frightful is inexhaustible. The struggle to hot-pot Mohammed, the terrific scene of the dance lighted by huge torches of dead bodies, the vast bone-pit with the dream it inspires, and the dangers of the passage to the cavern of the Spirit of Life, duly reach their climax in the final scene. That some of the most revolting of Mr. Haggard’s tableaux have their counterpart in the orgies of African savages, and that authority might be quoted from ancient books of travel or from the records of modern discovery for many of his strongest delineations may be true: but to what purpose are they introduced into stories of imaginary adventure? Why should the imagination be educated to revel in the bestial? No such plea could be urged in extenuation of the following detailed account of She’s death:—

“Why, what is it—what is it?” she said confusedly. “I feel

DD 2

dazed. Surely the quality of the fire hath not altered. Can the principle of Life alter? Tell me, Kallikrates, is there aught wrong with my eyes? I see not clear," and she put her hand to her head and touched her hair—and oh, *horror of horrors!*—it all fell upon the floor.

"Oh, *look!—look!—look!*" shrieked Job, in a shrill falsetto of terror, his eyes nearly dropping out of his head, and foam upon his lips. "*Look!—look!—look!* she's shrivelling up! she's turning into a monkey!" and down he fell upon the ground, foaming and gnashing in a fit.

'True enough—I faint even as I write it in the living presence of that terrible recollection—she *was* shrivelling up; the golden snake that had encircled her gracious form slipped over her hips and to the ground; smaller and smaller she grew; her skin changed colour, and in place of the perfect whiteness of its lustre it turned dirty brown and yellow, like an old piece of withered parchment. She felt at her head: the delicate hand was nothing but a claw now, a human talon like that of a badly-preserved Egyptian mummy, and then she seemed to realize what kind of change was passing over her, and she shrieked, ah, she shrieked!—she rolled upon the floor and shrieked!

'Smaller she grew, and smaller yet, till she was no larger than a baboon. Now the skin was puckered into a million wrinkles, and on the shapeless face was the stamp of unutterable age. I never saw anything like it; nobody ever saw anything like the frightful age that was graven on that fearful countenance, no bigger now than that of a two months' child, though the skull remained the same size, or nearly so; and let all men pray to God they never may, if they wish to keep their reason.

'At last she lay still, or only feebly moving. She, who but two minutes before had gazed upon us, the loveliest, noblest, most splendid woman the world has ever seen, she lay still before us near the masses of her own dark hair, no larger than a big monkey, and hideous—ah, too hideous for words. And yet, think of this—at that very moment I thought of it—it was the *same* woman!

'She was dying: we saw it, and thanked God—for while she lived she could feel, and what must she have felt? She raised herself upon her bony hands, and blindly gazed around her, swaying her head slowly from side to side as a tortoise does. She could not see, for her whitish eyes were covered with a horny film. Oh, the horrible pathos of the sight! But she could still speak.

"Kallikrates," she said in husky, trembling notes; "forget me not, Kallikrates. Have pity on my shame. I shall come again, and shall once more be beautiful; I swear it—it is true! *Oh—h—h!*" and she fell upon her face, and was still.

'On the very spot where more than twenty centuries before she had slain Kallikrates the priest, she herself fell down and died.

'Overcome with the extremity of horror, we too fell on the sandy floor of that dread place, and swooned away.

.

'I know not how long we remained thus. Many hours, I suppose. When at last I opened my eyes, the other two were still outstretched upon the floor. The rosy light yet beamed like a celestial dawn, and the thunder-wheels of the Spirit of Life yet rolled upon their accustomed track, for as I awoke the great pillar was passing away. There, too, lay the hideous little monkey frame, covered with crinkled yellow parchment, that once had been the glorious She. Alas! it was no hideous dream—it was an awful and unparalleled fact!'—*She*, pp. 293-5.

Mr. Haggard touches in *She* the zenith of his glory as Pontifex Maximus of the horrible, but he displays no mean ability in the same cult both in *King Solomon's Mines*, which preceded, and in *Allen Quatermain* which followed it. Each story is distinguished by a highly spiced individuality in this respect which shows the strange fascination which it exercises over Mr. Haggard's mind. Is it worthy of the writer's unquestionable talents that he should squander them in detailing the enormities committed by a ferocious savage? The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty; let us leave them in the deep shadow that hides them from our sight, not drag them into the glare of the noonday sun. Had Mr. Haggard led the host of Israel against Amalek we presume that he would have carefully spread out, under the very eyes of Samuel, 'all that was vile and refuse,' which, even in the haste of their disobedience, the rebellious people had the decency utterly to destroy. What imaginable purpose save that of making our minds familiar with all that is repulsive can be served by the sickening description of the witch-hunt with its infernal cold-blooded murders, or by the elaborate conceit of the Hall of Death, in which a colossal skeleton figure presided at the board, around which are gathered the grinning and petrified corpses of the royal house of Kukuana? The sight of a filthy hag, pouring out a stream of foul abuse, is not one over which we would willingly let our children linger. Is the portrait of Gagool a more elevating spectacle?

'I observed a wizen, monkey-like figure creeping up from the shadow of the hut. It crept on all fours, but when it reached the place where the king sat, it rose upon its feet and throwing the furry covering off its face, revealed a most extraordinary and weird countenance. It was (apparently) that of a woman of great age, so shrunk that in size it was no larger than that of a year-old child, and was made up of a collection of deep yellow wrinkles. Set in the wrinkles was a sunken slit that represented the mouth, beneath which the chin curved outwards to a point. There was no nose to speak of; indeed, the whole countenance might have been taken for that of a sun-dried corpse, had it not been for a pair of large black

eyes, still full of fire and intelligence, which gleamed and played under the snow-white eyebrows and the projecting, parchment-coloured skull, like jewels in a charnel-house. As for the skull itself, it was perfectly bare and yellow in hue, while its wrinkled scalp moved and contracted like the hood of a cobra. The figure to whom this fearful countenance—which caused a shiver of fear to pass through us as we gazed on it—belonged, stood still for a moment and then suddenly projected a skinny claw armed with nails nearly an inch long, and began, in a thin piping voice, “Blood ! blood ! rivers of blood ! blood everywhere. I see it, I smell it, I taste it—it is salt. It runs red upon the ground, it rains down from the skies.”

After another page and a half of similar rant Gagool falls foaming in an epileptic fit, and is carried into a hut. No more disgusting fare could well be provided in the ‘penny dreadfuls’ of the London slums than this choice morsel prepared for the boudoirs and schoolrooms of modern English life.

There is not much substantial reality in any of the three European adventurers who start forth in the quest of King Solomon’s mines, but Mr. Haggard calls them out again to do duty in *Allan Quatermain*, where a grand old Zulu warrior, Umslopogaas, fills the vacancy occasioned by the restoration of Umopa to the throne of Kukuanialand. In *Allan Quatermain*, Mr. Haggard enjoyed, as he is careful to acknowledge, the advantage of Mr. Thomson’s admirable book *Through Masailand*, but his third story of adventure is very inferior to those which preceded it. Not that it lacks the abundance of incident or the vigorous movement which are characteristic of its author, but it bears palpable marks of haste, both in execution and conception. Its literary merits are on a level with those of *The Witch’s Head*, and in imaginative power we should rank it far below *She*. To this estimate one large exception must in justice be made. Umslopogaas is a splendid example of all the highest qualities of which uncivilized man is capable, and his fidelity, truthfulness, and unblenching courage, that rises higher and higher in the crisis of danger, are portrayed with a sympathy and force that make him completely to eclipse his European associates. It is a pity that so fine a portrait should be marred by its setting. It was hard, indeed, even for so ardent a worshipper of the horrible as Mr. Haggard to surpass in nastiness some of the scenes in *She* and *King Solomon’s Mines* ; but in the invasion of the black devil crabs which haunt the valley of the subterranean river we have the further choice elements of

screech and stench, united with coarse burlesque, to produce the following choice specimen of refined humour :—

‘ Still, we got on pretty well, although the meat was tainted by the heat through which it had passed, till I happened to look behind me, my attention being attracted by a noise of something crawling over the stones, and perceived, sitting upon a rock in my immediate rear, a huge species of black freshwater crab, only it was five times the size of any crab I ever saw. This hideous and loathsome-looking animal had projecting eyes that seemed to glare at one, very long and flexible antennæ, or feelers, and gigantic claws. Nor was I especially favoured with its company. From every quarter dozens of these horrid brutes were creeping up, drawn, I suppose, by the smell of the food, from between the round stones, and out of holes in the precipice. Some were already quite close to us. I stared quite fascinated by the unusual sight, and, as I did so, I saw one of the beasts stretch out its huge claw, and give the unsuspecting Good such a nip behind that he jumped up with a howl, and set the “wild echoes flying” in sober earnest. Just then, too, another, a very large one, got hold of Alphonse’s leg, and declined to part with it, and, as may be imagined, a considerable scene ensued. Umslopogaas took his axe and cracked the shell of one with the flat of it, whereon it set up a horrid screaming which the echoes multiplied a thousandfold, and began to foam at the mouth, a proceeding that drew hundreds more of its friends out of unsuspected holes and corners. Those on the spot, perceiving that the animal was hurt, fell upon it like creditors on a bankrupt, and literally rent it limb from limb with their huge pincers, and devoured it, using their claws to convey the fragments to their mouths. Seizing whatever weapons were handy, such as stones or paddles, we commenced a war upon the monsters, whose numbers were increasing by leaps and bounds, and whose stench was overpowering. So fast as we cracked their armour others seized the injured ones and devoured them, foaming at the mouth, and screaming as they did so. Nor did the brutes stop at that. When they could they nipped hold of us—and awful nips they were—or tried to steal the meat. One enormous fellow got hold of the swan we had skinned, and began to drag it off. Instantly a score of others flung themselves upon the prey, and then began a ghastly and disgusting scene. How the monsters foamed and screamed, and rent the flesh, and each other ! It was a sickening and unnatural sight, and one that will haunt all who saw it till their dying day—enacted as it was in the deep, oppressive gloom, and set to the unceasing music of the many-toned nerve-shaking echoes. Strange as it may seem to say so, there was something so shockingly human about these fiendish creatures—it was as though all the most evil passions and desires of man had got into the shell of a magnified crab, and gone mad. They were so dreadfully courageous and intelligent, and they looked as if they *understood*. The whole scene might have furnished material for another canto of Dante’s *Inferno*.¹

¹ *Allan Quatermain*, pp. 114, 116.

One more condensed illustration of Mr. Haggard's taste must close this series of quotations. The three Europeans are treated with the utmost kindness at the court of the Zu Vendean queens, hospitably entertained and lodged in the royal palace, and are occupied, among other things, in learning the language of the country. Unknown to his companions, Good has arranged that their tuition shall be carried on by young ladies. Quatermain appeals to Curtis for advice, and this high-bred English baronet, who, we have been assured, is a man of genuine piety and sterling worth, and is secretly enamoured of Nyleptha, one of the sister queens, replies :—

“ Well,” he said, “ you see the ladies are here, ain't they? If we sent them away, don't you think it might hurt their feelings, eh? One doesn't like to be rough, you see ; and they look regular *blues*, don't they, eh?” . . . Sir Henry and his governess appeared, so far as I could judge, to be going though a lesson framed on the principles laid down by Wackford Squeers, Esq. . . . The lady softly repeated the Zu Vendi word for “ hand,” and he took hers ; “ eyes,” and he gazed deep into her brown orbs ; “ lips,” and—but just at that moment . . . the door opened, and, attended by two guards only, in walked *Nyleptha*.’ [The infuriated queen orders the girl to be slain.] “ It is well,” answered Curtis ; “ then I will die with her. I am thy servant, oh Queen ; do with me even as thou wilt.” And he bowed towards her, and fixed his clear eyes *contemptuously* on her face’ (pp. 177, 178).

The inaptitude of the adverb is sublime. The only possible contempt in Sir Henry's ‘ orbs ’ must have been reflected from the glance of the high-spirited generous woman who was ready to peril her crown, and life itself, for the sake of so unworthy a lover. The rest of the scene in which this incident occurs harmonizes entirely in tone and taste with the passage we have quoted.

In *Jess* Mr. Haggard gives evidence of higher qualities than in any other of the books before us. The scene is laid in his favourite region, and the writer's familiarity with South African life enables him to describe it with a minute fidelity of detail that invests his story with charming reality. The characters are more carefully thought out and more powerfully drawn than in any other of his works with which we are acquainted, and had Mr. Haggard thoroughly grasped and worked out the contrast which his story suggests between the uncontrollable self-indulgent passion of Frank Muller and the far deeper and yet self-sacrificing love of Jess, he might have produced a work of a very high order. As it is, although the story falls short of the splendid lesson it might have conveyed, and although it is disfigured by some of Mr. Haggard's

characteristic faults, it is a novel of considerable interest and power.

It commences, of course, with a pitched battle. This time the combatants are a sturdy ostrich and Captain John Neil. John, who is going to make experiment of ostrich-farming, with Silas Croft, in the Transvaal, arrives just in time to rescue Bessie Croft from the attack of the bird, whose fury is then turned against himself. Bessie and her elder sister, Jess, are the nieces of Silas ; the former a beautiful, sweet, domestic girl ; the latter a thoughtful, romantic, visionary woman, who has been wont from childhood to tenderly watch over her fair young sister, and to promote her happiness, if necessary, at the expense of her own. Frank Muller, a Boer with English blood in him derived from his mother—rich, handsome, and endowed with great personal strength and great abilities, but utterly unprincipled and unscrupulous—completes the circle of the principal persons in the story. We have neither space nor desire to condense Mr. Haggard's story into the scant limit of a review. It must suffice to say that Frank Muller is madly in love with and is entirely odious to Bessie, and that in his ruthless determination to carry her off by force, if necessary, he stirs up the Boers to the rebellion against the English government, which culminated in the crowning disaster of Majuba Hill.

We are constrained by lack of space to pass the picturesque sketches of Boer character with its astounding ignorance, brutality, and self-esteem ; the strong and masterly portrait of Frank Muller, a type of monster only possible under certain conditions, and uniting in his own person the vices of both savage and civilized life ; and the sweet, but faint, pastel of Bessie Croft. The interest of the story is concentrated upon Jess. Her suffering borne so bravely and silently, the terrific struggle in the swollen stream of the Vaal, the sudden passionate avowal of her love when death seems inevitable, and her stern repression of it when she and John unexpectedly reach the shore, and finally the determination of the weary-hearted, worn-out woman to slay Frank Muller and deliver her sister, are all told with much pathos and power. Yet we altogether refuse to accept Mr. Haggard's portraiture as the true ideal of self-sacrificing love. We are told, indeed, that such love is the one secret of earthly happiness ; but although Jess does not shrink from the pain of it, she is not allowed even fully to enjoy the bitter-sweet joy which self-sacrifice brings. She secretly nurses deep down in her heart the love which she was bound, on her own self-imposed conditions, to extirpate. She bids John escape and leave her to die. 'I

know you love me, and I can die happy. I will wait for you. Oh, John ! wherever I am, if I have any life and any remembrance, I will wait for you. Never forget that, all your life. However far I may seem away, if I live at all, I shall be waiting for you' (p. 227). This to the man who, as she knows and wishes, is going to marry her own sister Bessie. Why should not Bessie in that farther stage of being, and with far higher claims, be waiting for him too ? This half-surrender enervates the story ; nor is the fault redeemed by the circumstances of her death and the author's reflections upon it. ' Her head sank gently on her lover's breast as on a pillow, and there she died and passed upward towards the wider and larger liberty, or, as some would have us believe, downwards into the depths of an eternal sleep' (p. 332).

The alternative here so gratuitously obtruded affords an illustration of Mr. Haggard's method of dealing with the most serious questions, a method against which we desire in conclusion to utter our most emphatic protest. Throughout these stories the truth of Christianity is treated as an entirely open, almost as an indifferent, question. A chapter in *The Witch's Head*, entitled ' Mr. Alston's Views,' represents this thoughtful friend and adviser of Ernest Kershaw as sneering at the younger man's hopes of immortality. ' Ah ! you believe that, do you ? Think you are immortal and that sort of thing !' Several pages are devoted to the exposition of Mr. Alston's opinions, which rarely surpass the low level of agnosticism. Perhaps, he says—and he seldom gets beyond a perhaps—we, as compared with the insect tribe, ' are at the top of the tree of development, and for them may be the future, for us the annihilation. Who knows ? There, fly away, and make the most of the present, for nothing else is certain.' Then, after the usual travesty of the Christian faith, he concludes :—

' When Fate finds me I shall meet him fearing nothing, *for I know he has wreaked his worst upon me*, and can only at the utmost bring me eternal sleep ; and hoping nothing, because my experience has not been such as to justify the hope of any happiness for man, and my vanity is not sufficiently strong to allow me to believe in the intervention of a superior power to save so miserable a creature from the common lot of life.' ' On the following day his fate found him' (p. 248).

We are of course not about to enter upon any refutation of Mr. Alston's views, nor even upon the exposure of the exquisite pride, in the garb of humility, which could regard the deepest of problems as sufficiently solved by his own individual experience. It accords with such convictions that the con-

stancy of Jess should be undermined in the hour of trial by the persuasion that free-will is denied us. The miserably degrading tendency of modern so-called intellectual scepticism is nowhere perhaps more clearly marked than in its reduction of mankind to blind automata driven helplessly forward by irresistible destiny.

'Jess felt her impotence in the hands of Fate. All in an instant it seemed to be borne in upon her mind that she could not help herself, but was only the instrument of a superior power, whose will she was fulfilling through the workings of her passion, *and to whom her individual fate was a matter of little moment.* It was inconclusive reasoning and perilous doctrine, but it must be allowed that the circumstances gave it the colour of truth. And, after all, the border line between fatalism and free will has never been quite authoritatively settled, even by St. Paul, *so perhaps she was right*' (p. 148).

Has anyone, with a just sense of moral responsibility, the right to fling about at random such inconclusive reasoning and perilous doctrine, unless he has definitely renounced the blessed assurance of a loving care for us, so minute that the very hairs of our head are all numbered? Nor are such blemishes as these relieved by the tone in which Mr. Haggard refers to the most awful subjects in his lighter works. We are indignant at the use of sacred things as mere colours to add effect to an imaginative picture, or to give point to a description of the grotesque. It is, in our judgment, sheer profanity to heighten the foul account of She's death by adding, 'Let all men pray to God that they may never see such a sight if they wish to preserve their reason.'

It is time for us to bring these strictures to a close. We have written in no carping or captious spirit, but under a strong sense of the mischief which is wrought by the unrestrained acceptance of such works as those before us. 'Literary falsehood,' it has been well said, 'is pernicious, not in proportion to its magnitude or malice, but to its unsuspected character, and to its appeal to the vain imaginations and idle prejudices of the reader.' The false taste which introduces the reek of the shambles into fiction is outdone by the false sentiment which intermingles truth and error on their pages, to the gradual confusion of all moral truth. Was it not Goethe who said, 'Tell me your firm convictions; keep your doubts to yourself; I have plenty of my own'? Christianity must be, and is, prepared to hold its own in the arena of the fullest and most open discussion; but the handling of deep problems after Mr. Haggard's fashion is little less than grave impertinence and ostentatious folly.

ART. VII.—TWO MORE TRANSLATIONS OF THE DIVINA COMMEDIA.

1. *The Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri, translated line for line in the Terza Rima of the Original, with Notes.* By FREDERICK K. H. HASELFOOT, M.A. (London, 1887.)
2. *The Commedia and Canzoniere of Dante Alighieri.* A New Translation with Notes and Essays, and a Biographical Introduction. By E. H. PLUMPTRE, D.D., Dean of Wells. In Two Volumes. (London, 1886 and 1887.)

THE imperfection of all things natural, and of those new creations which art ‘adds to nature,’ is a theme tolerably familiar to all.

Se fosse appunto la cera dedutta,
E fosse il cielo in sua virtù suprema,
La luce del suggel parrebbe tutta ;
Ma la natura la dà sempre scema,
Similmente operando all’ artista,
Ch’ ha l’ abito dell’ arte e man che trema.¹

Nor is it the artist’s hand alone that is at fault.

Forma non s’accorda
Molte fiate all’ intenzion dell’ arte,
Perchè a risponder la materia è sorda.²

And yet, however we may explain it—whether by the natural craving of conscious imperfection for some strength beyond its own, or through dreamlike memories of something perfect, known to us before the ‘sleep and the forgetting’ of our birth we find much in nature and in art (ever more, perhaps, the wiser we become) to which we willingly and unreservedly ascribe perfection.

¹ ‘Were the wax
Moulded with nice exactness, and the heaven
In its disposing influence supreme,
The brightness of the seal should be complete ;
But nature renders it imperfect ever,
Resembling thus the artist in her work,
Whose faltering hand is faithless to his skill.’

Cary (*Par.* xiii. 73).

² ‘Ofttimes but ill accords the form
To the design of art, through sluggishness
Of unreplying matter.’—Cary (*Par.* i. 127).

All cannot indeed hope, many would not even wish, to experience that ecstasy of 'divine madness,' those tremblings of the spirit 'that hath its dwelling in the heart's most secret chambers,' of which we read in the *Phædrus* and the *Vita Nuova*; but all of us surely know what it is to surrender ourselves in restful content to that which we accept as perfection made manifest in the imperfect—a perfection which is often wholly veiled from us, but which sometimes, 'in seasons of fair weather,' stands out, as it were, with wonderful distinctness on the far horizon.

This self-surrender, this recognition of the presence of perfection, is indeed an indispensable means for the attainment of true life. By it we are brought into a living organic relation with external things, and are supplied with what Plato quaintly calls the 'fodder of the soul,' by which alone it can be nourished for its winged chariot-flight towards the apse of heaven; by which—to express it less metaphorically—the soul is strengthened for its aspiration towards that perfection which is the end of all spiritual energy, perhaps of all energy whatsoever.

By this, or by some other, theory we may endeavour to explain to ourselves the fact—for a fact it surely is—that while there are some things in nature and in art which we gratefully and without conscious self-delusion accept as perfect, and from which we draw life-giving nourishment, there are many others essentially different from these—dark points and surfaces in our 'dome of glass' unilluminated by the 'white radiance of eternity'—objects that may indeed supply much active exercise to brain and senses, but with which our soul seems never to enter into any organic relationship; which remain for us ever mere phenomena.

It may be due to some unfortunate idiosyncrasies or prejudices, but to not a few men translations of poetic masterpieces seem ever to remain in the category of phenomena. The feeling that such men experience in regard to the most successful translations of the *Antigone*, of *Hamlet*, or of the *Divina Commedia*, is something intrinsically different from the feeling with which they regard the originals. Nay more, they can conceive no possible translation towards which they could be otherwise affected.

That this does not hold true for all minds is evident. Notable instances to the contrary will readily occur to all. No purer inspiration was ever drawn from any source than that which Keats drew from Chapman's version of Homer. No more fervent enthusiasm for the

‘signor dell’ altissimo canto,
Che sovra gli altri come aquila vola,’¹

ever found utterance than that which Keats has expressed in his famous sonnet. Another oft-quoted exception is that of the Bible, which, whatever else it be, is a poetic masterpiece. In extent and multiformity of influence the translations of the Bible are to their original as the spreading branches and multitudinous foliage of some mighty tree are to its gnarled and leafless trunk, and all in various degrees—from Luther’s Bible to the last rude version by some Central African missionary—preserve a living relation to the parent stem.

But by ordinary humanity, and in the case of ordinary works of human genius, the most that is generally accorded to any translation is that it is a ‘success’—an extraordinary success perhaps—successful, may be, over all rivals, and beyond all expectation—but nothing more; nothing of that which we might accord to a simple wild flower, to a simple melody by Beethoven, or to a single line by Dante. We applaud, we are amazed at the dexterity, the ingenuity, the assiduity of the translator; we may find it difficult to determine, as Macaulay found it difficult when reviewing Cary’s *Dante*, ‘whether to praise more the writer’s intimacy with the language of the original, or the extraordinary mastery over his own;’ we may note with sympathy the reverence with which he has approached his subject, the ‘lungo studio’ which he has expended, the ‘grande amore’ which has led him not only to explore but also to reproduce in another tongue some such ‘sacred song’ as the *Divine Comedy*. But admiration and sympathy are the only feelings aroused; there is no self-surrender; there is no recognition of even a possibility of perfection.

Let us consider, not only whether we have justifiable grounds for being thus affected, but whether we are actually thus affected towards everything that we style a translation. It is evident that so-called translations differ in regard to their natures, and also to their ends—and therefore necessarily also in regard to the methods of their composition. For instance, the end which the English translator of the *Divina Commedia* has, or should have, in view is distinctly *not* that at which he aims who translates Milton into Virgilian hexameters, or Tennyson into Alcaics. In the latter case the result desired is a production such as Virgil or Alcæus might

¹ *Inferno*, v. 95.

have composed in his own language, age, and country. The more successfully another effect is substituted for the effect produced on us by the original, the more do such academical exercises merit the approval of the critic, or the marks of the examiner. But in the former case the effect produced by the translation should be as far as possible that of the original, and the effect of a perfect translation would be both essentially and apparently the same as that of the original.

Now, is such a perfect translation a possibility? Or, even though no possibility, is it an ideal towards which we may hope to approach by dexterous reproduction of what we loosely call 'form'? Is it possible that, recasting a poem such as the *Divina Commedia* in another language, we can by the most skilful translatative process preserve its essential character as a work of art, so that this 'translation' of ours may not merely bear an apparent resemblance to the original, but may belong to the same class of things, and may together with it take its place, as a creation, under that Order which is 'concreato e costruito alle sustanzie'? (*Parad.* xxix. 31.) Again, even though by no mere translatative process we can effect this, can it not be effected at all? And if it can, why should we be unable to conceive no translation which we could possibly regard with the same feeling as we regard a true work of art? The answers to these questions, and to all such questions, must come direct from the heart. We believe it to be thus or otherwise, because we feel that it is thus or otherwise; we cannot theorize ourselves or others into or out of beliefs of this nature.

But we may fairly attempt to find some form of doctrine by which we may illustrate, if we cannot justify, such beliefs. Those who hold that by mere translatative skill no perfect translation can ever be produced would probably be ready to accept (as far as any such thing can be accepted) some theory not essentially different from that which Dante, using the terminology of the Schoolmen, propounds in several well-known passages of his great poem.

The act of creation, he says, was threefold. Simultaneously issued forth from the creating Power, 'as three arrows from a three-stringed bow,' form, matter, and the combination of form and matter. Form (that is *pure*, or substantial, form, *μορφή*) is the spiritual informing energy; it is this 'pure form'¹ which conjoined with 'pure matter' constitutes the natural

¹ Dante speaks of the Angels and of the human soul as 'form.' The same use of the word is found in some English writers, *e.g.* Spenser and Henry More. Cf. Philip. ii. 6.

world. Pure, or formless, matter is imperceptible—a mere ‘potenza’ (potentiality).

If there be in the faculty divine of the poet something of a creative power, something at all events analogous to the power by which the natural world was created, we may surely hold that a true poetic work is the result of the combination of pure form and pure matter; that its existence consists in this combination; and that this combination is due to an act of creative power.

Further, to analyse the simplest natural object into its component form and matter is beyond our alchemy: were it possible, such disintegration would involve annihilation; and we cannot annihilate.

‘Strinse potenza con atto
Tal vime, che giammai non si disvima.’¹

Equally beyond our power is metamorphosis—if the *μορφή* be pure substantial form.

Now, without entering further into the intricacies of this question, or attempting to theorize on the mystery of death, the temporary or eternal dissolution of the body from that soul which ‘nature gave it as form,’² we have already enough known quantities for the following formula: ‘The attempt to substitute anything in the place of the substantial form of a work of poetic genius is an attempt at metamorphosis.’ The result of such an attempt we may describe as a *simulacrum*, or, at the best, an *Homunculus*. With simulacra and Homunculi our soul can enter into no living relation; they find no place in the order which is ‘concreated and assigned to substances.’ Still, even an Homunculus may have its uses: flickering through the air in its glass retort, it may guide us to Peneius, to Helen, to perfection revealed in the imperfect; and such, we hold, is the function of a mere ‘translation.’

But, it may be asked, is there no such thing as *recreation*? Is it not possible that a translator who himself possesses the poetic faculty may, while also imitating external form, create something at least analogous to, if not essentially the same as, the original?

If we apply Dante’s theory rigidly to the act of poetic creation, our answer must necessarily be that such a thing is only then possible when what is produced is a new combination of pure matter and pure form, an independent existence.

¹ Literally: ‘Such withe has bound potency with act [*i.e.* matter with form], that it is never unwitthed [loosed]’ (*Par.* xxix. 35).

² *Par.* iv. 54.

That such recreations can and do exist, possessing more or less external resemblance to an original, we do not for a moment deny; but such we can scarcely regard as mere 'translations.' To state the case rather paradoxically, the one indispensable condition of a true translation of a poem is that it should itself be a poem, and in so far as it is a poem it is an independent existence, and therefore no translation. Mere translations make no pretence to independent existence.

Still, as we have said, mere translations have their uses. 'Read a chorus of Sophocles or an ode of Pindar in a "*crib*,"' exclaims Dean Plumptre, 'and see what you think of it!'

We confess to having used a '*crib*' ere now—though probably not exactly for the purpose of seeing 'what we thought of it'—and we are convinced that, were we to renew the study of 'Bohn's Library' with this purpose in view, we should draw far more profit and enjoyment from its pages than from the perusal of any possible translation of the *Divina Commedia* in which the most skilfully fabricated imitation of external form were substituted for the 'pura forma' of the original.

But, it may be objected, no such substitution is attempted. The mere substitution of one language for another does not affect the essential nature of a poem, and, this being the case, the one aim of the translator should be to reproduce as nearly as possible an external resemblance.

We think that very much might be said to render it most probable, if not to prove conclusively, that in the case of a poetic creation a change of language is a change not merely of external but of substantial form, and that unless a translator of Dante possess creative power he had much better give us an honest faithful prose version—as vigorous and rhythmic, if he can, as Carlyle's version of the *Inferno*.

Mr. Haselfoot, in his Introduction, argues temperately and, if we grant his premisses, forcibly in favour of *terza rima*. 'The form of the poem,' he says, 'seems to me to be part of its very essence. I have therefore adhered to it.' But surely he would not deny that that form of the poem which is part of its essence may possibly consist in something besides its 'interwoven *terzine*,' its 'rhythmic effects,' and its 'sweet cadences of polysyllabic rhymes.'

In the mere act of translation, of attempting to express in English what Dante has expressed in Italian, he has abandoned a form most necessary to the 'essence' of the poem, without which it can never be essentially the same, nor

produce even an analogous effect, unless its loss be supplied by an act of creative power.

This surely differs *toto cælo* from that criticism of which Mr. Haselfoot justly complains. We express no 'trenchant condemnation' of any 'attempt to perform the impossible,' if by that is meant the impossibility of reproducing satisfactorily in English the rhythmic effects and the sweet cadences of the original. Mr. Haselfoot has himself proved what unsuspected 'potenza' the English language has for such imitative work.

Nor do we hold that it is in the least 'culpable to interpret Dante in the metre which he has chosen.' On the contrary, presupposing that the poetic value of Mr. Haselfoot's version is equal to that of Cary, we consider it a most fortunate circumstance that he has chosen the original metre.

What we do hold to be an attempt to perform the impossible is the attempt to reproduce a work of poetic genius in another language, so that it may remain essentially the same, by any such means as an imitation of external characteristics, or indeed by any means whatever but an act of poetic creation.

It is a brilliant but deceptive remark of Boileau's—a specimen of his own 'tinsel'—that a translator 'should endeavour to write as the ancient author would have written had he writ in the same language.'

Had he writ in the same language! One might almost as well require a man to write as Dante would have written had he not thought and felt as Dante. Language, thought, and feeling are inextricably interwoven. He who would write or speak efficiently in English or Italian must think and feel as an Englishman or an Italian. The poet—if such should ever exist—who could produce veritable poems in two languages would be able to approach his subjects in two very different attitudes; and were he to reproduce in the second language one of his own works, he could only then reproduce its essential character as a poem if he recreated its substantial form. If, in addition to this, he were to preserve close external resemblance between the two poems, he would have produced a perfect translation—a result which no mere translative gifts could ever attain.

Turning now from the theoretic aspect of the matter we shall, with all due deference to the opinions of others, state what we think about the two metrical translations of the *Divina Commedia* which have lately appeared, and of which the titles stand at the head of this article, only premising that we have studied them, not so much with the object

of detecting external defects, as for the purpose of recording the 'essential effect' that they produce on our mind.

Mr. Haselfoot's translation of the *Divina Commedia* has one very decided advantage over that of his latest rival, Dean Plumptre. It is all comprised in one volume, and the attention of the reader is not distracted by notes at the bottom of the page. The text of the translation flows on without interruption, and if any difficulty arises the reader has only to turn to the Notes at the end of each Canto. These Notes are worthy of the highest praise. They are thoroughly scholarly, and the object of the writer is evidently to say as little as he possibly can with that conciseness of which Dante has taught him the art. In Dean Plumptre's translation the *Divina Commedia* runs over into a second bulky volume, and some of the pages are half, and more than half, filled with wordy Notes, many of which might well have been spared,¹ and most of which might with advantage have been curtailed. In spite of the flourish of trumpets in three dedicatory sonnets, and of the *Exegi monumentum ære perennius* tone of the Preface, it may be doubted whether Dean Plumptre's translation will, as the writer almost seems to anticipate (p. xii), 'hold the field.' For the achievement of such a result there is need not only of *terza rima*, but of a terser rhymers. A translator of Dante is nothing if not concise; but the besetting sin of this version is a feeble diffusiveness. No reader of it can fail to be struck with the perpetual recurrence of the use of 'doth,' 'dost,' and 'did' with the verb. This of course *must* occasionally be resorted to by every translator. But here it is rather the rule than the exception. In *Inf.* ii. 133-6 we get three 'dids' and a 'dost' in four lines! In *Purg.* ii. 73-84 five 'dids' occur. Such instances are endless.² Mr. Ruskin has remarked how Dante maps out his journey for us with the accuracy of a land surveyor. But all this is blurred and obscured in the Dean's translation, and not only so, the master's landmarks are obliterated. Let anyone read, in the original, Canto xi. of the *Inferno*—that ground-plan of the whole Cantica—and then see how the translator fritters its lines of demarcation away. For example, in l. 82 are enumerated the three main

¹ Take, for example, the ludicrous note on *Par.* xxviii. 93, where Dante alludes to the famous story of the chessboard and the grains of wheat. The Dean actually lugs in the 'algebraic formula of geometrical progression' in a silly speculation as to whether Dante worked the sum, and, if so, by what process!

² See *Inf.* xvii. 124; *Purg.* xii. 106-117, ix. 65, 66, xi. 115, 116, &c.

divisions of the sins punished in Hell—'Incontinenza, Malizia, e la matta Bestialitate:' but in the translation these all disappear in the meaningless rendering—

'Unbridled will, fixed evil, last we meet
Brutal excess.'

The introduction of epithets is fatal to the precision required, nor is any hint given that we are here dealing with the whole sum and substance of the *Inferno*. This froward departure from Dante's vivid touches betrays itself in numberless minor instances. Who would recognize the famous 'gran rifiuto' (*Inf.* iii. 60) in the feeble paraphrastic disguise, 'who basely from his calling high withdrew'? The whole point of the pathetic appeal of Rome left widowed and *alone* by the Emperor Albert (*Purg.* vi. 114), 'Cesare mio, perchè non m'accompagni?' is lost in the translation, 'My Cæsar, why dost thou to help me fail?' Nor is this all. The translation is not free from glaring mistakes. The following are taken at random. *Inf.* vii. 90, 'Si spesso vien' chi vicenda consegue,' is rendered, 'So oft comes one to whom strange chances fall,' instead of, 'one who obtains his turn,' which, *pace* Fraticelli, is unquestionably the true meaning. In *Inf.* xxiii. 42, 'Tanto che solo una camicia vesta,' is rendered, 'One scant shift her only robe supplies,' whereas the meaning is that the mother does not stop even to put on a shift.¹ (Cary and Longfellow have likewise fallen into this mistake.) In *Purg.* ii. verses 11, 12 are rendered, 'As those who on their way move pensively, Who go in heart and yet with loitering mien;' whereas the comparison is to those who think of, look forward to, their further way, and go in heart, though in body they do not move. Mr. Haselfoot *ad loc.* aptly compares the 'animus sine corpore velox' of Horace. This attribution, by the Dean, of motion to those whom Dante describes as stationary occurs again in *Inf.* iv. 134, 135: 'There Socrates and Plato see I pass, Who near him stand, while others further go.' All that Dante says is, 'Socrate e Platone Che innanzi agli altri più presso gli stanno.' How can people 'pass' and 'stand' at the same time? So in *Purg.* ii. 124, 'Le colombe adunate alla pastura' becomes 'The doves who through the meadows stray;' and in *Inf.* xxxii. 31, 'E come a gracidar si sta la rana' is converted into 'And the frogs to croak are wont to flock'! In *Purg.* ii. 4 'La Notte che

¹ It is not necessary to suppose that Dante imagined the woman running out of the house stark naked. Raphael's artistic instinct shows us what Dante may have had in his mind. In his famous fresco, the *Incendio del Borgo*, the mother (naked down to the waist) is leaning over the wall and handing her child down from the burning house.

opposita a lui cerchia' is rendered 'Night whose path wheels where his went before'! In *Purg.* vi. 118, 'If the name be lawful—our great Jove,' the Dean is self-convicted of error, for in a note he says that in Dante's time it was *not* thought irreverent to apply the name of Jove to the Deity. But the 'Se licito m'è' of the original refers, not to the boldness of calling Christ 'Jove,' but to the imputation that Dante is about to make in lines 120–123 that His eyes are turned elsewhere, &c. In *Purg.* xvii. 39 Lavinia is made by Dante to say she has her mother's fate to bewail before that of another (Turnus). But the Dean renders the line 'Grief for thy fate above all else is keen.' One of the worst blunders is that in *Purg.* xviii. 84, 'Del mio carcar diposto avea la soma,' which the Dean translates, 'Had made my doubts cease to be burdensome,' which would seem to imply that it was Dante himself who bore the 'burden;' whereas the meaning of 'mio carcar' unquestionably is 'the burden which I had laid on him' (*i.e.* Virgil). Again, in *Inf.* xxxi. 144, 145, we read in the Dean's version:—

'Nor paused he, thus bowed down, to reascend,
But rose, as mast in gallant ship doth tower.'

Surely the meaning of 'he did not pause to reascend' is not 'he did not delay his reascending' but 'he did not stop for the purpose of reascending.' 'To reascend' is interpolated to the detriment of the meaning. And in the next line the striking comparison of Antæus to the raising up of a mast in a ship is altogether lost by the reference to the mast as already in position and 'towering.' Of course the epithet 'gallant' is only shoved in to eke out the proper number of syllables. In *Par.* i. 93, 'who back to thine dost flee,' 'thine' should be 'it.' In *Par.* viii. 60, 'Me for a while as sovereign lord did own,' is exactly the opposite of the original—'per suo Signore a tempo m'aspettava'—which is, that the country 'expected to own me in time as its Lord,' an expectation never realized, as the speaker, Charles Martel, died before his father. In *Par.* ix. 74, 75 the better interpretation surely is, 'So that no will can make itself escape thee.'

The passage *Inf.* xv. 25–30 seems to be an instance where some blunder has been allowed to pass through the press. It runs thus:—

'And I when he his arm towards me shook,
From bringing him to recognition clear
I was not hindered by his scorched look.
But thought my mind a knowledge gained full clear,
And bending down my hand towards his face
I asked "What, Ser Brunetto, art thou here?"'

Now line 26 of the original—'Ficcai gli occhi per lo cotto aspetto' does not seem to be here translated at all, lines 26 and 27 of the translation being a rendering of lines 27 and 28 of the Italian. Line 28 of the translation is an interpolation. The Bishop of Ripon has, we believe, pointed out the error committed in making Brunetto Latini shake his fist at Dante! We did not know before that 'distese' meant 'shook.'

We have taken up so much space—and we could easily fill ever so much more—in pointing out what we venture to think must be called serious blunders, that we have left ourselves no room to call attention to scores upon scores of examples we had noted of substitutions and interpolations¹ of the feeblest of expletives and most meaningless of epithets, not a trace of which is to be found in the Italian. We might also have added a page or two on the omissions which occur again and again, and which mutilate and deface Dante's thoughts. Something might also have been said on the Dean's extraordinary perversions of proper names, *e.g.* 'As now a Cincinnate or Cornelia'! In not a few cases there are lines so ludicrous that we marvel how they got into print, and so obscure that they ought not to have been printed without a 'crib.' In the two following passages the ludicrous and the obscure are combined in equal proportions (*Inf.* xxxiv. 62–63):

' Iscariot,
Whose legs without with head inside combine.'

How is this strange combination effected? And again a few lines further on we read (76–80):—

' When we had reached the point *where legs of men*
Turn round upon the thickness of the thighs,
My guide with toil and eager breathing strain
Where his legs had been made his head arise.'

This is an anatomical puzzle which the mere English reader will find it hard to solve. In Mr. Haselfoot's translation all is clear. Then for obscurity pure and simple take the following (*Purg.* xxxii. 4–6):—

' Beyond, like walls that bounded either eye
Reigned simple nescience, so that sweet smile lent
To the old net resistless mastery.'

¹ One of the worst of these interpolations occurs in *Purg.* v. 16–17, where the Dean thinks it necessary to translate Dante's simple word 'pensier' by 'thoughts *weak and light*.' The meaning simply is that a man cannot entertain two thoughts at once. Of the *quality* of the thoughts there is no sort of question. The Dean, however, suffers from an eruption of adjectives.

One is tempted to ask how 'non calere' or 'heedlessness' can mean 'nescience'? how nescience can be like walls? how walls can reign? and how a smile can make a loan to a net, old or new? Compare Mr. Haselfoot's translation:—

'And walls on this side and on that coerced
Those eyes to heed not ; the smile's sanctity
So drew them to it with its net, as erst.'

In *Parad.* xiii. 79-80, we read:—

'If then the burning Love that worketh still
Clear view of that first virtue should assign.'

A note of explanation was much needed here, but is not forthcoming, to show how from this rendering the Dean can extract the meaning which in his note to line 59 he, in accordance with Mr. Haselfoot and most other commentators, assigns to it, viz. 'If the creative action of the Divine Love is immediate.' No passage in the whole of the *Divina Commedia* can match this for obscurity, and we believe that Mr. Haselfoot, in his masterly note, has been the first to find the key.

In the same Canto, verses 26-27, we find:—

'Persons three who in one nature shine,
And in one person that in manhood show.'

In the first of these lines 'one' should be 'divine.' The second seems utterly misunderstood and hopelessly unintelligible.

In Dean Plumptre's *Paradiso*, which was published seven months after Mr. Haselfoot's translation of the entire *Commedia*, we have noticed some resemblances so startling that it is hard to believe that they are—as of course they may be—mere coincidences. Take, for example, the following:—

CANTO III. 19-21.

'As soon as to perceive them I began
Thinking them semblances in mirrors ta'en,
I turned my eyes where they might be to scan.'—H.

'And I, when to perceive them I began,
Esteeming them as mirrored semblance vain,
Turned mine eyes round me, where they were to scan.'—P.

IV. 10-12.

'Silent I was, but my desire became
Limned in my face, and my demand as well
More ardent far than speech distinct could claim.'—H.

'Silent I stood, but my desire became
In my looks painted, and thus my request
More fervent was than clearest speech could claim.'—P.

IV. 113-114.

'She means it of will absolute, and I
Of the other ; thus we both speak truly here.'—H.

'She spoke of that will absolute, and I
Of the other ; thus we both speak truly here.'—P.

V. 58.

'And to account each change as foolish learn.'—H.

'And every change to account as foolish learn.'—P.

V. 127-129.

'But know not who thou art or wherefore lies
Thy lot, O worthy soul, in that sphere's grade
From mortals veiled by rays which elsewhere rise.'—H.

'But thee I know not, nor why for thee lies,
O worthiest soul, thy home within the sphere
Veiled from men's eyes by rays that elsewhere rise.'—P.

XX. 130-133.

'Predestination ! what far depths conceal
Thy root from those looks which may not attain
Insight of all the First Cause can reveal !'—H.

'O Grace predestined ! how thou dost conceal
Thy secret root from every mortal eye
That sees not what the First Cause can reveal.'—P.

XXIV. 51.

'For such profession and such questioner.'—H.

'For such profession such a questioner.'—P.

It is due to Mr. Haselfoot to say that we do not remember to have met with any such striking coincidences in the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*.

Mr. Haselfoot expresses the hope that his version of Dante's poem may be accepted as a 'true photograph of the original.'

Such a simile should not be pressed too far. It will be enough if we allow that in many of those qualities in which the chief excellence of a photograph consists—in fidelity to outline, in chiaroscuro, in detail, and in tone—Mr. Haselfoot's version fully justifies his modest expectation. But in one most important point we find a radical dissimilarity. No photograph that we have ever seen has produced on us an effect similar in kind to that produced by this translation. Whatever satisfaction the most perfect of photographs may give to the eye of the professional or amateur, however much we may admire or envy the technical excellences of the thing, it has no independent existence : it is, as Plato says of imita-

tive art, twice removed from reality—it is a simulacrum, the only use of which is to remind one of an original.

Now, much as we have admired, and perhaps envied, the very extraordinary technical excellences of Mr. Haselfoot's work, such as its literal accuracy, and its effects of rhythm and rhyme, yet we hold that we confer a praise of a far higher order than that which he seems to expect, when we state that, as we read canto after canto, we became ever more and more oblivious of the existence of an 'original,' but that we almost always experienced, in a greater or a less degree, a feeling similar to that which we experience while reading Dante. We felt ourselves borne along, so to say, by wind and stream on some 'proud keel that singing cuts its way.' We do not of course mean to intimate that, even had Mr. Haselfoot's version been an original work, it would have been a work as great, or nearly as great, as Dante's poem, but we believe it to be comparable with that poem, as belonging to the same class of things.

This opinion is founded upon a general impression, and can neither be justified nor refuted by the quotation of a few passages. We frankly allow that passages might be quoted, and some of considerable length, where Mr. Haselfoot's 'faltering hand is faithless to his skill,' and where 'forma non s' accorda all' intenzion dell' arte.' The following version of the well-known inscription over Hell's Portal is an instance of what we mean :—

'Through me is reached the dolorous abode ;
 Through me is reached eternity of woe ;
 Through me to reach the lost folk lies the road.
 Justice inclined my lofty Maker so ;
 From Power divine, from highest Wisdom's spring,
 And from Love's first source did my fabric grow.
 Before me there was no created thing
 Save those eternal, and eterne last I ;
 Away all hope, O ye that enter, fling.'—*Inf.* iii. 1.

But unsuccessful as is this rendering, there is a certain latent power in it. One feels that some bright inspiration might touch it into vigorous vitality. It is not struck with fatal constitutional disease, as is the case with Dean Plumptre's version of this passage, and alas! of most passages. Indeed Mr. Haselfoot fails here where all, even Cary, have failed. The wondrous force and simple grandeur of Dante's words have never yet, as far as we are aware, been reproduced in any language with any measure of success. It may interest some of our readers to compare with the above version, and

with others, that given by a popular German translator of the *Divina Commedia*, if we may thus style a writer whose *terza rima* translation is published in a popular edition at the price of one shilling.¹

‘Durch mich geht’s ein zur Stadt der ew’gen Qualen,
Durch mich geht’s ein zum wehevollen Schlund,
Durch mich geht’s ein zu der Verdammnis Thal.
Gerechtigkeit war der Bewegungsgrund
Dess, der mich schuf ; mich gründend, that er offen
Allmacht, Allweisheit, erste Liebe kund.
Nicht ward vor mir Geschaffnes angetroffen,
Als Ewiges ; und ewig daur’ auch ich.
Ihr, die ihr eingeht, lasst hier jedes Hoffen.’

The adoption of the *terza rima*, even though the *verso tronco* be substituted for the *verso piano* with its soft dissyllabic ending, taxes the powers of a language which even Coleridge found so ‘poor in rhymes’ that he abandoned his intended metrical version of Schiller’s ‘Lager.’ The choice of such a metre is one of those self-imposed restraints by which art gives outline and consistence to its creations—a ‘freno dell’ arte,’ as Dante calls it.

‘Das ist die Eigenschaft der Dinge ;
Natürlichem genügt das Weltall kaum,
Was künstlich ist, verlangt geschlossnen Raum.’

Now, the manner in which such a necessity of external form is met is a test not only of translativ ingenuity but also of poetic power. The following is an example of the manner in which Mr. Haselfoot and Dean Plumptre respectively meet the difficulties of the same case. In the translation of the line (*Inf. i. 93*) :—

‘Se vuoi campar d’ esto luogo selvaggio,’

Mr. Haselfoot finds himself encountered by two importunate rhymes which passionately demand another—a third dimension, so to speak—by which their existence may be assured. What does the writer do? He at once abandons his ‘high standard of literal accuracy,’ he boldly ‘sacrifices the sense to the rhyme’ (we are quoting his own words), and he writes :—

‘If thou wouldst go free from this savage cage.’

We can almost imagine the alabaster features of the great master—whose bust was doubtless enshrined somewhere near

¹ *Dante Alighieri’s* ‘Göttliche Komödie’: übersetzt von Karl Streckfuss (Universal-Bibliothek).

—relaxing in an approving smile as Mr. Haselfoot wrote down the last word of his line.

Dean Plumptre finds himself in a like predicament. How does he extricate himself? By his usual method. He writes:—

‘If thou wilt scape this region waste and drear.’

Again (l. 135), Dante’s words are—

‘E color che tu fai cotanto mesti.’

Dean Plumptre has his ‘tag’ ready:—

‘And those thou tell’st of in their torments dire.’

Mr. Haselfoot follows Boileau’s audacious advice to ‘emulate rather than imitate,’ and gives us something truly Dantesque:—

‘And those thou makest to such sorrow prone.’

Very numerous examples might be given to the same effect. Opening the volume at haphazard we find ourselves in the heaven of the fixed stars, and from the one page select two further specimens of such ‘emulation.’

‘Questo conforto dal fuoco secondo
Mi venne.’ (*Par.* xxv. 37.)

‘I heard the second fire articulate
This comfort.’

‘E quella pia, che guidò le penne
Delle mie ali.’ (*Par.* xxv. 49.)

‘And she who guided tenderly the aim
Of my plumed wings.’

The fact is that Mr. Haselfoot, strictly adhering to his rule of ‘excluding every rhyme that is not thoroughly legitimate,’¹ and never tagging on extraneous matter to the end of

¹ Surely, however (we speak under correction), ‘gone’ . . . ‘scorn’ (*Par.* xxvii. 31), is scarcely legitimate. A very large number of spurious rhymes may be culled from Dean Plumptre’s work. We offer a few specimens: ‘be . . . cry;’ ‘harsh . . . o’erarch;’ ‘crashed . . . detached;’ ‘learn . . . mourn;’ ‘birth . . . wrath;’ ‘isle . . . toil;’ ‘spoil . . . ere-while;’ ‘stir . . . ear,’ and ‘bear’ (‘bear,’ indeed, is used *passim* as though it were pronounced ‘beer’); ‘me . . . due;’ ‘note . . . thought;’ ‘sound . . . shore;’ ‘join . . . design;’ ‘bind . . . joined;’ ‘advance . . . descants.’ It may be easy, as the Dean remarks in his Preface, to point out faulty rhymes, and, after all, one easily allows such discordances in a great poem. But discordance when used by a master is a sign of strength; Dean Plumptre’s discordances are signs of weakness, and are consequently irritating. Another irritating sign of weakness is the omission of the article in consequence of the exigencies of rhythm. Such expressions as

a line, finds himself sometimes obliged to 'sacrifice sense'—and the manner in which he repairs that loss is one proof, among others, that he possesses the highest qualification of a translator.

In Dean Plumptre's version the matter is—otherwise.

Let us take a few specimens of his line-endings from the first fifty lines of the first canto :—

Selva oscura : 'gloomy forest dell.' *La paura* : 'that terror fell.' *Di paura* : 'with terror's torturing power.' *Ogni calle* : 'path most true.' *Che nel lago del cuor m' era durata* : 'that my heart's fountain vexed, nor did relent' (!) *Con lena affanata* : 'panting, worn, and spent.' *Rabbiosa fame* : 'hunger fierce and wild.'

In the same light tripping style in which Dean Plumptre speaks of Dante's 'Bohemian habits,' and of the '*cause célèbre* of the Divorce Court' towards which such relationships as that of Dante with Beatrice would seem to tend, he asserts that the result of 'falling back upon' a prose translation 'is, at the best, like drinking stale champagne.' (Preface, p. x.)

We should have held it a juster simile if he had compared prose with water—stale or otherwise—and poetry with wine ; and we should have fancied that the result of reading a *terza rima* translation of Dante from which all the original strength and flavour had effervesced might have borne a very striking resemblance to the result of drinking stale champagne.

We have already allowed that there are passages, and some of considerable length, in Mr. Haselfoot's volume where he seems to us to have signally failed—where we are fain to cry

'Ikarus, Ikarus !
Jammer genug !'

On the other hand, we readily allow that there are passages, and some of these of considerable length, where Dean Plumptre seems to us to rise to a somewhat higher level ; as, for instance, in his rendering of the wondrous description of Buonconte's tragic end.¹

But we have no hesitation in asserting that Mr. Haselfoot's faults are the faults of strength, and that Dean Plumptre's successes are the successes of weakness ; that the work of the former is informed by living poetic energy, which is not 'ill dream true,' 'the ribs of ship,' 'in gloomy forest dell,' 'like lion' . . . &c., remind one too forcibly of our old friend 'lion vile' in a certain 'most lamentable comedy.'

¹ *Purg.* v. We must, however, beg to disagree entirely with the Dean's translation of line 112, though he is supported by Cary's authority.

present, or only present to an almost inappreciable degree, in the work of the latter; that by virtue of certain inner characteristics, which are the root of all true external resemblance, Mr. Haselfoot's work produces, whereas Dean Plumptre's does not produce, the 'essential effect' of the original.

One of the most recognizable of such characteristics is that of *power*, which is perhaps more apparent in Dante's poem than in any other work of human imagination—a power that, like the lightning, rives and rends its way through all resisting substances, seeking its directest path. Something of this power Mr. Haselfoot seems to us to possess. The effect produced on us by his work has been not unlike that produced by the strong onward sweep of a great river, while Dean Plumptre's version, which we have studied quite as conscientiously and impartially, has left on us an impression such as might be gained by following the course of some trickling streamlet rippling and wriggling round every obstacle.

The following excerpts may, or may not, seem to justify our opinion, and we should be very unwilling that anyone should pass a verdict on such fragmentary evidence. Still, as far as it goes, the evidence is unimpeachable, and it shall be prejudiced as little as possible by unnecessary comment.

First let us take the renderings by both translators of some well-known lines and passages.

Who has not felt the arrowy directness of the following line?

Tanto è amaro che poco è piu morte.¹

With its simple piercing words, it is a veritable *μελαινέων ἔρμ' ὀδυνάων*. Translated, it should produce a like effect.

Mr. Haselfoot's translation is

So bitter is it, death is little more.

Dean Plumptre renders it—

So bitter 'tis, death's self were little more.

The two lines are verbally almost identical, but the difference is the difference between something alive and something not alive. To economize space, we shall refrain from further criticism, and merely subjoin specimens, together with the originals:—

'Noi leggiavamo un giorno per diletto
Di Lancelotto, come amor lo strinse :
Soli eravamo e senza alcun sospetto.

¹ *Inferno*, i. 7.

Per più fiate gli occhi ci sospinse
 Quella lettura, e scolorocci il viso :
 Ma solo un punto fu quel che ci vinse.
 Quando leggemmo il disiato riso
 Esser baciato da cotanto amante,
 Questi, che mai da me non fia diviso,
 La bocca mi baciò tutto tremante :
 Galeotto fu il libro e chi lo scrisse :
 Quel giorno più non vi leggemmo avante.'—*Inf.* v. 127.

'We for delight were reading on a day
 Of Lancelot, how Love of him made prize.
 Alone we were, suspicions far away.
 For many times that reading tranced our eyes
 And made the colour from our faces flee :
 But one sole instant took us by surprise.
 When we read how the smile he yearned to see
 Was by the kiss of such a lover sought,
 This one, who never shall be torn from me,
 His own kiss to my lips all-trembling brought.
 A Galeot was the book, its writer too !
 That day we read not further in it aught.' (H.)

'It chanced one day we read for our delight
 How love held fast the soul of Lancelot ;
 Alone were we, nor deemed but all was right [!] ;
 Full many a time our eyes their glances shot,
 As we read on ; our cheeks now paled, now blushed ;
 But one short moment doomed us to our lot.
 When as we read how smile long sought for flushed
 Fair face at kiss of lover so renowned.
 He kissed me on my lips as impulse rushed,
 All trembling ; now with me for aye is bound.
 Writer and book were Gallehault to our will :
 No time for reading more that day we found.'¹ (P.)

Se quella, con ch' io parlo, non secca. (*Inf.* xxxii. 139.)

If that wherewith I parley drieth not. (H.)

Unless my tongue lie stiff my lips within. (P.)

Cominciò Pluto con la voce chioccia. (*Inf.* vii. 2.)

Plutus began with clucking voice to cry. (H.)

So Plutus spake with accents rough and hoarse. (P.)

Io vidi entrar le braccia per l' ascelle. (*Inf.* xxv. 112.)

I saw the arms go at the armpits in. (H.)

I saw the arms drawn up at the armpits' frame. (P.)

¹ How utterly has the wondrous *delicacy* of Dante's line vanished in this most unfortunate remark !

Siena mi fe ; disfecemi Maremma. (*Purg.* v. 134.)

My life Sienna gave, Maremma took. (H.)

Sienna gave me life, Maremma slew. (P.)

La faccia sua era faccia d' uom giusto. (*Inf.* xvii. 10.)

Its face was as a man's face who is just. (H.)

Its face was of a man of righteous thought. (P.)

E come a gradidar si sta la rana

Col muso fuor dell' acqua, quando sogna

Di spigolar sovente la villana. (*Inf.* xxxii. 31.)

And as the frog pursues his croaking strain

With muzzle out of water, when in dreams

The village girl oft thinks she gleans again. (H.)

And as the frogs to croak are wont to flock [!]

With snout thrust forth from water, when in dreams

The peasant maiden gleans from every shock [!!]. (P.)

A guisa di leon, quando si posa. (*Purg.* vi. 66.)

In semblance of a lion in repose. (H.)

Like lion¹ when he couching doth abide. (P.)

Il tremolar della marina. (*Purg.* i. 117.)

The twinkling of the sea. (H.)

The trembling of the main.² (P.)

E quindi uscimmo a riveder le stelle. (*Inf.* xxxiv. 139.)

And issuing thence we saw again the stars. (H.)

Thence passed once more to rebehold each star.³ (P.)

S' io avessi le rime ed aspre e chioce

Come si converrebbe al tristo buco

Sovra 'l qual pontan tutte l' altre rocce,

Io premerei di mio concetto il suco

Più pienamente ; ma perch' io non l' abbo

Non senza tema a dicer mi conduco. (*Inf.* xxxii. 1-6.)

Had I of rough and strident rhymes a stock,

Such as would for the dismal hole be meet,

Down upon which thrusts every other rock,

I would press out the juice of my conceit

More fully ; but because of none possessed,

I come not without fear the theme to treat. (H.)

¹ Surely no other but our old friend above mentioned !

² Dean Plumptre translates Æschylus' famous expression by the 'innumerable smile' of ocean !

³ Similarly the last line of the *Purgatory*.

If I had rhymes as out of tune and harsh
 As would be fitting for that drear abyss,
 Which, as their centre, th' other rocks o'erarch,
 To press thoughts' grape-juice I were not remiss
 More fully. Since by me they're not possessed,
 Not without fear I come to speak of this. (P.)

Ahi, dura terra, perchè non t' apristi? (*Inf.* xxxiii. 66.)

Ah, cruel earth, why didn't not open yawn? (H.)

Hard earth, why opened not thy depths that day? (P.)

Guardami ben : ben son, ben son Beatrice.

Come degnasti d' accedere al monte?

Non sapei tu che qui l' uomo è felice?

Gli occhi mi cadder giù nel chiaro fonte ;

Ma veggendomi in esso, io trassi all' erba :

Tanta vergogna mi gravò la fronte.

Così la madre al figlio par superba,

Come ella parve a me ; perchè d' amaro

Sente 'l sapor della pietade acerba. (*Purg.* xxx. 73.)

Look at me well ; I am, am Beatrice.

How didst thou deign to come unto the Mount?

Didst thou not know that man is here in bliss?

My downcast eyes were dropped on the clear fount,

Seeing me in which I made them grassward turn ;

So weighed down was my brow on shame's account.

Even as a mother to her son seems stern,

Seemed she to me ; for bitter is the taste

Of harshness mixed with pitying concern. (H.)

Behold ! In me thy Beatrice see :

How didst thou deem thee fit to climb the hill !

Didst thou not know that here the blessed be?

Mine eyes then fell upon the waters still,

But there myself beholding, to the grass

I turned, such shame upon my brow weighed ill,

As mother to her son for proud doth pass,

So she to me, for with a bitter twang

Tastes pity which in sternness doth o'erpass. (P.)

But of odious comparisons enough ! In the *Paradise* Mr. Haselfoot is at his best, just as the Dean is at his worst. Whether he undertakes to reproduce in English some lovely description of animal life, or of earthly or celestial scenery, or some quaint simile, or some wondrously-worded confession of faith, he displays a poetic power and a mastery in expression which place his version of the *Divina Commedia*—as a poem—on a level *at least* with that of Cary, while the most unusual skill that he shows in reproducing, as far as it can be repro-

duced, the external form of the original, secures him very high, if not the highest, place among successful imitators. We have chosen the following passages, not for any rare and special excellence,¹ but as fairly representative specimens.

'O insensata cura de' mortali,
Quanto son difettivi sillogismi
Quei che ti fanno in basso batter l' ali !
Chi dietro a jura, e chi ad aforismi
Sen giva, e chi seguendo sacerdozio,
E chi regnar per forza o per sofismi ;
E chi 'n rubare, e chi 'n civil negozio,
Chi, nel diletto della carne involto,
S' affaticava, e chi si dava all' ozio.'—*Par.* xi. 1.

'O care insensate, swaying mortal kind,
How full those syllogisms are of flaws
That keep thy wings to downward flight confined !
One after aphorisms, after laws
Another went, one for the priesthood sought,
And one to reign by force or specious cause ;
One robbery, one civil business wrought
One in the pleasure of the flesh ensnared
Wearied himself, one turned to doing nought.'

'Sì come quando 'l colombo si pone
Presso al compagno, l' uno all' altro pande,
Girando e mormorando, l' affezione.—*Par.* xxv. 19.

'As, when a dove alights beside its mate,
One circles round the other to evince
Its love by murmurings affectionate.'

'Come rimane splendido e sereno
L' emisferio dell' aere, quando soffia
Borea da quella guancia ond' è più leno,
Per che si purga e risolve la roffia,
Che pria turbava, sì che 'l ciel ne ride
Con le bellezze d' ogni sua paroffia.'—*Par.* xxviii. 79.

'Even as remains serene, with splendour bright,
The hemisphere of air, when Boreas blows
From that cheek whence he tempers most his might ;
Because the film is purged and, melting, goes,
Which first disturbed it ; whence the smiling sky
With all its retinue of beauties glows.'

As a final example let us take the passage in which Dante describes the manifestation of the Trinity under the visible form of three equal but differently coloured circles :—

¹ Of this the best example will be found in the exquisite rendering of the second canto of the *Purgatorio*.

'Nella profonda e chiara sussistenza
 Dell' alto lume parvemi tre giri
 Di tre colori e d' una contenenza ;
 E l' un dall' altro, come Iri da Iri,
 Pareo riflesso, e 'l terzo pareo fuoco
 Che quinci e quindi igualmente si spiri.
 Oh quanto è corto il dire e come fioco
 Al mio concetto ! e questo, a quel ch' io vidi,
 E tanto, che non basta a dicer poco.'

—*Par.* xxxiii. 115.

'In the profound and bright fused elements
 Of the high light three circles on me beamed,
 Triple in hues, and single in contents ;
 And one reflected by another seemed,
 As rainbow is by rainbow, and the third
 Seemed fire which equally from either streamed.
 How short is speech ! how feebly therein heard
 Is my conception ! which, to what was shown,
 Is such that 'little' is too weak a word.

Mr. Haselfoot has wisely expended none of his energies in adding yet another to the almost innumerable 'Lives' of his author, and what notes he gives us are, we repeat, of the most refreshing terseness and vigour. It is a novel and a pleasant sensation to find oneself credited by a Dante commentator with a certain amount of common sense and insight.

We do not purpose to enter into any detailed criticism of the very voluminous *emballage* of Notes, Preface, Life, Sonnets, &c., in which Dean Plumptre has swathed his translation. Indeed, we openly confess that we have not studied these portions of his volume with the attention necessary for such criticism. Dean Plumptre's work in life has been, as he says, 'largely that of a commentator,' and his experience has, he thinks, 'taught him what the average English reader wants.' The 'average English reader' will, therefore, we feel assured, find all he wants, and possibly more, in Dean Plumptre's comments and compilations.¹

The only remark that we allow ourselves to make is that, as our eyes strayed, perhaps too carelessly, over the pages of his Introduction, and lightly skimmed the expanses of his footnotes, they seemed to alight with considerable frequency

¹ The Dean (not Dante) would seem to consider that his brethren of the clergy are even below the 'average,' for in *Par.* viii. 147 he permits himself to translate the line, 'E fate re di tal ch' è da sermone' 'And take as king some sermonising fool' !! What Dante says is, 'one who is a man of sermons,' *i.e.* a preacher. But the Dean is too often indifferent to 'what Dante says.'

on such expressions as 'the conjecture which I venture to interpolate,' 'this provisional working hypothesis,' 'I conjecture, though I cannot prove,' 'imagination may picture,' and the like. The exercise of the imagination is one of the highest privileges of humanity, and we would not for a moment desire to deny this privilege to a commentator or a biographer. But we leave it to the 'average English reader' and to others to decide whether such surmises as the following are likely to add to our knowledge of the great poet, or to our appreciation of his poem.

'I find in Dante, by this hypothesis' [namely, the 'provisional working hypothesis,' that the poet exile and Cardinal da Prato were in close correspondence as chief conspirators in the scheme for securing the election of Henry of Luxemburg], 'the master mind that was working behind the scenes, and pulling the wires that moved the puppets in the great drama which was now unfolding' (*Life*, p. xcviij).

Or take the following :—

'I may seem to be unduly influenced by local prepossessions, but to me it does not seem an incredible hypothesis that when Dante was in England he may have been attracted by the fame of Peter Lightfoot, the maker of the clock, to visit Glastonbury . . . and may have worshipped within the walls of my own cathedral' (*ib.* p. lviii).

Strange indeed is oftentimes the phenomenon of a human mind under the influence of 'working hypotheses'!

ART. VIII.—THE CODEX AMIATINUS, WHEN AND WHERE WRITTEN.

1. *The Guardian*, February 16, March 2. (London, 1887.)
2. *The Academy*, February 26, March 5. (London, 1887.)
3. *Venerabilis Bedæ Opera Historica ad fidem Codicum Manuscriptorum recensuit* JOSEPHUS STEVENSON. (English Historical Society.)
Vita beatorum Abbatum, Benedicti, Ceolfredi, &c.
Historia Abbatum Gyrvensium, Auctore anonymo (Appendix). (London, 1841.)

THERE is in the Laurentian or Mediceo-Laurentian Library at Florence a manuscript of the whole Bible in Latin, which has

long been recognized by critical scholars as the oldest¹ and best copy of the Latin version of St. Jerome, commonly called the Vulgate. It is in fact one of the chief ornaments of that collection. It has recently been established beyond any doubt that this book was written at Wearmouth or Jarrow under the superintendence of the Abbat Ceolfrid, the instructor of the Venerable Bede, and that it was intended by the abbat as a gift to the see of St. Peter at Rome. We propose in the following pages to give a brief narrative of the various steps by which this discovery has been made, passing by for the present all critical details. Our readers will find it to be truly a marvellous history. It may not be amiss, however, first to give some account of St. Ceolfrid himself, whose history is most interesting, and in some passages affecting. There are two authorities for his life besides what we are told concerning him in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*.² The first is Bede's own most beautiful work, *The Lives of the Abbats of Wearmouth and Jarrow*.³ The second is an anonymous tract, evidently written by a monk of Wearmouth or Jarrow. It also is inscribed in printed copies *The Lives of the Abbats*, but it is really a *Life of St. Ceolfrid*, the others being noticed only so far as their history was connected with his.⁴ It supplies some particulars not to be found in Bede.

¹ *I.e.* of the whole Bible; as to the New Testament, the Codex Fuldensis is older.

² *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 18; v. 21, 24.

³ Bede's *Lives of the Abbats* is printed in Dr. Smith's edition of Bede's *Historical Works*, 1722; in the edition of the *Hist. Works* published by the English Historical Society, edited by Jos. Stevenson, 1841; in the *Works of the Venerable Bede*, edited by Dr. Giles, 1843; and in Dr. Hussey's edition of the *Hist. Eccl.*, 1846.

⁴ The anonymous *Life of St. Ceolfrid* was first printed in the appendix to the English Historical Society's edition of the *Hist. Works* from Harleian MS. No. 3020, and is reprinted by Dr. Giles in his appendix. Mr. Stevenson asserts that it was the source from which the Venerable Bede derived much of his information for his *Lives of the Abbats*. It is difficult to understand how anyone acquainted with both *Lives* could say so. Mr. S. seems to have been thinking of what is commonly said of Bede's *Life of St. Cuthbert* and the anonymous *Life* by a monk of Lindisfarne. But the two cases are widely different. St. Cuthbert lived at a considerable distance from Jarrow, and died when Bede was very young. Bede spent all his life after the age of seven in the monastery of Jarrow; he must have been an eye and ear witness of most of what he sets down, and it is not easy to see what need he had for help from anyone in recording events of which he could most emphatically say, were he so inclined, 'quorum pars magna fui.' All that he could not be acquainted with from personal knowledge is the early history of St. Benedict Biscop, of which the anonymous writer says nothing. On the other hand, the latter gives a brief account of the early life of St. Ceolfrid, of which Bede says nothing. The anonymous *Life* has all the appearance of a sermon

St. Ceolfrid, whose name, Alban Butler says,¹ is the same as Galfrid, Gaufrid, or Geoffrey, was born of noble and religious parents about the year 642, seven years after the arrival of St. Aidan, about thirty before the birth of his illustrious pupil the Venerable Bede.² His father was a 'comes,' or ealdorman, high in the service of the King, and was even more distinguished by his piety and his kindness to the poor than by his social position. On one occasion,³ in expectation of a visit from the King, he had prepared a magnificent banquet; but the exigencies of war having called the King away in another direction, all his costly preparations seemed to be rendered useless. To most men this would have been a dire disappointment; but, far from murmuring, the good man gave thanks to Him who ordereth all things rightly, then called together the poor and the afflicted from far and near, and offered the banquet, which he had prepared for his earthly sovereign, to the King of Heaven in the persons of His poor members. He waited on the men himself, while his wife served the women, thus affording a notable instance of the change the Gospel had wrought, even so soon, in our fierce and haughty forefathers. From his early days Ceolfrid had striven to lead a godly life, and at the age of eighteen⁴ he resolved to give himself up entirely to the service of God. It is hardly necessary to say that in those rough days, when war was almost the only employment for a layman, especially for a nobleman, a monastery was the only resource for a devout youth. At Gilling, near Richmond, in Yorkshire, there was a monastery founded by King Oswy, at the instance of his gentle queen, Eanfleda, as an act of penitence for the foul murder of King Oswin. Till recently this house had been under the charge of Cynifrid, Ceolfrid's elder brother; but zeal in the pursuit of Divine learning had drawn Cynifrid away to Ireland. His successor was his kinsman Tunberct, afterwards first Bishop of Hexham. Hither it was that Ceolfrid directed his steps. Perhaps we may infer from this that he was a native of Yorkshire. Being kindly received by his kinsman, Ceolfrid gave himself up with all his energy to reading, working, and to learning his monastic duties. After a time Tunberct and

for the *Natalitia* of the saint. The writer begins with a text, and a most appropriate one, Heb. xiii. 7, and his subject is St. Ceolfrid alone, others being mentioned only incidentally.

References are here made to the English Historical Society's edition. *B. H. E.* = Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*; *B. V. A.* = Bede's *Lives of the Abbots*; *V. A.* = Anonymous *Life of St. Ceolfrid*.

¹ *Lives of the Saints*, September 25.

² *Ibid.* 331.

³ *V. A.* 318.

⁴ *Ibid.* 318.

Ceolfred, with some others of the brethren, were invited ¹ by the famous Wilfrid, then Bishop of York, to his monastery at Ripon, and there in his twenty-seventh year Ceolfred was ordained priest by Wilfrid. He now paid a visit to Kent, to perfect himself in the monastic rule and the duties of the priesthood. He also visited with a like purpose the Abbat Botulf ² at Ikanhoe, in Lincolnshire, from whom the town of Boston (Botulf's Town) derives its name—a man, we are told, who was everywhere famous for his singularly good life as well as for his learning, 'a man full of the Holy Spirit.' Having profited as much as he could by a short visit, Ceolfred returned home; and thinking more of the duty of humility than of his worldly rank, of his learning, or of his station as a priest, he hesitated not to employ himself in the menial services of the monastery. He became the baker of the community, and was employed in winnowing corn, in kindling and cleansing the oven, and baking the bread. So were the English of that day, who thought all such work degrading, taught the dignity of labour, when they saw a man of noble birth, of great learning, and a priest, so employing himself. While thus engaged, he was at the same time most assiduous in learning and practising all the duties of the priesthood; and in time, on account of his learning, the fervour of his godly zeal in instructing the ignorant, and dealing wisely with the obstinate, he was appointed to a high charge in the monastery.

It was about this time that Benedict Biscop was planning the foundation of the famous Abbey of Wearmouth. This remarkable man had three times ³ made a journey to Rome, and had, in his visits to no less than seventeen ⁴ most ancient and famous monasteries, acquainted himself with the rules and the details of the monastic life. In these journeys Benedict had not only seen much that was interesting and instructive, but he had also collected great numbers of books and relics and ecclesiastical ornaments. When he came home he gave an account of all to King Ecgfrid, ⁵ who was so much pleased with what Benedict had to tell him, and to show him, that he made him a large grant of land at the mouth of the river Wear, on which to build a monastery. Upon this

¹ *V. A.* 319.

² *Ibid.*

³ Benedict had really been *four* times at Rome. In his second journey he returned as far as Lerins, where he stayed some time and received the tonsure, and then went back to Rome. Bede reckons the journeys as 'from Britain,' 'de Britannia Romam.' He made in all five journeys, or six according as the second from Britain, during which he was twice at Rome, is counted as one or as two.

⁴ *B. V. A.* 150; *V. A.* 320.

⁵ *Ibid.* 143.

Benedict, having heard much of Ceolfrid's learning and devotion, and skill in government, sought and obtained him from Wilfrid as a fellow worker in his new enterprise.¹ Ceolfrid therefore removed to Wearmouth. After the monastery was erected, Benedict crossed the sea to Gaul to find masons to build a church to be named in honour of St. Peter. During his absence Ceolfrid began to tire of his work. Some young noblemen in the monastery gave him a great deal of trouble by their intractability and reluctance to submit to regular discipline. So he gave up his charge and withdrew to Ripon, whence he had come. Benedict, however, on his return followed him, and prevailed on him to come back. Benedict brought not only masons from Gaul,² but also workers in glass, who, besides glazing the windows of the church, taught the English the art of working in glass, of which they had previously been entirely ignorant.³

When St. Peter's Church was finished, Benedict, taking Ceolfrid with him, set out on a fourth journey to Rome.⁴ Here Ceolfrid had the opportunity of vastly increasing his stores of knowledge. They returned laden with books, pictures, and ecclesiastical furniture, bringing with them also John, the 'archicantor,' or precentor, of St. Peter's at Rome, that he might introduce the knowledge of church music into the north of England.

And now Ecgfrid made a further⁵ donation of land at the mouth of the Tyne, for the foundation of a new monastery. This was Jarrow, and thither Ceolfrid was sent with a number of monks to begin the new establishment, which, we are constantly reminded, was not a separate community, but formed part of the one society in two places. When the monastery had been built at Jarrow, and a church, which was named in honour of St. Paul, as the church of Wearmouth had been in honour of St. Peter, Benedict, designing a fifth journey to Rome, appointed Ceolfrid to the charge of Jarrow, and a young nobleman named Eosterwini, his own cousin, to that of Wearmouth. He then set out for Rome, and in due time came back, as usual, with a rich cargo of books, and pictures, and church furniture for the adornment of his two monasteries. Heavy tidings awaited him on

¹ *V. A.* 320.² *B. V. A.* 143.³ Since it was thus introduced by Benedict Biscop the manufacture of glass has been a leading industry on the spot. It is now fast retiring to Belgium. Was Belgium the part of Gaul from which Benedict fetched it?⁴ *V. A.* 321.⁵ *B. V. A.* 145; *V. A.* 322.

his return. His friend King Ecgfrid had been slain in battle. A pestilence had visited Wearmouth and Jarrow and carried off many of the brethren. At Wearmouth Eosterwini had died, and the deacon Sigfrid had, to Benedict's entire satisfaction, been chosen in his room. The account of Jarrow is most interesting, though peculiarly sad.¹ All who could read or preach or chant the antiphons and responsories had been cut off, save the abbat and one little boy 'who had been brought up and educated by him, and even to this time,' adds the writer, 'holds in the same monastery the rank of presbyter, esteemed by all who know him both for his discourses and his writings.' These two, with many tears, sang the Canonical Hours, only, save at Matins and Vespers, omitting the antiphons. This went on for a week, and then they could bear it no longer. They resumed their old practice, which they continued under all difficulties till others could be trained to take part with them. There can be no doubt that the boy was the Venerable Bede, who, by his own account, had been entrusted to Benedict at the age of seven, and by him put under the charge of Ceolfrid.² He would now be about fourteen years of age. We are indebted to the anonymous monk for this story. It is thoroughly in accordance with Bede's character that he makes no mention of it.

Not long after this, Benedict was attacked by paralysis.³ He lingered on for three years, entirely disabled in the lower parts of his body. Sigfrid also was afflicted by an acute and incurable disease of the lungs,⁴ and was drawing near his end. In these circumstances, it seemed good to Benedict and Sigfrid, with the advice and consent of the community, to appoint Ceolfrid sole abbat of the united monasteries. Bede gives a most affecting account of the death-bed scenes⁵ of Sigfrid and of Benedict, who died about four months after his friend and colleague.

After this Ceolfrid ruled the community for twenty-eight years.⁶ Bede tells us that he 'carried on with undiminished zeal all the good works which his predecessor had begun with such earnestness and energy. He built new oratories; he increased the number of the vessels of the altar and the church, and of vestments of every kind. The library which

¹ *V. A.* 323.

² *Bede. Hist. Eccl.* v. 24.

³ *B. V. A.* 150; *V. A.* 323.

⁴ This is probably the first historical mention of *consumption*, as Montalembert remarks, 'le premier des Anglais, je pense, chez lequel l'histoire ait signalé cette maladie si habituelle et si fatale à leur race' (*Moines d'Occident*, iv. 485).

⁵ *B. V. A.* 150-154.

⁶ *Ibid.* 155; *V. A.* 325.

Benedict had taken such pains to found, with no less zeal. he doubled in extent; and to one Pandect¹ of the old translation which he had brought from Rome he added three Pandects of the new translation. One of these when, as an old man, he was going back to Rome he took with him, among other things, as a gift; two of them he left to the two monasteries, one to each.' Ceolfrid set out on his journey to Rome in the year 716, when he was seventy-four years of age. The account of his leave-taking is most picturesque, but must be passed over here. He never reached Rome, but died at Langres, in France. He was accompanied by a very large retinue of no less than eighty persons. Of these some returned home to tell what had happened; some remained in the place where their beloved father had been laid to rest; while others proceeded on the journey to Rome, bearing with them the gifts that Ceolfrid had brought, and among the rest the Pandect of the new translation.

We come now, at last, to the famous manuscript at Florence, known as the Codex Amiatinus, having once belonged to the Convent of Monte Amiata. It has long been known and highly admired and esteemed by critical scholars. The Bishop of Salisbury thus speaks of it:—²

'The great Bible of Monte Amiata, now one of the most prominent ornaments of the Mediceo-Laurentian Library at Florence, is at once a most important specimen of palæography and one of the principal foundations of the text of any critical edition of the version of St. Jerome, both in the Old and New Testaments. . . . It is a book measuring about 50 × 34 centim. (19·7 × 13·4 in.) in length and breadth, and nearly 20 centim. (7·9 in.) in thickness without the binding; containing 1,029 leaves of beautiful vellum, written in two columns to a page, with forty-three or forty-four lines to a column, in short lines, technically called *cola* and *commata*, or sometimes, perhaps less correctly, *stichi*, which represent an ancient system of punctuation perfectly intelligible to the trained eye.'

It is no wonder that curiosity should be very much alive as to the origin and history of such a volume. The only guides afforded by itself are: 1. A somewhat barbarous Greek inscription at the end of the prologue to the Book of

¹ Πανδέκτης, *all-receiving, all-containing*, hence οἱ Πανδέκται, name for a universal dictionary or encyclopedia; but later, *the Pandects or General Code of Law*, drawn up by order of Justinian (Liddell and Scott). They have overlooked its application to the Scriptures. But Maitland (*Dark Ages*, p. 194) was not aware of this use of the word so early. 'I do not know that this name [for the Scriptures] was ever general, or that it was used by any writer before Alcuin.'

² The *Guardian*, Feb. 16; *Academy*, Feb. 12.

Leviticus (**O KYPIK CEPBANΔOC AIΠOIHCE**N), from which it might be inferred that it was the handiwork of one Servandus. 2. An inscription on the back of the first leaf,¹ four words of which are manifestly written on erasures (here distinguished by italics)—

‘*Cenobium* ad eximii merito uenerabile *Saluatoris*
Quem caput ecclesiæ dedicat alta fides
Petrus Langobardorum extremis de finib. abbas
Deuoti affectus pignora mitto mei,
Meque meosq. optans tanti inter gaudia patris
In cælis memorem semper habere locum.’

As the lines in which there are no erasures are regular hexameters and pentameters, it was clear that the erasures had marred both the metre and the sense. In two lines the metre was entirely destroyed. The Saviour is said to be ‘dedicated by lofty faith as the Head of the Church.’ True, certainly; but unlikely to be enunciated in such a way. He is also called Father ‘tanti inter gaudia patris,’ which is still less to be expected. But the purport is quite clear. Peter, an abbat in Lombardy, sends the volume to the venerable monastery of the Saviour, and he alters the original inscription to suit his own purpose. The object, then, with inquirers was, if possible, to restore the original inscription, in doing which, of course, the metre was a most valuable guide. First, then, Bandini proposed to read the first line—

‘*Culmen* ad eximii merito venerabile *Petri*.’

This brought the metre right, and ‘*Petri*’ agreed well with ‘caput ecclesiæ.’ Still the third line stood sorely in need of mending, and Bandini, availing himself of the hint conveyed in the inscription at the end of the prologue to Leviticus, suggested ‘*Servandus Latii*’ in place of ‘*Petrus Langobardorum*,’ and the volume was supposed to have been a gift to the Holy See from Servandus of Latium, whoever he might have been. Still neither ‘*Langobardorum*’ nor ‘*Latii*’ suited the phrase ‘*extremis de finibus*,’ neither Lombardy nor Latium being far from Rome. It occurred to another distinguished Italian scholar, ‘the famous epigraphist and historian of the cata-

¹ A facsimile of this inscription will be found in the *Palæographical Society's Publications*, 2nd series, part iv. pl. 65, 66. We take this opportunity of strongly commending this remarkable and ‘epoch-making’ publication to the attention of our readers. Under the able auspices of Mr. Maunde Thompson, the distinguished Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, it has acquired a European reputation, and has given rise to similar undertakings in France and, we believe, in Germany.

combs, G. B. de Rossi,' that 'extremis de finibus' pointed to England. He had become acquainted with the Venerable Bede's story of Ceolfrid intending one of his three Pandects of the new translation as a gift to the Pope. He therefore proposed for the third line—

'Ceolfridus Britonum extremis de finibus abbas.'

This seemed to satisfy the metre, supposing the penultimate of Ceolfridus to be long, and 'Britonum' agreed with 'extremis de finibus.'

Conjecture had arrived at this stage when, in the *Guardian* of February 16 last, there appeared a paper from the Bishop of Salisbury calling attention to the subject. 'The interest of De Rossi's discovery,' his lordship most truly said, 'for all members of the English Church is startling.' Still the origin of the Codex remained a mystery. Where was it written? How did Ceolfrid become possessed of it? Benedict had made five journeys to Rome, in the fourth of which he was accompanied by Ceolfrid, and the Pandect of the old translation had come from Rome. Did Ceolfrid's three Pandects of the new translation come from Rome too? It was certainly a curious process to carry back to Rome, as a gift to the Pope, a manuscript which a few years before had been brought from Rome; but no better supposition seemed to occur to anyone. Meantime another correction of the inscription was suggested by a Cambridge scholar, the Rev. G. F. Browne,¹ who pointed out that Ceolfrid was not in the least likely to describe himself as a 'Briton;' he noticed also that the penultimate of Ceolfridus was most probably short from the analogy of 'Wilfridus' (Bede, *H. E.* v. 19). He therefore for 'Britonum' in the third line proposed to read 'Anglorum.'

'Ceolfridus Anglorum extremis de finibus abbas.'

All this while a full and clear solution of the problem was lying ready and close at hand in the anonymous *Life of Ceolfrid*, with which, unfortunately, no one who had yet taken part in the discussion seems to have been acquainted. They knew only the Venerable Bede's *Lives of the Abbats of Wearmouth and Jarrow*. Speaking of the close of Ceolfrid's career, the anonymous writer says—

'He made noble additions to the library which either he or Benedict had brought from Rome; inasmuch as, among other things, he *caused to be written* three Pandects, two of which he placed in the churches of his two monasteries, that if anyone wished to read any

¹ The *Guardian*, March 2.

chapter of either Testament he might readily find what he desired ; the third he proposed to offer as a gift to St. Peter, the prince of the Apostles, when he should take his journey to Rome.'¹

Surely there could not be a more appropriate or acceptable gift than such a fair codex, written in a remote English monastery.

Here, then, the origin of the great Codex is fully disclosed. It was written in the united monastery at the very time that the Venerable Bede was living and studying and teaching at Jarrow. This most important passage was pointed out, immediately after the Bishop of Salisbury's appeal, by Dr. Hort,² Hulsean Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, in a letter to the *Academy*. But this is not all. St. Ceolfred's biographer, after narrating the circumstances of his departure from Wearmouth, his journey through France, and his death at Langres, goes on to say³ that some of his company went on to Rome, bearing with them Ceolfred's gifts, 'among which was the Pandect we spoke of, translated by St. Jerome from the Hebrew and Greek originals, having at the beginning verses to this effect :—

“ Corpus ad eximii merito venerabile Petri
Dedicat ecclesiæ quem caput alta fides,
Ceolfridus, Anglorum extimis de finibus abbas,
Devoti affectus pignora mitto mei,
Meque meosque optans tanti inter gaudia patris
In cælis memorem semper habere locum.”

With the exception of a transposition in the second line, and the form 'extimis' for 'extremis' in the third, these lines are identical with all that part of the inscription now to be seen in the Codex which has not suffered erasion. The inevitable inference is that they supply the true reading of the erased words. The slight discrepancies just mentioned might easily be caused by a lapse of memory in the writer ; in fact he only professes to give them 'to this effect,' 'versus hujusmodi.' It is most remarkable that the whole inscription except the first word, which now becomes 'corpus' instead of 'culmen,' had been correctly restored by the learned ingenuity of modern Italian and English scholars before attention was drawn to the anonymous *Life of Ceolfred*. The inscription supplies *ex abundantia* the last link—a link perhaps scarcely required—in the chain of evidence. It is worth remarking, too, that, with one exception, the metre of the inscription in the Codex has now become faultless. The ex-

¹ *V. A.* 325.

² *The Academy*, Feb. 26.

³ *V. A.* 332.

ception is that the second syllable of 'ecclesiæ' is shortened. The same anomaly occurs repeatedly in Bede's metrical *Life of St. Cuthbert*, and in others of his poems. Greek scholarship was not then very extensive or accurate.¹ They used Greek words much as we now use the Hebrew when we speak of Lébanon, Chérubim, Séraphim, whereas those who are skilled in the Hebrew tongue tell us that we ought to say Lebānon, Cherūbim, Serāphim. It is very far from unlikely that this inscription was written by the Venerable Bede. Does it even seem an extravagant stretch of fancy to suppose that it may be an autograph?

There cannot now be the least shadow of doubt that this famous manuscript is the identical Pandect which was intended by Abbot Ceolfrid as a gift to St. Peter; and of course Servandus was relegated to the region of shades. It is supposed that he might have been the writer of the manuscript from which the Pandect was copied, and that the scribe, who, though clearly a master in calligraphy, may not after all have been a very intelligent man, had simply copied what he found, without regard to the fact that it was really no part of the work.

There is still another point to which Dr. Hort has directed attention. As far back as 1883 it was pointed out by Dr. Peter Corssen, of Jever,² that there was some close relationship between the *Codex Amiatinus* and the three Latin Bibles described by Cassiodorus,³ as presented by him to his monastery at Vivarium. This eminent and excellent man had held various high offices under Theodoric, the Ostrogothic

¹ In a verse of Alcuin's, quoted by the Bishop of Salisbury (*Guardian*, Feb. 16), we have a similar instance—

'Quod nunc a multis constat *Bibliotheca dicta*.'

² See the Bishop of Salisbury's paper in the *Guardian*, Feb. 16, and Dr. Hort's paper in the *Academy*, Feb. 26.

³ Always so named until of late the spelling 'Cassiodorius' has come into favour. The history of this remarkable man has recently been illustrated most fully by Mr. Hodgkin in vol. iv. of *Italy and her Invaders*, a work in which evidence of the most laborious research is joined to a most attractive style, qualities which are not always found combined. Mr. Hodgkin has also published the Letters of Cassiodorus in a separate work, to which is prefixed a biography, in p. 5 of which the question of the spelling of the name is discussed. Mr. Hodgkin, for the present at least, prefers 'Cassiodorus,' and quotes an hexameter verse of Alcuin as evidence of the spelling in the eighth century. He might have added the Venerable Bede, only in this case prose is not such sure evidence as verse. Gibbon and Dr. Westcott in 1866 (*The Bible in the Church*) agree with Mr. Hodgkin. In such company we may be excused if we write 'Cassiodorus.'

King of Italy, and at the age of sixty retired from public life to 'spend the remainder of his days in monastic seclusion.'¹ He survived thirty-five years, and 'consecrated his old age to religious meditation and to a work even more important than any of his political labours, the preservation by the pens of monastic copyists of the Christian Scriptures and of the great works of classical antiquity.' Among other things he wrote a book for his monks called *Institutio Divinarum et Humanarum Literarum*, in which he gives various lists of the sacred books, and speaks of a representation of the Temple of Solomon, and of Ezra writing at a table, of which he gives a description. Now, the *Codex Amiatinus* contains similar lists of the sacred books, and also a representation of the Temple of Solomon and of Ezra writing at his table, so that little doubt is left that the preliminary matter of the Codex is derived directly or indirectly from Cassiodorus.

Amongst others of his codices Cassiodorus notices particularly one of the old translation, which he describes as 'codex grandior littera clariore conscriptus.' In this he had caused the lists of the sacred books and the representation of the Temple of Solomon to be inserted. Now it has been pointed out by Dr. Hort² that the Venerable Bede, in two of his expository works, mentions a representation of the Temple of Solomon in a Pandect of Cassiodorus, of which he speaks as one who had actually seen it.

'In his tract on the Tabernacle, ii. 12 (vii. 107 of Giles), Bæda speaks as follows: "Quomodo in pictura Cassiodori Senatoris cujus ipse in expositione Psalmorum³ meminit expressum vidimus;" and again in his tract on Solomon's Temple, c. 16 (viii. 314 f. of Giles), "Has vero porticus Cassiodorus Senator in Pandectis, ut ipse Psalmorum expositione commemorat, triplici ordine distinxit," adding below, "Hæc ut in pictura Cassiodori reperimus distincta."'

But we have no reason to believe that Bede was ever in Italy, or, in fact, ever travelled farther south than York. He must, therefore, have seen the Pandect of Cassiodorus at home, so that it is as nearly certain as can be that this was the Pandect of the old translation which Benedict or Ceolfred brought from Rome. In course of time it had found its way from

¹ Hodgkin, *Letters of Cassiodorus*, p. 54. See also the article on 'Cassiodorus' in *C. Q. R.* for July 1880, pp. 289-318.

² The *Academy*, February 26.

³ It may be worth noting in connexion with these passages that there is in the cathedral library at Durham a manuscript of Cassiodorus's Exposition of the Psalms, which tradition, perhaps not on very secure grounds, asserts to be the handiwork of the Venerable Bede himself.

Vivarium to Rome, where, after the new translation by St. Jerome came into favour, it might not be so highly prized, and had been acquired by Benedict in one of his numerous journeys. It would naturally be regarded with great reverence in Northumbria, and though Ceolfrid's Pandects were certainly not copied from it, seeing they were of a different translation, yet it is plain that the preliminary matter would be equally suitable to either version.

Thus this grand Codex, of which Dr. Hort says, 'Even on a modern spectator this prodigy of a manuscript leaves an impression not far removed from awe,' has been fairly traced to its birthplace in the united monastery of Wearmouth and Jarrow. First, it was manifest that the inscription at the beginning was not in its original state; part had been erased and new words written over the erasures. Then came the guess founded on the hint conveyed in the inscription at the end of the prologue to Leviticus, referring to Servandus. Next comes the persuasion that 'extremis de finibus' fits neither Lombardy nor Latium in reference to Rome, and the most happy conjecture of G. B. de Rossi about St. Ceolfrid, founded on the Venerable Bede's *Lives of the Abbats*, which ultimately led to the restoration—still by conjecture—of every word but one of the original inscription. Then Dr. Hort directs attention to the passages in the anonymous *Life of St. Ceolfrid*, in which it is stated that Ceolfrid *caused* three Pandects of the new translation *to be written*, one of which he intended for the Pope; and along with this, to the original inscription itself, agreeing in every word but one with the conjectural restoration of the inscription now to be seen in the Codex, so that the origin and early history of 'this prodigy of a manuscript' were removed from the region of doubt and conjecture into that of absolute certainty. Lastly, we have Dr. Hort's identification of the Pandect of the old translation at Wearmouth with Cassiodorus's 'codex grandior littera clariore conscriptus.' It is surely a most interesting and a most marvellous history.

There, then, were these three great manuscripts, the 'codex grandior' of the old translation in the library, and the two Pandects of the new, one in the Church of St. Peter, the other in the Church of St. Paul, in the ancient united monastery. Dr. Hort thinks it would be 'a wonder if these two huge manuscripts in the two famous abbey churches did not exercise a wide influence for centuries.' Alas! it must be feared that their time was very brief. In little more than seventy years after the death of St. Ceolfrid came the first Danish invasion of Northumbria. Lindisfarne, Wearmouth, and Jarrow

were sacked with circumstances of peculiar atrocity, and there can be little doubt that the 'codex grandior' of Cassiodorus, and the two Pandects of St. Ceolfrid, were then destroyed. After that, a long period of intellectual torpor and darkness succeeded in the north ; indeed, in England generally. Let us rejoice that the third Pandect of St. Ceolfrid was far away in Italy, safe from the heathen ravager, and that it has remained to this day the admiration of all who behold it, to be a monument of the pious zeal and learning of the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow, and their learned and holy abbat, ST. CEOLFRID.

ART. IX.—OWEN'S DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.

A Treatise on Dogmatic Theology. By the Rev. ROBERT OWEN, B.D., late Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. Second Edition. (London, 1887.)

AMONG the earliest efforts of teachers to impart knowledge to the minds of even very young children there will be found, in a prominent position, the constant endeavour to make the pupil understand the difference between the essential and the accidental. Not, indeed, that these alarming words will be actually pronounced ; but that, nevertheless, the idea represented by them will be constantly in play. The child is shown a bright new shilling, with some explanation of the nature of money, and immediately a tin counter is supposed to be a coin of the realm ; a horned quadruped in a park is at once dubbed a cow ; and so forth. Even children of a larger growth, unless self-education be constantly at work, are liable to similar mistakes. Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, was fond of insisting on this tendency to error. He has somewhere commented on the supposition, fostered by certain would-be historical critics, that the invention of gunpowder must needs render any inquiry into ancient strategy an unprofitable task for the soldier. Arnold justly points out that the essentials of strategy remain the same, whatever be the accidental differences respecting the means of destruction employed ; and, in homely phrase, he clinches his argument by calling attention to the advice of Napoleon (assuredly no mean judge, even though a prejudiced one) bidding the youthful student

of the art of war content himself with a thorough study of the campaigns of seven great captains: namely, Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Julius Cæsar, Turenne, Montecuculi, Eugene of Savoy, and Frederick of Prussia; a list in which three are 'ancient masters.'¹

Accordingly, both in the world of action and in the world of thought, we find men laying down certain maxims which must needs be granted as a condition of procedure. Such a maxim may be called a *dogma*; that is to say, a principle which, at any rate for the purpose in hand, must not be gained or reversed. As regards action, an illustration or two may suffice to render our meaning clear.

Look at the British House of Lords. Apart from the restraints imposed by public opinion, by the temper of the assembly, by what we have heard called by one of its late members 'its chilling atmosphere,' few constituted bodies of men enjoy greater freedom of debate. The speakers need not pause to consider, as members of the Lower House may have occasion to do, whether constituents will approve of their utterances. Still, however, apart from the vague checks to which allusion has been made, there are distinct limitations on this freedom. Thus, for example, no peer can question the right of the Sovereign to introduce (of course with due observance of the proper forms) a new member into that society. That, from time to time, persons may be created peers who, if the House were a club, would have been black-balled is, we suppose, indubitable. But the right of the Sovereign in this respect, even though it may possibly be sometimes exercised under the almost compulsory sway of a powerful minister, is a *dogma* of the constitution, and no man rises in that House to contradict it.

Even in the matter of amusements the same principle obtains. When the victory of Waterloo had given peace to Europe, yacht clubs (previously all but unknown) were formed for the promotion of pleasure-sailing, and rapidly sprang up around all the coasts of England. A member of one of these associations, having sailed in a fine schooner to the shores of Spain, saw an opportunity of effecting an excellent stroke of business by the purchase of Seville oranges. He returned

¹ 'It was only an unworthy feeling which made him omit the name of Marlborough, and no one could hesitate to add to the list his own. But he spoke of generals who were dead, and of course in adding no other name to this catalogue I am following the same rule.' Arnold, *Lectures on Modern History* (Lect. iv. p. 154). This lecture was delivered in 1842, when Wellington was still alive.

with his yacht laden from stem to stern with this popular fruit, made a substantial profit by the transaction, and—was straightway expelled from the club. To have cutter or schooner, yawl or lugger, to be impelled by steam or sails, all these were open questions; but to employ the yacht for pleasure and not for mercantile profit, this was a *dogma* of the society.

The word itself is one of a large class of terms, in which etymology does not, at first sight, suggest its full meaning. For, as it is undeniably derived from the root *δοκεῖν*, *to seem*, it might be argued that after all a *dogma* can never be anything more than an opinion, being only that which *seems* true or good to him who holds or promulgates it. But it is at least conceivable that the man or the society which forms and announces an opinion may possess such claim to be attended to, on grounds natural or supernatural, that a resolution announced from such a quarter is practically a decree from which lies no appeal. And thus the word, which is frequently, no doubt, employed by Plato to signify a mere opinion, rises into a more forceful meaning in proportion as this or that school of philosophy is being mentioned; until, in his latest composition, we find him saying of the reflection concerning those things which look pleasurable or alarming, that, 'having become a common *dogma* of the state, it receives the further title of a law.'¹

It is in this latter sense—namely, as a decree imposed by external authority—that it meets us in the text of Holy Scripture. Thus, for instance, in the Septuagint translation it occasionally stands for the Hebrew word *teem*, as in Daniel iii. 10, 'Thou, O King, hast made a *dogma*,' &c.; and in the New Testament it is twice applied to imperial ordinances: 'There went out a *dogma* from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed [or enrolled]; . . . these all do contrary to the *dogmas* of Cæsar, saying that there is another King, one Jesus' (St. Luke ii. 1; Acts xvii. 7).

From this sense the transition is easy to the signification of some fixed principle imposed upon the mind by an authority which it reveres; an authority which may not indeed

¹ See the *Laws* (book i. p. 644, D), λογισμός . . . ὃς γενόμενος δόγμα πόλεως κοινὸν νόμος ἐπαινόμασται. Something similar may be traced in Latin, with reference to the terms *placet*, *placuit*, *placitum est*, which, when employed by Cicero and by Cæsar respecting a decision of the senate or the army, mean a great deal more than a mere light whim of pleasure. By a freak of language the substantive *placitum* does not often seem to rise to the sternness of the Greek δόγμα.

possess the kind of coactive power which is wielded by the civil ruler, a Nebuchadnezzar or an Augustus, but which yet may prove more potent, more irreversible than even the commands of such mighty potentates. Thus the Apostle of the Gentiles twice employs it with reference to the ordinances of the law of Moses (Ephes. ii. 15; Coloss. ii.); and though it is true that he is in both places speaking of the vanishing of those ordinances, this does not militate against the principle that dogmas may be irresistible while they last, but only admits that some are of such a nature that they may be repealed by an authority equal to that which originally established them. And thus the *dogmas* (Acts xvi. 4) ordained by the Council of Jerusalem are partly binding for all time, partly liable to modification; provided that the change be effected by the power which imposed them; that is to say, by the Church of Christ.

Dogmas, then, may exist in the region of the pure intellect, in morality, and in religion. Devout men have taught that not only in the moral law has the Almighty bound Himself by an unalterable law of good and evil, but that He has in all probability also made certain mental and material laws which are unchangeable as regards the nature of things. They would teach that in the ordinary kind of space—homaloidal space the non-Euclidean geometers call it—even the Almighty cannot make a rectilineal triangle of which the three angles are not equal to two right angles. They would defend the language of Wordsworth when he speaks of

‘those transcendent truths

Of the pure intellect, that stand as laws

(Submission constituting strength and power)

Even to Thy Being's infinite majesty!’¹

In mental science take such propositions as ‘I am I,’ or the Kantian one, ‘No change can take place in *phenomena* without a cause,’ or what are called by a large and distinguished school of metaphysicians ‘necessary truths’²—truths, that is to say, which are marked by three characteristics²—namely, that they are recognized as true by all fairly matured and cultured intellects, that they carry their own proof with them, and that we are unable to conceive an universe in which they would not hold good. Such are the following: ‘Things which are

¹ *Excursion*, book iv. lines 96–99.

² This school includes Kant (*Critic of Pure Reason*), Sir William Hamilton (*Lectures on Metaphysics*), Mansel (*Prolegomena Logica*), McCosh (*On Intuitions*), Dr. George Ward (*Nature and Grace*); to whom we may now add, in his latest volume, Professor Max Müller.

equal to the same thing are equal to one another ; ' the whole is greater than its part ; ' ' two added to two makes four.' In the region of morality consider such assertions as these : ' I am bound to restore to my friend, or to his lawful representative, the jewel and the money which he entrusted to my care.' We read in Herodotus ¹ a striking narrative touching a Spartan—Glaucus, son of Epicydes—who was told by the oracle at Delphi that, for merely having thought of violating this maxim (though he was penitent and did not ultimately carry out his first dishonest intention), he and his race should perish utterly ; a judgment said to have been thoroughly fulfilled. Even the Roman satirist, Juvenal, whose sneer at the exaggerations of Greek historians is so well known, stamps this episode with the note of most emphatic approval.² Of dogma in religion we must speak presently.

Philosophy has been called ' reasoned truth.' Now in all attempts to set forth truth thus drawn out, and to arrive at firm conclusions, we are almost inevitably compelled to start from admitted principles. Such principles are either essentially, or at least provisionally, dogmas : essentially, if they rest upon some firm basis, as, *e.g.*, that of intuition ; provisionally, if they are adopted as an hypothesis for want of any better starting-point. Even Cicero, from whom we should hardly have expected it, seems to be with us here. ' But philosophy itself, by what reasonings ought it to proceed ? what issue shall it attain ? What is the future of wisdom ? It ought neither to doubt concerning itself nor about its own decrees, which the philosophers call *dogmas* ; of which none can be surrendered without crime.'³ Not very dissimilar is the language of a later philosopher, Seneca : ' Moreover there is no art conversant with theory but has its own decrees, which the Greeks call *dogmas* : we may venture to term them decrees, or maxims, or resolutions.'⁴

¹ Lib. vi. cap. 86.

² *Sat.* xiii. 202.

³ ' Ipsa autem philosophia, quæ rationibus progredi debet, quem habebit exitum ? Sapientiæ verò quid futurum est ? quæ neque de seipsâ dubitare debet, neque de suis decretis, quæ philosophi vocant *δόγματα* : quorum nullum sine scelere prodi poterit' (Cicero, *Academica Priora*, lib. ii. cap. 9, § 27, ed. Tauch. In some editions these treatises are called *Quæstiones Academica*).

⁴ ' Præterea nulla ars contemplativa sine decretis suis est, quæ Græci vocant *δόγματα* : nobis decreta licet appellare, vel scita, vel placita' (Seneca, *Epist.* xcv.). The passages from Cicero and from Seneca are both cited by Drs. Wetzer and Welte in their *Encyclopædia of Theology* ; and that from Cicero by Messrs. Addis and T. Arnold in their *Catholic Dictionary*. In the articles on *Dogma* in these two Roman Catholic works we find little to quarrel with and much that is suggestive.

Reasoned knowledge may, then, take its start (1) from some hypothesis which, if not absolutely proven, has at any rate not been disproved ; or (2) from some axioms which cannot be denied without absurdity ; or (3) from conclusions demonstrated by the agency of another science. Thus, for example, (1) large tracts of physical science start from the assumption of the uniformity of nature, a principle justly, we believe, described by Bishop Temple in his *Bampton Lectures* as 'a good working hypothesis' and nothing more ; (2) metaphysical science and geometry are based upon a certain number of axioms which reasonable men can hardly deny without proclaiming themselves at variance with the general convictions of mankind ; (3) astronomy takes for granted certain laws concerning numbers and figures which have been demonstrated by the student of arithmetic and pure geometry.

It is, therefore, by no means in a spirit of alienation from other departments of knowledge that theology strives to start from admitted principles. There is at least as much of assumption on the part of many votaries of the sciences which vaunt their certitude as on the part of theologians.¹ Theology is the science which treats of the Being of God and of His creatures in regard of their relations to Him. That His existence is an article of faith, that it can be denied without intellectual absurdity, is admitted. That He has made a revelation of Himself to His creatures is also matter for argument, though many sceptics and even atheists have granted that to believe in God almost involves, to say the least, a high probability that He would not allow the silence between heaven and earth to remain for ever unbroken.² In the framework of theology thus built upon religion, natural and revealed, the dogmas as distinguished from sentiment and from merely pious opinions have been not inaptly likened to the bones of the animal creation. True it is that in both cases the skeleton is not the complete animal ; but, nevertheless, the molluscs, which have no bones, occupy but a poor and subordinate place in zoology.

By a dogma we understand, then, 'a fundamental article

¹ On this subject may be consulted the essay on *Philosophic Doubt* by the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P., now Secretary for Ireland ; also a paper read before the Victoria Institute by the late Bishop of Edinburgh, Dr. Cotterill. Many votaries of physical science have made similar admissions ; among them, if we mistake not, may be numbered Sir James Paget and Sir Andrew Clarke.

² Both James Mill and his son, John Stuart Mill, regarded Bishop Butler as triumphant against the only opponents specially attacked by him—namely, the Deists.

of saving truth, expressed or implied in Holy Scripture, taught by the Church Universal, and consonant to sound reason.' There are many other topics connected with dogma on which we should like to touch. Thus, for example, there is the distinction between Christian dogmas and the *dicta* of heathen philosophers, a point well handled by Bishop Martensen in his valuable treatise on Christian dogmatics ; or, again, the fatalistic element suggested by Fichte, which has been well exposed by Drs. Wetzer and Welte.¹ But we feel that we are in danger of making our preface disproportionately long. Let us be content to refer readers who need more proof of the necessity of dogma to Mr. Garbett's *Bampton Lectures*, to a sermon on 'Undogmatic Christianity' by the late Professor Shirley, to Mr. Meyrick's volume written expressly upon this theme,² to an article in the *Christian Remembrancer* for July 1855, and to the admission of an Agnostic, Mr. Leslie Stephen, that 'an undogmatic creed is as senseless as a statue without shape or a picture without colour.'³

If there have been, even within the pale of Christendom, some earnest religionists who have been comparatively indifferent to this province of thought, such peculiarity may have arisen partly from the limitations of the human intellect, which is rarely found to be equally interested in the abstract and in the historical elements of knowledge. Thus, for example, to take illustrations from various quarters, we may observe how little fitted for abstract disquisition are such historians as Sismondi and Macaulay ; while on the other side even great admirers of the rare powers exhibited by Aquinas have admitted that his was not a mind historically trained. Of course it is easy to name exceptions. Little as we care for the memory of David Hume, it must, we think, be owned that he has not only left a weighty impress upon the course of metaphysical science, but that for a considerable period he also powerfully influenced the views of English history adopted by the average British student.

But in the domain of theology another factor, by no means a purely intellectual one, at this point comes into marked and emphatic prominence. We have heard an eminent statesman remark—and the remark seems to us undeniably correct—that, as a general rule, a keen sense of personal sinfulness, and of the existence of sin around as well as within, leads—at any

¹ *Ubi supra*.

² *Is Dogma a Necessity?* By the Rev. Frederick Meyrick, M.A. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1883.

³ *Plain Thinking and Plain Speaking*. London, 1872.

rate within the pale of Christendom—to the adoption of a dogmatic form of religion. It does not follow that such a conviction is any guarantee for the absolute wisdom of the choice. A person deeply impressed with the sense of sin may become an earnest Calvinist, a devout Anglican of an Evangelical or a Catholic school, or a fervid Jansenist, or a thorough Ultramontane. But he is not likely, unless his convictions of sinfulness grow faint and dim, to wander into the tracks of mere scepticism, to adopt any phase of hazy Germanism, or of what, for want of a better name, we are compelled to call Broad-Churchism.¹

Such a religionist, if desirous of intellectual food, will find abundant pastures to satisfy his cravings. The treatises of St. Athanasius against Arianism, the *De Trinitate* of St. Augustine, the sermons of St. Leo, the works of St. John of Damascus may be named as specimens for the patristic period. The *Book of Sentences*, by Peter Lombard, the *Summa Theologiæ* of St. Thomas Aquinas, and the volumes of Scotus furnish examples of the medieval treatment of dogmatic theology. The Calvinist turns to the institutions of Calvin, to Turretinus, to Limborch, to Hodge, and many more. The modern Lutheran may mention the great names of Dörner and of Martensen. The Roman Catholic appeals to Suarez, to Vasquez, to Estius, to Klee, perhaps above all to Petavius; while in our own Church we gratefully turn to Bishops Bull and Pearson, to Jackson, to Waterland and Mill. Nor can we possibly forget that several of the most valuable contributions to the dogmatic theology of our age were made by John Henry Newman in his Anglican days, and that some of the additions made by him since that time bear deep imprints of the influence of his earlier teachers.

With all this it must be admitted that our libraries of Anglican theology have been lacking in the matter of a continuous treatise on dogmatic theology. Of course we do not forget that the noble treatises of a Pearson or a Jackson upon the Creed, or the valuable commentaries of Bishops Harold Browne and Forbes upon the Articles, do contain a large mass of teaching on the fundamental principles of dogmatics. Nevertheless considerable tracts are left entirely untouched. To have not merely observed this want, but to have striven to find a remedy for it, is in itself a title to high praise. And

¹ The statesman to whom we refer instanced the Genevese Amiel (the author of the now well-known *Journal Intime*) as a real specimen of a man who possessed a keen sense of sin, but whose religion, nevertheless, remained undogmatic.

if the endeavours of Mr. Owen have not received the attention which they deserve, it is at any rate something that, after a lapse of years, a second edition has at length been called for. This new issue is considerably enlarged, not indeed by the insertion of any additional chapters, but by the introduction of fresh matter, frequently derived from recent sources, into the treatment of a large number of the disquisitions. We propose, within our somewhat scanty limits, (1) to call attention to some of the subjects treated in the volume before us, more especially such as are not discussed by any of our great theologians, who have mainly confined their attention to the Creeds or the Thirty-nine Articles; (2) to specify what seem to us possible improvements on our author's way of stating this or that problem in theology; (3) to indicate at least one almost necessary addition to the thirty-one chapters of the work, which may yet perhaps be supplied in some future issue, if, as we trust may happen, a third edition of Mr. Owen's volume be demanded.

1. Such subjects as the rule of faith, the existence and attributes of God, the Persons of the ever blessed Trinity and the Incarnation of the Eternal Son, Predestination, Justification, and the Sacraments—these solemn themes, and not these alone, have been treated by some of the Anglo-Catholic divines whose names have been already mentioned. There is, however, scarcely one of these subjects on which the student of theology may not derive new light from the fresh and learned pages of our author. He treats them in a manner which displays marked individuality, and which, if it displays occasional defects—and who is free from them?—possesses substantial merits of its own. If, as we proceed, we criticize freely, it must not be supposed that we mean thereby to retract any portion of the praise and gratitude which we sincerely accord to his labours. And when we turn to the chapters which embrace such topics as the Holy Angels and the Fallen Angels, the Government of the World, Paradise and the Fall of Man, and the Preparation for the Coming of Christ by the Law of Nature and the Law of Moses, we feel that we have placed before us disquisitions on matters treated indeed by English theologians here and there, but not, so far as our knowledge extends, brought together in one *conspectus* in the pages of any single volume. Dean Alford, if we recollect aright, expressed a hope that the study of *exegesis* might hereafter make such progress that his edition of the Greek Testament might be utterly superseded. The aspiration reflects honour upon his memory. But in all such

cases gratitude is still due to the earlier labourer ; and it not unfrequently happens that some one element remains as his special contribution to theology. The *De Trinitate* of St. Augustine may probably have obscured the glory of the earlier treatise on the same subject by St. Hilary of Poitiers ; yet not only does St. Hilary remain in possession of the eulogy awarded him by Sulpicius Severus of having been the Athanasius of Gaul and the West, but he has also received in our own age the hearty recognition of the Lutheran Dorner for parts of his *De Trinitate* ; and the praise of this Protestant theologian at least implicitly received the assent of the Bishop of Rome, the late Pontiff Pius IX. If in a later day some new treatise on Dogmatic Theology should diminish the attention due to Mr. Owen's volume, let us hope that such an event may not be permitted to deprive him of the credit which is really his due.

Readers who desire thoroughly to master the work before us will do well to begin by a careful study of the author's two introductory statements, reading in the first place the preface to the earlier division, and afterwards the one prefixed to the new issue of the work. The earlier preface furnishes us with a very candid and thoughtful statement of the nature of our author's *data* and of his use of them. It specifies the points of agreement or of disagreement with the methods pursued by earlier doctors, patristic, medieval, or modern, and thus, in part at least, intimates what we are to expect. In the main we find ourselves with Mr. Owen throughout this earlier preface. He first names certain Fathers (as we have done) as specimens of dogmatic theologians ; and if it seems that he deals rather hardly with the reputation of the later schoolmen, such treatment cannot any longer be ascribed to merely Anglican prejudice, inasmuch as we find the Roman Catholic editors of the *Catholic Dictionary*, Messrs. Addis and T. Arnold, expressing their views upon this matter in language very similar to that of Mr. Owen.¹ Then, after showing the naturally polemical character of the divinity on both sides, the reformed and the unreformed, in the age immediately succeeding that of the Reformation, he gives sound reasons for not limiting his own work to the discussion of the topics contained in the Creeds, a limitation which would exclude all treatment of doctrine concerning the Holy Eucharist and the conditions of justification. After pointing out how far he has been able to follow, how far compelled to

¹ Article 'Schoolmen' in their Dictionary.

quit, the footprints of St. John of Damascus, he proceeds to show the impossibility of adopting the watchword of 'the Bible and the Bible only,' and he gives his reasons for basing his conclusions mainly, though by no means exclusively, on the works of the Fathers who lived within the period of the four General Councils, and also for occasionally following Mabillon in choosing a single Father as the recognized exponent of a particular branch of theology, as, *e.g.*, St. Augustine, as the doctor of Grace. A temperate protest against the anti-patristic and anti-sacerdotal teachings of the late Barón Bunsen, and an appeal to the anticipatory counter-manifesto of the late Professor Blunt, form the conclusion of this earlier preface.

The preface to this second edition of Mr. Owen's volume is of a somewhat different character. Its tone is perhaps slightly despondent. In one direction the action of the Vatican Council seems to him, with but too much reason, to confine the corporate action of the Roman Church to witnessing the decrees of a chief who claims to be infallible. The Greek Church is, in his judgment, content to live upon the honey stored up within its ancient hives. The exceeding stress laid by some Anglican bishops and divines upon the Articles, as distinguished from the Book of Common Prayer, he regards, also naturally enough, as a great discouragement to such as would fain adhere to historic Christianity. After frankly acknowledging the debt which we owe to Gibbon, to Walter Scott, and to Cardinal Newman, he takes up anew the defence of Augustinianism against Bull and Thorndike, and glances at the present dangerous tendency to Universalism, with some sighs for more of thought and study, and less dependence upon mere professional activity, and even upon ritualistic energy.

2. In all this, and in the bulk of the chapters which compose the work, we find abundant ground for sympathy and assent, and would gladly specify instances, if our space permitted. The points on which we are about to express hesitation are not such as have been ruled by the Church Catholic, or by our own portion of it. And in such matters not only do we think that Mr. Owen has at least as good a right to his opinion as we have to ours, but we should prefer that our suggestions be received rather as the lucubrations of an individual critic than as definite conclusions formulated by the *Church Quarterly Review*.

In chapter v. (on the Holy Trinity) our author justly cites Aquinas (p. 113) as accusing Arius of saying that 'the

Son proceedeth from the Father as *His first creature*.' Yet somehow, though this may be our own fault, we do not gather from Mr. Owen's presentation of the case so complete an impression as we do from Cardinal Newman's *Arians*, that this was, after all clearing away of haze and subtlety, the real point at issue between Arius and St. Athanasius—namely, whether our Lord was, though the highest, noblest, earliest, grandest, purest of creatures, still a creature only, or the Very and Eternal God.

The chapters on the Creation and the Fall, and on cognate subjects (viii.–xii.), leave on us an impression that the entrance of evil into the universe may be due to the imperfection of the creature. If we are right, it must be asked whether such a theory is not a rather dangerous one. God created all, and saw that it was good; the holy angels are imperfect, but yet sinless; and at least one Creature is absolutely sinless, having His sacred Humanity for ever united to the Godhead. May we not fairly sum up the judgment of orthodox theologians as running somewhat in this wise? Why the existence of evil was permitted, no religion can explain; it must ever, at least during his life on earth, remain to man an unfathomed mystery. But thus much we can perceive: that many virtues and graces would seemingly have no existence, had evil never been permitted. Where would be patience, endurance, long-suffering, forgiveness, and many other forms of goodness, especially among the passive virtues? Moreover we Christians know that God has not—with reverence be it said—held Himself aloof from this great mystery, but has condescended, in the Person of the Eternal Son, to meet and to grapple with evil, and to undergo its direst penalties in almost every form, sin alone except. Dante has spoken of it as a truth deducible from even a heathen poet, that the more perfect and elevated any creature is, the more is it capable of sorrow.¹ And this is evidenced even in the case of the brute creation. The dog in his wild state has no bark; he is a mere beast of prey, and may be starved by absolute failure of the food he seeks, or fall a victim to some combatant of greater strength. Thousands of his brethren, domesticated by man, have known what it is to enjoy a happy home, where food and comforts of all kinds have abounded, and where the members of a human family have vied with each other in making him a friend and in protecting him as far as possible from every mischief. Yes! but in showing him all this kindness man has increased the dog's capacity for sorrow.

¹ *Inf.* vi. 106.

Admiral Rodney had a dog which used to refuse food for two or three days on every occasion when his master left his home to go to sea.¹ A northern capital has preserved in bronze an effigy of a dog who could not be persuaded to leave his master's grave in a well-known churchyard, and for whom sympathetic strangers made a kennel and brought food. And from the animal creation we ascend upwards to noble mourners and sufferers among men and women, until from their griefs and martyrdoms we may form some faint and imperfect notion of the grounds for applying to the highest of all creatures the language of the prophet: 'Behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto My sorrow.' And yet, again, it is possible that those may be right who imagine that without the permission of evil no test of the truth of their allegiance to the Creator—at least no test visible to created understandings—could have been devised for creatures endowed with conscious intelligence and will.

In the profoundly difficult question concerning the addition of the 'Filioque' to the Nicene Creed, Mr. Owen inclines towards the Eastern side of the discussion. He is perhaps less pronounced in favour of the Orientals than Mr. Ffoulkes or the late Dr. Neale, and he might perhaps maintain that he has not said much more than Bishop Pearson in his famous treatise on the Apostles' Creed. We are far from thinking that such a view as that which Mr. Owen here supports is anyway a divagation beyond the bounds of lawful liberty. Still we should recommend a student of the matter to consult the remarkable letter of Dr. Pusey to Dr. Liddon on this question concerning the double procession of the Holy Spirit. We the more feel bound to recommend this course, inasmuch as this last contribution to dogmatic theology by that saintly teacher by no means displays an extreme or partizan-like treatment of the subject.

On another theme the present writer has a slight divergence of sentiment from Mr. Owen. It concerns the question, What place is to be assigned to St. Augustine as a teacher? We say as a teacher, because we have not space to go into the consideration of his character as a man, though, just *en passant*, we may observe that Mr. Lecky seems to have been led into injustice by not realizing the keen sense of sin which was felt by the great Bishop of Hippo. The language in which Augustine, for example, deploras in the *Confessions* his juvenile theft of some pears suggests the meaning which

¹ Stated in Lord Stanhope's *History of England between the Peace of Aix and that of Utrecht*.

we ought, in fairness, to assign to his comment on more serious breaches of the moral law.¹ But to turn to him as a teacher. We are deeply conscious in this respect of his wonderful range and versatility. The *Confessions* is a book which in itself is the parent of a vast amount of intellectual and spiritual introspection; not always, indeed, conducted with like honesty and judgment. The *De Civitate Dei* is one of the baptisms of a department of heathen lore which the patristic Church so frequently achieved. His *exegesis*, if uncritical and not always consistent, is yet replete with spiritual insight. His letters are often valuable tractates. Both Dr. Pusey and Archbishop Trench place him at the head of instructors (by example) for the youthful preacher, and in Spain a proverbial distich refers to the universal use in the pulpit of that wondrous store-house.² As a controversialist he smote both pagan presumption and Donatistic spiritual pride and exclusiveness; and single sentences, couched in his felicitous expressions, have often formed the key-note for an entire meditation. Of his contributions to dogmatic theology, as contained in the Creeds, it must for the moment suffice to mention again the *De Vera Religione*, the *De Doctrina Christiana*, the *Enchiridion*, and the *De Trinitate*.

But was St. Augustine equally wise, equally successful in the famous contest against Pelagius? 'Yes and more so,' rejoice a host of thinkers. So speak not only Calvin and the descendants of Calvin down to Mr. Spurgeon in our own day, but likewise Mabillon, Tillemont, and all the Jansenists. But the recalcitrants are also numerous and formidable. In southern Gaul there existed thinkers, contemporary with Augustine, who were not prepared to accept all his positions. That some of these were inclined to Pelagianism, or at least to semi-Pelagianism, is true; but this cannot be said of all.³ In a later day, at the commencement of the Reformation epoch, we find Erasmus publishing that remarkable preface

¹ For this suggestion, and for much of what immediately follows, the writer must express his indebtedness to a departed friend, the most learned member of the Scottish presbyterate, the late Rev. George Hay Forbes, of Burmtisland, in Fife.

² 'No hay olla sin tocino,
Ni sermon sin Agostino.'

Thus Englished by Mr. Ford in his *Handbook for Spain*: 'There is no olla without bacon, nor a sermon without a quotation from St. Augustine' (Preface, section i. London: Murray, 1845).

³ We can, we think, herein claim some support from the present Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, the Rev. Canon Bright. See his volume of Church History.

to his edition of the works of St. Hilary of Poitiers which won such hearty admiration from—it must be owned—the questionable judgment of Gibbon. Now Erasmus expressly states it, as a general impression in his age, that St. Augustine, warring with all his strength against Pelagius, had assigned less to the free agency of man than was generally accepted in the sixteenth century. And when we descend to Calvin, after granting all that may be said respecting the many grave and serious differences between Augustinianism and Calvinism proper, yet can we hold that the Bishop of Hippo is in no wise responsible for some of the extravagances of the Genevese Reformer? Or turn to Jansenism. We know its courage, its unworldliness, its sanctification of intellect, its protests against one side—a dangerous side—of casuistry; yet are we prepared to assert that in questions of theosophy the Jansenists were entirely in the right, the Jesuits entirely in the wrong? Such would not, the present writer ventures to believe, be the verdict of a disciple of Hooker and of Butler. Such was not the verdict of Samuel Johnson, a representative man for his day, as Erasmus for an earlier date.

Hence while we can fully understand the reasonableness of Mr. Owen when he suggests that Bishop Bull and Thorndike have underrated the value of the theological literature on predestination; and have, through such lack of appreciation, somewhat diminished their own unction and general effectiveness, we ask whether it is not possible that a slightly deeper shade of hesitation than is exhibited in the volume before us concerning certain decisions of Augustine may not be lawful and even desirable; whether there are not in his anti-Pelagian treatises propositions to which it were wise (for the sake of the youthful student) to append to the side of the page the warning that on these points even our greatest doctor of the West is at moments to be *cautè legendus*.

3. It is possible that further study of the work before us may reveal some topics of difference that have escaped our notice. Possibly 'sentiment' and 'Ritualism' might fairly ask for more ungrudging concession to their claims than our author seems disposed to make. But it is a duty as well as a pleasure to return to the expression of gratitude and sympathy. Yet, just because Mr. Owen's volume gives us so much that we cannot readily find elsewhere, especially if we are to confine our attention to English authors, we should like to see an *extra* chapter in addition to the present amount of introductory matter.

It is becoming the fashion for assailants of such a form of Anglicanism as is exhibited—let us say in Sir William Palmer's *Treatise on the Church*—to assert that it is unhistorical. Now we by no means assert that Mr. Owen has not given many valuable hints concerning the way in which this charge ought to be met; but we do not find in his book a chapter expressly devoted to the subject. A few remarks of our own may perhaps tend to elucidate the sort of assistance of which we should be glad.

When this assertion is made—and frequently it is nothing but an assertion—the speaker or writer may mean one of two very different things. He may mean that Christianity, take what form of it you will, is essentially an unhistoric religion. He may point to such papers as those recently contributed by Mr. Mivart to the *Nineteenth Century*, and ask whether such concessions as that gifted essayist makes concerning Judaism do not go far to imperil the historic claims of the religion which has sprung out of Judaism. Or he may mean that he considers what is commonly called High Church Anglicanism to be unhistoric, and that though he (the speaker) is not a Roman Catholic, he is inclined to grant in this respect a position to Rome which he will not allow to Lambeth.

To criticize the first-named of these two positions would require a separate article. On the second let thus much be said. Placed side by side with the position of modern Dissent, Rome does by comparison become historical; and we can readily understand the assertion of our contemporary the *Guardian* when, in a recent leader upon Mormonism,¹ it suggested that the historic element in the Roman system had probably saved Rome's humbler adherents from becoming victims to those hallucinations of Joe Smith and his followers which have allured, to their souls' peril, so many a votary of Welsh Dissent. But when it is implied that Anglicanism has difficulties in connexion with history, and that modern Romanism has none, we are compelled to remind such speculators that the greatest living student of Church history, Ignatius von Döllinger, has been compelled to break with Vaticanism on the avowed ground of its unhistoric character, and that when Dr. (not then as yet Cardinal) Newman proceeded in his letter to the Duke of Norfolk to comment on this charge, he did not venture on a direct counter-issue. He maintained—and we are not blind to the subtlety and ingenuity of the plea—that history was only one of the *loci*

¹ See *Guardian*, August 3, 1887.

theologici, and that not only in regard to the decrees of the Vatican Council, but to many other decisions of the Church in various ages, the evidence from the historic side must be allowed to fall short of proof. Still we admit that a *tu quoque*, though it has in cases of this sort a real force of its own, is not enough; and that is why we desire to see Mr. Owen (or some other students stimulated by his example) consider this subject from our Anglican point of view. But if the author of the volume before us is unwilling or unable to attend to our request, we shall not forget that we cannot reasonably expect everything from one source. *Non omnia possumus omnes* still holds good in every domain of toil, and we shall not allow the lack of anything for which we seek, to make us forget our gratitude for the real benefits which we have received from our author's devout, long-continued, and honourable exertions. That they may be more appreciated than they have been, and that younger successors may not only inherit but add to their valuable results, is our earnest hope and prayer.

ART. X.—INGRAM'S HISTORY OF THE UNION.

A History of the Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland. By T. DUNBAR INGRAM. (London, 1887.)

THE history of the Irish Parliament for its eighteen years of nominal independence has this peculiar and pathetic interest, that it is a history not of achievement but of development—of development again and again thwarted, again and again renewed, until at last, with its passion for true existence still unsatisfied, the Irish nation was forced bodily into the frame of a larger political organism, there to work such effects as might have been expected.

England, in 1782, renounced, at the bidding of the volunteers, all control over Irish legislation, except such as lay in the veto of the Sovereign of the two countries. Not even the commercial unity of the empire was preserved. But much was preserved which, if all else was abandoned, had better have been abandoned too. That Ireland could remain a portion of the British dominions if governed by an executive responsible to its own and not to the British Parliament—

this was a conception which the example of the colonies has made familiar to us, but which seemed utterly impracticable to statesmen of the eighteenth century. The Irish ministry must not cease to be what it had always been—simply an extension of the English one. The latter always represented a majority in Parliament, for if it ceased to do so, it ceased to be a ministry. To the Irish ministry a majority was no less essential, but since the majority could not, as in England, create the ministry, the only resource left was that the ministry should create the majority. And this it did both before and, more extensively, after the concession of 1782, by means of systematic and sustained corruption.

The forthcoming seventh volume of Mr. Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* will deal with the period of Irish history in which the conflict between the forces of corruption and of reform culminated in the Rebellion of 1798 and the passing of the Act of Union. No writer, perhaps, was ever more fitted to guide us through this confused and calamitous period; no epoch in English history has more need to be handled—above all during the present political crisis—with the delicate sense of historical rectitude which he possesses in so unusually high a measure. Of the Act of Union, or rather of the means by which it was carried, he has already spoken incidentally, and in terms of the deepest condemnation.¹ But it may be said that a truly large and historical treatment of that measure is still to seek, though we may confidently look to his forthcoming volume to supply it.

Few and imperfect, however, as are the attempts to give some rational account of what the Act of Union was, and from what real or supposed necessities it sprang, there is no lack of accessible information of a more or less trustworthy kind as to the methods by which the Irish Parliament was induced to adopt it. Dr. Ingram wishes to add to this information, or rather to show us the utter falsehood of all that the world has hitherto believed on the subject, and believed mainly on the explicit testimony of the persons who were directly concerned in carrying the measure. His work is not what it calls itself, a 'History' of the Act of Union. It does not discuss the provisions of the Act; it does not even tell us what they were. From the beginning of the book to the end there is not, for instance, a word of information about the manner in which the Union was intended to affect the commercial or financial relations of the two countries. Dr. Ingram

¹ *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland: Grattan; and History of England*, vi. 458.

has limited his aims to arguing that the Irish Parliament never did anything excusable (until it terminated its own existence) except the oppression of the Catholics by the Penal Laws, and that the Union was passed by methods 'free from any taint of corruption,' 'with the hearty consent and concurrence of the vast majority' of the Irish people.¹ The political purpose of this book, though not avowed, is marked on every page; nor can we imagine any other which it is in the least capable of serving. That purpose would have been far better served, in our opinion, by a demonstration that the legitimate bearing on the present Home Rule controversy of the circumstances of the Act of Union belongs to the category of the infinitely little. At any rate we must protest against the grave misuse of the title of 'history' to capture the confidence of the public in a work which is in fact—we were about to say, a large political pamphlet, but that would be casting a very injurious reflection on a class of literature in which we reckon some valuable and a few imperishable works. But our readers can decide for themselves what Dr. Ingram's book is to be called when we have laid before them some examples of its contents.

The author, in his first chapter, adduces certain early opinions in favour of a legislative union between England and Ireland, and attempts of the Irish Parliament to bring about such a union. Had the first of these attempts (in 1703) succeeded, the Penal Code, he thinks, need never have been enacted.

'It is remarkable,' he writes, 'that the Penal Code was enacted by the Irish Parliament after their ineffectual attempts to obtain a legislative union with England.'²

Again—

'When England refused, or made no answer to the Irish request for a legislative union in 1703, the Irish Parliament, despairing of their power of maintaining themselves among a hostile people, resolved to reduce their opponents to political impotency by the enactment of the penal laws.'³

Now the first Irish petition for a Union was framed, as he rightly says, on October 20, 1703.⁴ Does he imagine that there were no penal laws before that date?

In 1695 it was made felony for a Roman Catholic in Ireland to exercise the calling of schoolmaster.

¹ Ingram, Preface, vii.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 50, 51.

² *Ibid.* p. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 10, 11.

In the same year another road to education was cut off—it was forbidden to send a papist child abroad for education.

In 1697 it was enacted that 'all popish archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, deans, jesuits, monks, friers, and all other regular popish clergy' should, before May 1, 1698, depart out of Ireland. To remain after that date entailed imprisonment, as a preliminary to transportation to any spot of the globe the Government might select. To return was death.

In the same year it was enacted that no papist could be guardian to a child. The child was to be taken from his kin, and brought up at the direction of the court in the Protestant religion.

In 1703, *before* the Petition of October 20, the terrible Act 'for preventing the further growth of Popery' was introduced.¹ It aimed at the utter beggary and social degradation of the Catholics, and must have achieved its aim had not one species of property been to some extent rescued by kindly Protestant neighbours, who agreed to become the legal, yet merely nominal, owners of lands and leases forbidden to Catholics by this cruel Act.

This painful recital might be prolonged. But it is enough for our purpose to point out that *all* the penal laws enumerated by Hallam as specimens of the Code, and described by him as little less 'repugnant to justice and humanity' than extermination by the sword,² had either been in operation for years, or were actually in progress through the House, when that petition was framed whose rejection, Dr. Ingram informs us, gave the first stimulus to their enactment.

But even the petition itself is quite wrongly described by Dr. Ingram:—

'On October 20 they [the Commons] framed their most serious discontents and desires into a direct address to the Crown. After enumerating their distresses they implored the Queen to concede *the only means which could remove them—a firm and strict union with England.*'³

These are not Dr. Ingram's own words; he quotes them, adopting their sense, from Mr. Froude. He found them in that writer's history of *The English in Ireland*;⁴ that is to say, he had good *prima facie* evidence of their incorrectness, and yet he seems never to have taken the trouble of checking them by reference to a work which in other places he shows

¹ September 28; committed October 14.

² *Constit. History*, pp. 868, 869.

⁴ Vol. i. pp. 300, 301, 302.

³ Ingram, p. 6.

himself to know the use of—the Journal of the Irish House of Commons. Turning to that Journal *sub dato*, we find Mr. Gladstone's view, that the early movements, towards a union were prompted by a desire to escape from the 'ferocious persecution' of England's commercial laws,¹ amply verified in this case :—

'Our foreign trade and its returns are under such restrictions and discouragements as to be now become in a manner unprofitable, although this kingdom hath of late, by its blood and treasure, contributed to secure the Plantation trade to the people of England.'

Corruption in the administration, from want of frequent Parliaments, is then noticed :—

'... So that we, your Majesty's dutiful subjects, are fully convinced that nothing but frequent Parliaments, with a permission for them to sit *and do the work of the nation*, can prevent or reform so great and notorious abuses.

'We cannot despair of your Majesty's goodness being extended towards us in such prudent and gracious methods as may afford us relief according to the exigency of our condition, and by *restoring us to a full enjoyment of our constitution*,² or by promoting a more firm and strict union with your Majesty's subjects of England, which will be to the advantage of that kingdom, nothing being more certain than that whatever riches the people of Ireland may acquire must at last necessarily centre in the seat of the government.'³

So far, therefore, from representing a union as the 'only' way out of their distresses, the Irish Commons merely named it as an alternative to the 'restoration' of their legislative independence. What they prayed for in 1703 was the very same thing that eighty years later they again desired, and gained. But how different *then* was the alternative, inspired by the neglect and oppression of eighty years!⁴

Dr. Ingram has touched nothing that he has not, in a certain sense, adorned ; but we cannot delay to deal with such secondary matters as his treatment of the Act of Attainder under James II., or the Regency Bill, or the Catholic Relief Bill of 1793. But his account of the Commercial Resolutions of 1785⁵ is too extraordinary an instance of misrepresentation to be passed over in silence.

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, October, 1887, p. 452.

² 'Restoring.' The Irish Parliament always spoke of the English claim of control as a usurpation.

³ Address of October 20, 1703.

⁴ 'FREE TRADE, OR——' was the legend hung round the muzzles of some of the Volunteer cannon, 'free trade' meaning, of course, not what we now understand by that term, but freedom for the Irish Parliament to regulate Irish trade as it chose.

⁵ Ingram, pp. 62–69.

In that year it was resolved to establish a kind of *Zollverein*, or commercial union, between England and Ireland, for the purpose of cementing the unity of the empire and avoiding all future possibility of a war of tariffs. At that time England maintained heavy or prohibitory duties on Irish goods (except linen), while her own were admitted into Ireland nearly free. Prohibitions were now to be abolished and all duties equalized, the higher being reduced to the lower; the Colonial trade, which since 1799 had been opened to Ireland by acts passed from year to year, was now to be granted in permanence; and the Irish were to be admitted to all commercial privileges enjoyed by Englishmen. In return (Dr. Ingram does not mention this) Ireland was to contribute a fixed subsidy to the naval defences of the empire. These proposals were drawn up in eleven resolutions, and submitted by the Ministry to the Irish Parliament, by whom, with Grattan's cordial approval, they were gratefully accepted; and taxes for the subsidy to the extent of 140,000*l.* were at once imposed.

The resolutions were now 'sent over to England to be there re-examined and considered.'¹ But the English manufacturers dreaded the free admission of Irish goods, and a strong agitation against these proposals was set on foot. 'Pitt, however,' says Dr. Ingram, 'was not to be moved.' Twenty resolutions were drawn up, embodying a commercial treaty between England and Ireland, and were agreed to by the English Parliament.

'These resolutions differed in number from those of Ireland, but they were practically the same. The additions referred to patents, or copyrights in books, or to regulations intended to guard against smuggling.'²

Unaccountably, however, the Twenty Resolutions, on being presented in this form to the Irish Parliament, met with the fiercest opposition there. 'They were received,' writes Dr. Ingram, 'with an Irish howl.'³ The howl, led by Grattan, was directed mainly against certain provisions enforcing 'the same principle of similarity in the laws of trade and navigation' which, according to Dr. Ingram, had been already embodied in an Act passed in 1782, 'drawn up by Grattan, Yelverton, and Fitzgibbon.'⁴ Did these provisions appear in the Eleven Resolutions? From Dr. Ingram's statement, it would appear that they did, since they related neither to

¹ Ingram, p. 62.

³ *Ibid.* p. 64.

² *Ibid.* p. 63.

⁴ *Ibid.*

patents, nor copyrights, nor smuggling. But from his narrative it is clear that they did not. The Irish House of Commons, at any rate, considered them equivalent to a surrender of Irish legislative independence, and though it was provided in the Bill 'that the treaty should not bind Ireland a moment longer than she pleased,'¹ it was rejected—that is to say, leave was given by a majority of only nineteen; the Bill was dropped, and, in Dr. Ingram's words, 'a Legislative Union loomed into sight.'²

And now let us have the truth of the matter. Dr. Ingram conceals the fact that the Eleven Resolutions, on being received in England, were formally placed as a Government measure before Parliament, and that (such was the clamour against them) the 'not to be moved' Pitt withdrew them for alteration. When they were again presented in the form of twenty resolutions, Lord North moved the adjournment of the debate on the ground that the resolutions had been 'so materially changed' that time must be given for their consideration.³ Fox supported the motion, urging that the new proposals 'directly changed the whole tenor and absolutely subverted the main principle of the original system.'⁴ Let us see whether the view of North and Fox, or that of Dr. Ingram, is the correct one.

In the Twenty Resolutions described by Dr. Ingram as 'practically the same' as the Eleven, and containing no addition except some regulations about patents, copyrights, and smuggling, we find—

1. That as long as the *British* Parliament chose to continue the charter of the East India Company Ireland was to be debarred from trading with all places lying east of the Cape of Good Hope, as far as the Straits of Magellan; and from importing, except through Great Britain, any goods of Indian growth or produce (Resolution 9). [But for this clause the East Indian trade would have been open to Ireland on the expiration of the charter in 1793, unless her Parliament were granted inducements to consent to the renewal of the monopoly. Even if the charter were discontinued Ireland was to be limited to trade with the *British* East Indian settlements.]

¹ Ingram, p. 65.

² *Ibid.* p. 66. Nothing can better show the character of the Irish House of Commons than the fact that a Government majority of 19 in a house of 235 was thought equivalent to a decisive defeat.

³ Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.* xxv. 588.

⁴ *Ibid.* 591.

2. That either country might prohibit or place duties at pleasure on corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits coming from the other (Res. 10). [England was then becoming a corn-importing and Ireland a corn-exporting country,¹ so that this clause pressed against Irish agriculture. It is said to have been directly due to the Scotch dread of competition with Irish oats.]
3. That while Ireland was prohibited from giving bounties on the exportation to England of beer and spirits, England might give them on the exportation of these products to Ireland (Res. 15).
4. That Ireland should at once enact, without deliberation or modification, all laws already passed, *or which should hereafter be passed*, by England regulating or restraining the trade of Great Britain with the British or foreign colonies, Africa or America² (Res. 4 and 5).

Of the above provisions, some of them of enormous, some only of great importance, not one was included in the eleven resolutions first laid before the Irish Parliament. They may have been equitable, or they may not—but certain it is that, in Mr. Lecky's words, they 'modified the plan most seriously, to the detriment of Ireland.' That providing, by Ireland's absolute subservience, for rigid similarity in the laws of trade, Dr. Ingram tells us was accepted in principle by the 'Yelverton Bill' of 1782. It was nothing of the kind. That Bill applied only to English laws already in existence—it did not bind Ireland to impose future restraints, 'undefined, unspecified, uncertain, at the arbitrary demand of another State.'³ This distinction was strongly urged, not only by Grattan in the Irish, but also by Lord Beauchamp in an able speech in the British House of Commons. He pointed out how under the Twenty Resolutions Ireland would have to follow England's example in the taxation of American produce. This would apply to articles so important as 'iron, indigo, tobacco, rice, cotton.'

'By regulating the imports we, in effect, command the exports of Ireland in every branch for which these articles are admitted in return. . . . It may also be doubted whether the artificial system of restraints and monopolies which our debts have rendered necessary, if applied to an infant country, as Ireland is, in a commercial point

¹ See Lecky, *Hist. Engl. Eighteenth Century*, vi. 356 *et seq.*

² For the Twenty Resolutions, see *Cobbett*, xxv. 707, 934; for the Eleven, *ibid.* 312.

³ Fox, on the Twenty Resolutions. Quoted by Lecky, vi. 401.

of view, with her natural resources undeveloped, may not totally damp all future industry and commercial enterprise.'¹

Ireland, Dr. Ingram urges, might abandon the compact when she chose. It is true—and with a reformed parliament such a provision would have been an important one. But as things were, it simply added a new and powerful motive to the Government's hostility to reform. Nor is an intricate commercial system of doubtful benefit to be lightly entered upon because we are theoretically at liberty to abandon it when we choose.

That it would have been wise in Ireland to accept the Commercial Resolutions even in their altered state seems to us very probable. And if opposed by Grattan, they were supported by other persons about whose sincere desire for Ireland's welfare there could be as little doubt. Fox, for instance, was known to entertain generous feelings towards Ireland: what was his view? Dr. Ingram's research has brought it to light:—

'Grattan' (writes Dr. Ingram²), 'affected to believe that the acceptance of the treaty by Ireland would have been a subversion of her legislative independence. Charles James Fox took a very different view of the position which Ireland would occupy. Here are his words: "The whole tendencies of the proposals appeared to him to go the length of appointing Ireland sole guardian of the laws of navigation and grand arbitress of all the commercial interests of the empire"'³

What a position for Ireland to throw away, and what 'fanatical' folly was Grattan's in advising her to do so! But stay—is not this opinion of Fox's inconsistent with some of his other utterances on the subject? We turn to the parliamentary reports—and what do we find? That Dr. Ingram has actually applied to the Twenty Resolutions which Grattan rejected, a passage from a speech of Fox upon the Eleven Resolutions which Grattan heartily approved! Nay, more, we find that Fox's recorded and reiterated opinion upon the Twenty Resolutions (*quod* their bearing on Irish independence) was exactly the same as Grattan's; we find him closing a vehement denunciation of them with the words, 'I will not barter English commerce *for Irish slavery*; that is not the price I would pay, nor is this the thing I would purchase.'⁴

And this is the account of an important political transac-

¹ Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.* xxv. 736; and see his discussion of the East Indian question, *ibid.* 949.

² Ingram, p. 66.

³ Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.* xxv. 333.

⁴ *Ibid.* 778.

tion laid before us as *history* by a writer who, in his Preface, makes claims of impartial and exhaustive study of original authorities which would sound a little presumptuous if uttered by a Hallam or a Carlyle.

It remains to add that eight years later the results aimed at by Pitt in the commercial revolution of 1785 were found, to have been almost attained without any infringement of Ireland's independence, by gradual and discreet legislation. 'Mr. Pitt's plan,' writes Hobart, the Chief Secretary, to Nepean,¹ 'for settling the commercial intercourse between the two countries is now, I believe, in all the most difficult points, nearly accomplished.' And as a helper in the work of settlement, as a statesman willing to face unpopularity in order to carry it to its end, he names no other than Grattan—the man to whom, in Dr. Ingram's words, the 'title of statesman' has only been 'awarded by the superstition of a noisy and ignorant multitude.'²

One more example, while we are on the subject of Grattan, of Dr. Ingram's singular qualifications to be a rebuker of ignorance. Grattan had once said that the Protestant religion 'is the religion of the State, and will become the religion of the Catholics if severity does not prevent them. Bigotry may survive persecution, but it can never survive toleration.'³ This 'extraordinary statement,' as Dr. Ingram calls it, is made the subject of a criticism a good deal more extraordinary. 'It furnishes,' he tells us, 'perhaps the only example in the world of a public man declaring openly that the convictions of four millions of his fellow-subjects rested on obstinacy or bigotry.'⁴ That was not what Grattan declared; but if it were, it would surely be only too easy to find parallels for it! But it is the prophecy in Grattan's deliverance which chiefly moves the historian's pity and astonishment. 'Outside the pages of Partridge's almanacs,' he writes, 'it would be difficult to find such a combination of the folly of prophecy and the ignoring of patent facts.' 'Outside the pages' of Dr. Ingram's book, it would be difficult, we say, to find, in any work claiming the title of history, so signal an example of the lack of that general information regarding an epoch out of

¹ July, 1793. Quoted by Mr. Lecky, vi. 604.

² P. 82. Dr. Ingram entertains a ludicrous personal antipathy for Grattan, apparently because he was the chief defender of Irish nationality in the past. To his loyalty was largely due the frustration of the rebellion of '98, and consequently the fact that Ireland is now part of the British dominions.

³ In a speech delivered in 1782.

⁴ Ingram, p. 141.

which alone its history can be written. The belief of Grattan was fundamentally a reasonable one. 'Popery,' as our great-grandfathers understood it, can hardly be said to have existed on the Continent since the French Revolution. Whether it exists in Ireland or not is a question which the obscuring influences that have been at work ever since the Union puzzle the best observers to answer; but certainly the forces which so profoundly changed Catholicism on the Continent were not unfelt there. At any rate, whether Grattan's belief was a reasonable one or not, it is certainly not to Partridge's almanac, that we shall turn to find other instances of its currency. It was, as the ordinary authorities for the epoch would have shown Dr. Ingram, one of the commonest speculations among the most sagacious men of the time. It was entertained by Edmund Burke, who thought the Irish Catholics might shortly become Protestant Dissenters.¹ Pitt, Dundas, and Hobart thought the Emancipation question would probably settle itself in this way, and very speedily.² Shelley, in his addresses to the Irish people in 1812, spoke as if the change were already accomplished. His opinion, as his, is worth nothing, but it reflected the aspect of thought among educated Englishmen of his day. It is difficult to understand how Dr. Ingram could have even begun to read the political literature and debates of the period without coming across this speculation in connexion with names which certainly do not suggest the idea of Partridge's almanac. And though Pitt, Burke, Grattan, Day, Edgeworth, and the rest of them were undoubtedly misled, Dr. Ingram's merciless contempt for their forecast provokes us to bethink ourselves whether it is, after all, quite so intolerable an offence to utter mistaken prophecy as to publish perverted history.

Dr. Ingram's two main theses are: (1) that the Act of Union was carried without 'any taint of corruption,' and (2) with the 'heartly consent and concurrence' of the Irish people, Catholic and Protestant.³ He adds, in the course of his work, that the Opposition, on the contrary, did resort to corruption; and even asserts that a member had only to walk across the floor of the House in order to receive from them 5,000*l.* in ready money for his vote against the Union!⁴ Mr. Gladstone has replied to Dr. Ingram in the *Nineteenth Century* for October. His attack is characteristically vehement and not always perfectly just; he occasionally accuses

¹ *First Letter to Langrishe*, &c.

² See Lecky, *Hist. Engl. Eighteenth Century*, vi. 497, 510, &c.

³ Ingram, Preface, vii.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 218.

Dr. Ingram of suppressing references to the authorities where those references were duly given in their proper places. But, on the whole, it must be said that he successfully refutes his opponent on every point. Indeed, as our readers might expect, this is no difficult task. Dr. Ingram's contention implies that corruption, the avowed¹ instrument of English Government in Ireland, was abjured at the very crisis when there was most need for its exercise. It implies that he knows better how the Union was passed than Cornwallis and Castlereagh, both of whom have, in the clearest way, admitted the use of corrupt and corrupting methods.

'The political jobbing of this country,' writes Lord Cornwallis, 'gets the better of me. It has ever been the wish of my life to avoid all this dirty business, and I am now involved in it beyond all bearing, and am consequently more wretched than ever. I trust that I shall live to get out of this most cursed of all situations, and most repugnant to my feelings. How I long to kick those whom my public duty obliges me to court. If I did not hope to get out of this country, I would most earnestly pray for immediate death.'²

How does Dr. Ingram get over an acknowledgment of this kind? It is very simple. He quotes as much of it as he can explain, and suppresses the rest. 'It was Lord Cornwallis's duty,' says Dr. Ingram, 'during the Union struggle to conciliate the wavering and timid, and to avoid changing into irreconcilable enemies the self-seeking trimmers whom such a time brings forth. We know the disgust which his interviews with these jobbers caused him.'³ Then follows our quotation; Lord Cornwallis's hope that he might live to get out of his 'cursed situation,' and his allusion to 'immediate death,' being omitted. That an old and practised politician could be brought to long for immediate death through the causes adduced by Dr. Ingram, is of course inexplicable, and so indeed Dr. Ingram appears to have found it.

But Lord Cornwallis, it seems, denied the use of bribery. 'The enemy, to my certain knowledge, offer 5,000*l.*, ready money, for a vote; if we had the means, and were disposed to make such vile use of them, we dare not trust the credit of the Government in the hands of such rascals.'⁴ This alludes to what

¹ Thus Fitzgibbon, when the Government was threatened with defeat on the Regency Bill in 1789, cynically begged Parliament not to compel it to spend half a million of public money, as Lord Townshend had once done, in order to re-create its majority.—*Irish Parl. Deb.* ix. 181.

² Cornwallis to Ross, May 20, 1799; *Corn. Corr.* iii. pp. 100, 101.

³ Ingram, p. 229.

⁴ Cornwallis to Ross, *Corn. Corr.* iii. p. 184. Quoted by Ingram, p. 192.

another writer has called 'metallic corruption.' That such was employed is not demonstrably certain, though there is very much to make us suspect that it was. But if it was, there is no reason to conclude that Lord Cornwallis must have had cognizance of it. It would have been highly politic in Lord Castlereagh and his Under-Secretary, Mr. Cooke, to keep it secret from him, and highly in accordance with the 'tortuous skill' with which the whole business was managed. Thus the Lord Chancellor (Fitzgibbon), the very chief of the instruments of the Government in all its affairs for the last ten years, was kept in ignorance throughout of the fact that the ministry was negotiating with the Catholic leaders and pledging its faith for their emancipation in return for their assistance in carrying the Union. He was vehemently opposed to Catholic emancipation under any circumstances whatever, and afterwards complained bitterly of the 'deception' thus practised on him.¹

But if Lord Cornwallis was shocked at the notion of bribing a member of the House of Commons in bank-notes, he seems to have had no objection to bribing a bishop, or a borough proprietor, with offers of corresponding magnitude. We find in the *Cornwallis Correspondence* some unedifying details of his proceedings. Thus he writes to the Duke of Portland in July 1799 :—

'It was privately intimated to me that the sentiments of the Archbishop of Cashel were less unfriendly to the Union than they had been, on which I took an opportunity of speaking to his Grace on the subject; and, after discussing some preliminary topics *respecting the representation of the Spiritual Lords and the probable vacancy of the see of Dublin*, he declared his great unwillingness at all times to oppose the measures of the Government.'²

Lord Cornwallis dealt in bishoprics and peerages, Lord Castlereagh in places and pensions. The Government held Parliament in a grip from which there was no escape, for it steadily refused to appeal to the constituencies by a dissolution, and at the same time contrived to reconstitute a great part of the representation in its own sense. A law had been

¹ *Castlereagh Correspondence*, iv. pp. 47, 51.

² *Corn. Corr.* iii. 113. The Archbishop of Cashel (Agar, Baron Somerton) was duly made Archbishop of Dublin in 1801, and afterwards Earl of Normanton. 'His Grace had my promise, when we came to an agreement respecting the Union, that he should have a seat in the House of Lords for life' (*ibid.* 209), and accordingly we find him one of the representative Irish peers elected in 1800. Until Lord Cornwallis effected his conversion, he had been a declared enemy of the Union.—*Corn. Corr.* iii. p. 35.

passed in 1793, by which members who accepted any place under Government thereby vacated their seats. With a popular constituency this law would certainly act as a safeguard against corrupt influence on the part of the Government. But in the case of a private borough whose proprietor was in the hands of the Government, it had exactly the opposite effect, and over two-thirds of the House of Commons represented private boroughs.¹ When the proposal was first brought before Parliament (in 1789), Buckingham, the then viceroy, believed that the reformers would not have supported it had they clearly seen its operation, and dwelt, in his letter to England, upon the 'manifest advantage of such a power to be lodged in the Crown'²—the power, that is, of packing Parliament. Members for constituencies which the Government could control, and for whom open apostasy was inconvenient or too shameful, were accordingly induced to accept places under the Crown, such as the escheatorships, which corresponded to the Chiltern Hundreds of the British Parliament, and thus to leave their seats open for nominees of the Ministry. By bribery of one kind or another, or by their obligations to the borough proprietors to whom they owed their seats,³ no fewer than sixty-three members of the House of Commons were induced to resign in the interval between the session of 1799, in which the Union had been rejected, and that of 1800, in which it was accepted.⁴ At the same time members who held anti-Union seats, but were unable to serve in Parliament, were not permitted to vacate them. Lieutenant-Colonel Cole was one of these; he was ordered to join his regiment abroad, and refused the escheatorship when he applied for it, because he acknowledged, on being questioned by Lord Castlereagh, that his place was to be supplied by a declared anti-Unionist.⁵ How, it may now be asked, does Dr. Ingram explain this reconstitution of Parliament? He does not explain it; he never mentions it at all.

The Government, says our author,⁶ invariably denied the accusations of the Opposition, that the measure was being forced through by illegitimate means, and challenged them

¹ See Lecky, *Hist. Engl. Eighteenth Century*, vi. p. 323.

² Quoted by Mr. Lecky, *Hist. Engl. Eighteenth Century*, vi. 601.

³ For an instance of the binding nature of these obligations, see Phillips's *Curran and his Contemporaries*, p. 150.

⁴ Ponsonby, in the Irish House of Commons, March 6, 1800.

⁵ This and a similar instance are admitted unreservedly by Lord Cornwallis, *Corn. Corr.* iii. 97, but the affair caused great scandal, and he was told by the Duke of Portland that he had gone too far. *Corn. Corr.* iii. p. 100.

⁶ Ingram, p. 226, &c.

to prove their assertions. And because this challenge was never taken up, we are to conclude that there was no bribery. This is a very shallow argument. There are a dozen ways in which a Government can bribe which would permit the technical denial of both parties to the transaction that anything of the kind took place. The Archbishop of Cashel would probably have repudiated with indignation the charge that he was bribed. The Government so managed their affair with the Catholics that they could at any moment have denied that any compact as to emancipation existed between them, and it would have been absolutely impossible to prove the contrary. Yet the resignation of Pitt and his colleagues makes it clear, if other evidence were wanting,¹ that the faith of the Government was really and deeply pledged. And as to these denials, where are they? In the debate of February 5, 1800, which was followed by the largest division ever known in the House of Commons, Mr. Dobbs, in the course of a very able speech, said :—

‘Sir, if I am well informed, this foul measure has been attempted to be supported by as foul means. Will the noble lord [Castlereagh] get up and say upon his honour that it has not? Will the noble lord get up and say upon his honour that the Church establishment, the revenue establishment, the military establishment, and every dependant on Government, were not employed to procure subscribers, by threats and promises, to the few addresses that have been obtained in favour of a Union? Will he declare upon his honour that he does not believe there is a man in the House who has the people’s money in his pocket, paid him out of the public treasury to vote for this Union? Will he declare upon his honour that no money has been paid to any man to vacate his seat who could not be brought to vote for this measure, in order that a Unionist might be returned in his place? . . . Will he declare upon his honour that all who hold places under Government are free to vote as they please without fear of dismissal?’²

‘Lord Castlereagh,’ writes Dr. Ingram, ‘Lord Hawkesley,’³ Sir John Blaquiere, the Prime Serjeant, and Chancellor Corry

¹ Which it is not. *Corn. Corr.* iii. 237–8.

² At this time there were 116 placemen and pensioners in the House (Sheridan, in the British House of Commons, February 7, 1799). The Government had opened its campaign by a string of dismissals, *pour encourager les autres*.

³ Who is ‘Lord Hawkesley’? There was no such person in the Parliament of either kingdom. Lord Hawkesbury (Liverpool) dealt with the charge of corruption in the British Parliament, but in a most evasive and reserved manner.—*Cobbett*, xxxiv. 302. Dr. Ingram has apparently conveyed his statement, misprint and all, from Lord Brabourne’s *Facts and Fictions in Irish History*, p. 29: ‘Lord Castlereagh, Sir J. Blaquiere,

in their places in Parliament, always met with a direct denial this charge of corruption.'¹ Here we should have been glad of references. We have found challenges to the Opposition to prove their case, but not denials. On the occasion of Mr. Dobbs's speech just quoted, the noble lord is not recorded to have made any answer to his appeal. No Government speaker on the occasion denied Mr. Dobbs's charges, unless we are to call Sir John Blaquiere's remarks a denial. This gentleman, of whom Lord Cornwallis gratefully records that he 'kept the friends of the measure together by his constant conviviality,'² and of whom Lord Castlereagh writes that he had 'waived his representative peerage for *more substantial* objects,'³—this gentleman said, in reply to Mr. Dobbs, that 'he was as independent as any man in the House, because he held a position that the Government could not take from him,' and added that 'many gentlemen on his side were as independent as any who opposed the Union.' That is all the denial Mr. Dobbs got from Blaquiere. And if it is a fair specimen of the Government defence, we do not wonder that Dr. Ingram has avoided going into detail on this branch of his subject. And against such vague denials as we are aware of, we have to set a very explicit and public admission. Mr. Windham was Secretary at War in Pitt's administration. He had held that office for five years, and was one of the intimate allies of Pitt, who followed him into retirement in 1801. On February 7, 1799, Sheridan having charged the Government with the use of corrupt means to press the Union in Ireland, Mr. Windham said:—

'Government was charged with the imputation of corrupting the Parliament of Ireland. Corruption was not a solitary vice—it required two parties to constitute the crime, the corruptor and the corrupted. Now if it were true that the Parliament of Ireland were of a nature to be corrupted, what would be the consequence of the Government's abstaining? Corruption disappointed might degenerate into faction, and its tendencies ungratified might be more mischievous *than if directed into the line of duty.*'⁴

With what despair must Sheridan, who knew the historic memory, the brooding imagination of his countrymen, have listened to such an avowal of the means by which it was in-

Lord Hawkesley, and others in their places in Parliament strongly denied the charge of corruption.' This, it seems, is the way to write history from 'original and contemporaneous authorities.'

¹ Ingram, p. 191-2.

² *Corn. Corr.* iii. 253.

³ *Ibid.* 278. The 'objects' were a pension of 1,000*l.*

⁴ Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.* xxxiv. 379.

tended to incorporate the two nations against the will of one! But surely the exquisite euphemism which we have italicized must have made him realize that fruitless argument with a master of forty legions is not always without substantial consolations for the avenging sense of humour.

But what need to accumulate evidence on this head? Mr. Ross, the editor of the *Cornwallis Correspondence*, has discovered and stated the fact—which Dr. Ingram has thought it consistent with the good faith of an historian entirely to suppress—that ‘almost all the persons officially concerned in carrying the Union’ destroyed their papers.¹ One damning document, however, fell into Mr. Ross’s hands, which he shrinks from printing in detail. It is a list of Lord Cornwallis’s yet unredeemed pledges, sent on February 19, 1801, to the Duke of Portland. A large number of legal appointments and salaried places or pensions are there presented for ratification. ‘Thirty-five of the persons mentioned in the list were members of Parliament, and had voted for the Union.’ Three of the pensions, really for members of Parliament, *were to be paid under the cloak of another name.*²

In spite of the wholesale destruction of evidence, enough remains to confute Dr. Ingram, even out of the mouths of the very persons whom he undertakes to defend. In January 1799 Lord Castlereagh sent to the Duke of Portland an analysis of a division on the Address containing the proposition of the Union. The division had been unfavourable to the Government. In this analysis we find the entries:—

Against, or absent enemies, . . .	129
Of these, <i>might be bought off</i> . . .	20 ³

On February 27, 1800, Lord Castlereagh applied for money to the Under-Secretary of State (John King):—

‘I see no prospect of converts. The Opposition are steady to each other. I hope we shall be able to keep our friends true. A few rats might have a very injurious effect. We require *your assistance*, and you *must be* prepared to enable us to fulfil the expectations which it was impossible to avoid creating at the moment of difficulty. You may be assured we have rather erred on the side of moderation.’⁴

Dr. Ingram, who condescends to discuss this letter, thinks it suspicious, as well he may; but he ‘affects to believe’—if

¹ *Corn. Corr.* Preface, vi. ; and see Phillips’s *Curran*, p. 143.

² *Corn. Corr.* iii. pp. 339, 340.

³ *Ibid.* iii. p. 45.

⁴ Dr. Ingram (p. 213) has taken this letter from the Public Record Office in London. It had previously been known as abstracted (with a few immaterial inaccuracies), in the *Corn. Corr.* The italics are in the original.

we may adopt a favourite expression of his own—that the ‘assistance’ applied for was intended as compensation for certain manufacturers who were threatened by the proposed commercial conditions of the Union, and whose discontent might have influenced Parliament. He grounds this view on what he describes as the ‘answer’ to Lord Castlereagh’s letter, also copied by him from the Record Office, as it was very much abridged in the *Cornwallis Correspondence* :—

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.
‘Secret.’

‘London, April 5, 1800.

‘My dear Lord,—I have seen the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt a second time. The Duke is anxious to send you the needful. Mr. Pitt was equally disposed, but fears it is impossible to the extent. He will contrive to let you have from 8,000*l.* to 10,000*l.* for five years. He will make no alterations. However, the woollen manufacturers press that, as the raw material is to be given, all the duties on woollens should cease. Mr. Pitt wishes you could let him know the sense of the Irish manufacturers on this point, in case they should wish the abolition of duties. He will, however, keep things as they are, but doing so may occasion delay. I hope to find out to-night what sum can be sent.’

Now, the stipends here mentioned are certainly connected with the woollen manufacturers. The 8,000*l.* to 10,000*l.* were not intended for the corruption of Parliament. So much Dr. Ingram has made out. But it is equally certain that this letter is something more than what he describes it to be, the ‘answer’ to that suspicious one of Lord Castlereagh’s. Two payments are here dealt with—one of a single sum of undefined amount ; the other of an approximately defined yearly stipend. Down to the word ‘extent,’ Mr. Cooke appears to be dealing with the request contained (doubtless reiterated, as the *extent* is not there mentioned) in Lord Castlereagh’s letter of February 27. The main body of the letter refers to some now undiscoverable application on behalf of the manufacturers, and in the last sentence the suspicious demand is again recurred to. Pitt was uncertain whether the latter could be complied with in full. If, as Dr. Ingram asserts, it *was* complied with in the stipend of 8,000*l.* to 10,000*l.* for five years, where was the room for uncertainty ? Not, surely, in the exact fixing of the sum thus roughly indicated. It seems plain that the allusion to this subsidy introduces a new subject, and that the evidence from Lord Castlereagh’s letter of February 27 is not shaken by Dr. Ingram’s publication of Mr. Cooke’s answer.

VOL. XXV.—NO. L.

II

During the recess, in which the Ministry reconstituted Parliament, Lord Cornwallis wrote to General Ross:—

‘We have certainly been gaining ground in Parliamentary recruiting. . . . If Lord D[ownshire] declares against us many of our recruits will insist on higher bounty. Nothing but a conviction that a union is absolutely necessary for the safety of the British Empire could make me endure the shocking task which is imposed on me.’¹

In June 1800 there seems to have been some reluctance on the part of the English Ministry to fulfil the whole of Lord Castlereagh’s pledges, and we find him writing to his Under-Secretary:—

‘If they [the Ministry] imagine they can take up popular grounds by disappointing their supporters, and by disgracing the Irish Government, I think they will find themselves mistaken. It will be no secret what has been promised, and by what means the Union has been secured. Disappointment will encourage, not prevent, disclosure, and the only effect of such a proceeding on their part will be to add the weight of their [the supporters’?] testimony to that of the anti-Unionists in proclaiming the profligacy of the means by which the measure has been accomplished.’²

The Union, Dr. Ingram believes, ‘was carried by fair and constitutional means.’³ People who think otherwise have ‘neglected or wilfully avoided’ ‘the original sources of information.’⁴ He, however, has come to the investigation in a scholarly and candid spirit. He has ‘examined closely and in detail the original and contemporaneous authorities.’⁵ A hostile critic could scarcely have brought against him a more serious charge than that which this fact would imply. But we hasten to add that, even upon his own confession, we do not entirely believe it.

The case of the borough proprietors is undisputed, as far as facts go. They got 15,000*l.* a borough, or 7,500*l.* a seat. This was no bribery, Dr. Ingram holds, because boroughs were practically a form of property—seats having been always bought and sold by persons of acknowledged probity. It is true; but if the Union had miscarried, nothing could have resisted the movement for reform which must then have taken rise. And the reformers were not likely to deal so tenderly with the borough proprietors as Pitt. The six proprietors who took part in the Volunteer reform movement all declared their readiness to abandon their privileges without compensa-

¹ *Corn. Corr.* iii. 103-4, June 19, 1799.

² *Castlereagh Corr.* iii. 330.

³ Ingram, Preface, vii.

⁴ *Ibid.* v.

⁵ *Ibid.* vi.

tion. We do not learn that the Union excited any self-sacrificing enthusiasm of this kind. The normal price of a borough, according to Mr. Lecky, was from 8,000*l.* to 10,000*l.*¹ Pitt gave 15,000*l.* Doubtless a scheme of reform would have included some compensation to the borough proprietors; but there is a vast difference between the nation paying for the resumption of its own constitutional rights and having to pay their usurpers for resigning them to another State. Dr. Ingram's elaborately worked out argument that the compensation of the borough proprietors was not bribery, because those of them who opposed the Union were compensated as well as the others,² is not worthy of his pains or his intelligence. To compensate the Unionists alone would have been an outrage on public decency such as no Parliament that ever met in England could have tolerated.

On the question of bribery on the part of the Opposition, Dr. Ingram has brought forward a good deal of inconclusive evidence.³ It consists of positive statements on the part of Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh that the Opposition had collected a large sum for purposes of bribery, and had (this is the only detail given) bought the vote of one Mr. Whaley, who had been a supporter of the Government, for 4,000*l.* These statements Dr. Ingram corroborates by references to Barrington,⁴ and the younger Grattan's *Life* of his father.⁵ He adds that 'the editor, through whose hands all Lord Cornwallis's papers and correspondence passed, declares it certain that large sums were spent in bribery by the Opposition.' 'On one occasion, in February, 1800, twelve of their supporters, of whom Mr. Whaley was one, left the Government,'⁶ and Dr. Ingram's inference is that they were bribed.

The statements of Cornwallis and Castlereagh stand or fall with their account of the case of Mr. Whaley. But the younger Grattan describes this affair in a manner which leads one to believe that the efforts of the Opposition to meet the Ministry on this field (if they made any at all) were of a very feeble character. Whaley was one of those whom Lord Cornwallis named 'unwilling supporters'⁷ of the Union. He had paid, or promised, 4,000*l.* for his seat, and it is to be presumed that the Government meant to reimburse him at least this sum. The Opposition had, according to Grattan *filis*,

¹ *Hist. Engl. Eighteenth Century*, vi. 323.

² Ingram, pp. 186 *et seq.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 128 *et seq.*

⁴ *Rise and Fall*, &c. p. 460, 488 note.

⁵ *Grattan's Life*, v. 70 *et seq.*

⁶ Ingram, p. 129.

⁷ Whom Lord Cornwallis declares to have numbered *half his majority!*—*Corn. Corr.* iii. 228.

received contributions, or rather promises of such,¹ to a fund for purchasing seats from borough proprietors for staunch anti-Unionists. This was, of course, as legitimate an object as the payment by a party fund of election expenses in the present day.² One Mr. Goold promised to get Whaley's seat paid for out of this fund if he joined the Opposition, and Whaley agreed, Mr. Goold advancing the sum at once out of his own resources. But when the latter now turned to the exchequer of the Opposition for reimbursement, it was found to be completely exhausted, and Ponsonby and a couple of wealthy friends met Mr. Goold's claim out of their private means, in order to save him from serious embarrassment. This explanation of the alleged purchase of Mr. Whaley takes away much of the credit which might otherwise belong to the *ex parte* and unsupported statements of Lords Cornwallis and Castlereagh.

As for the declaration of the editor of the *Cornwallis Correspondence*, one can only say that he gravely erred in making such an assertion without supporting it by the smallest particular or proof.³ There is no reason to think that he had other grounds for it than *ex parte* statements of the kind we have just discussed, and in the utter absence of corroboration Dr. Ingram's opponents are fairly entitled to disregard it.

The references to Barrington are inconclusive. He asserts that he was deputed by the Opposition to find out on what terms Mr. Bingham would sell his two seats. Mr. Bingham accepted 8,000*l.*, and, adds Barrington, promised to oppose the Union himself. 4,000*l.* was no unusual price for a seat during the Union contest, so that Mr. Bingham's personal support seems to have been gratuitous. Seeing, however, that Mr. Bingham did, in point of fact, give his seats and his vote to the Government, taking a peerage (Clanmorris) in payment for them, the instance is hardly one which it was prudent in Dr. Ingram to call attention to.

The case of the twelve seceders is a striking example of the manner in which Dr. Ingram uses his 'original and contemporaneous authorities.' His imagination is as 'forgetive' as Falstaff's. His twelve bribed men in buckram, on the tes-

¹ *Corn. Corr.* iii. 174 note.

² Not so, of course, the defrayment of such expenses by *public* money in the interests of a party. Lord Downshire is mentioned by Castlereagh as a contributor of 4,000*l.* to this fund. Being challenged on the subject by Lord Clare, he gave an absolute and indignant denial to the allegation that he was in any way connected with a scheme of bribery (House of Lords, Feb. 10, 1800).

³ *Corn. Corr.* iii. 174 note.

timony of Lord Castlereagh himself, shrink to three, or even, to speak more correctly, to *one*,—Mr. Richard Bagwell, of Tipperary. And Mr. Richard Bagwell's account of his secession, and that of the two other Bagwells whom he controlled, is not to be set down as false because Dr. Ingram chooses to think it so.

Lord Cornwallis mentions the desertion of 'twelve' of the Government supporters in a letter written after the great division of February 5, 1800.¹ That he was misinformed should have been obvious to Dr. Ingram.² In a letter to the Duke of Portland, written on February 7 and printed immediately before that of Lord Cornwallis in the *Cornwallis Correspondence*, Lord Castlereagh, whose means of knowing the exact truth were, of course, far superior to those of the Viceroy, states the number of seceders as *seven*.³ Three of these were the Bagwells, one of the remainder was Mr. Whaley. The latter, Lord Castlereagh states, with what accuracy we can judge, to have been 'absolutely bought by the Opposition stock purse.' Against the three remaining seceders Lord Castlereagh makes no such charge—he believes that they were 'taken off by county cabals' (i.e. influenced by public opinion in their constituencies) 'during the recess.' The action of Mr. Bagwell, he attributes, 'partly to fear, partly to expectations given him by the leaders of the Opposition in the event of their influence being established.' Lord Cornwallis writes that this gentleman 'endeavoured to excuse his desertion by stating that the principal part of the respectable freeholders of the county of Tipperary have signed resolutions against the Union, many of whom had before instructed him to support that measure.'⁴ It certainly was not for want of bribery on the part of the Government that Mr. Bagwell left its ranks, since Lord Castlereagh states, as part of the general unaccountability of his conduct, that 'the objects he solicited were promised.'⁵ What could the Opposition have done more for him?

That the Opposition collected a fund for the purchase of seats is undenied. That they may have been induced by the example of the Ministry to misuse it in one or two instances is

¹ *Corn. Corr.* iii. p. 183.

² And, indeed, it was so, for in a subsequent passage (p. 167), where he was not dealing with the charge of bribery on the part of the Opposition, Dr. Ingram states the number of the seceders correctly.

³ *Corn. Corr.* iii. p. 182. Lord Castlereagh gives the names of all these seceders, and in a subsequent letter reiterates the statement of their number. *Castlereagh Corr.* iii. 328.

⁴ *Corn. Corr.* p. 180.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 182.

not in itself unlikely. But the strongest proof of the fact remains its likelihood. Nor could there ever have been the least question of serious competition with the resources of the Government.

We now come to Dr. Ingram's second thesis. How he can believe, or even 'affect to believe,' that the Union was passed 'with the hearty consent and concurrence of the vast majority of the two peoples that dwelt in Ireland' it is difficult to understand. When the measure was first brought before Parliament on January 22, 1799, in a debate on the Address, the division showed a majority of two for the Government, 107 to 105. In 1785, it will be remembered, a majority of nineteen on the Commercial Treaty had been reckoned a decisive defeat, and that at a time when the corrupt influence of the Government was not so strong as now. On January 24, when the address was reported, the Opposition had increased its strength and showed a majority of five, 109 to 104. Under ordinary circumstances the measure would have been abandoned. But it was 'His Majesty's fixed and unalterable determination to direct, session after session, the proposition of the Union, to be renewed to Parliament until it is adopted by the good sense of the nation.'¹ Parliament was reconstituted in the manner described, and when it met again, on January 15, 1800, the Government had a majority, which, when the House was tolerably full, it henceforth maintained, of over 40. The Opposition, on the decisive debate of February 5, 1800, reckoned 115, so that it showed an absolute, though not a relative, increase in strength since the introduction of the measure.

Again and again the Opposition demanded a dissolution, arguing that the Legislature was not competent, without a special mandate from the constituencies, to vote away the independence of the nation. Can it be doubted that the Government would have accepted the challenge if it saw a prospect of success at the polls? Forty-six petitions at the lowest estimate (Dr. Ingram's) were presented to the Commons against a Union, and only two in its favour.² In 1799 Lord Cornwallis, however, made tours through the north and south of Ireland, expressly, as he states, to procure declarations in favour of the Union,³ and received a number of addresses (thirty-six), nearly half of them being from small and exclusive bodies. Lord Castlereagh stated⁴ that seventy-four declara-

¹ Portland to Cornwallis, February 12, 1800.—*Corn. Corr.* iii. p. 191.

² Ingram, p. 123.

³ *Corn. Corr.* iii. p. 118.

⁴ Ingram, p. 121.

tions entirely had been made by public bodies in favour of a Union. But such declarations, most of them mere personal addresses to Lord Cornwallis, cannot of course compare in weight with formal and open petitions to Parliament, and there were many extra-parliamentary declarations against the Union too. No doubt illegitimate means to procure signatures were employed on both sides.¹ But the Government had immense advantage in a competition of this kind. In a debate already alluded to, on February 5, 1800, Mr. Tighe said :—

‘ If it were not notorious and not worth proving he would prove that to one set of resolutions in favour of the Union sixty names had been forged, that to another which he would name, Waterford, numberless respectable names had been forged. Several persons had protested, in the public papers, against impudent forgery of their names—*inter alios*, Mr. Savage, an official of the corporation of Waterford. . . . The names signed to a single petition against the Union would outnumber the whole obtained in its favour by nine months’ labour and expense. He could prove that in that part of the country where he had lately been, the county of Wicklow, emissaries had come, not he believed with the knowledge or under direction of the noble lord, but persons had come from Dublin who spread reports among the farmers and Roman Catholics that their signing such a petition would be looked on by the Government as rebellious ; nay, he had even been informed that handbills were shown to the people stating that such signatures would be considered by the Government in the same light as signatures of United Irishmen. Nay more, that loyal persons in that county who had suffered from the Rebellion were afraid to sign such a petition lest they should be deprived of the compensation granted for their losses by the Legislature, and he called upon the noble lord to declare why those compensations had been so long delayed.’

That intimidation of the kind complained of by Mr. Tighe was really used is, *a priori*, highly probable, and it is highly probable, too, that the noble lord knew all about it, for after the defeat in 1799 the Duke of Portland had directed the lord-lieutenant ‘to take care it should be understood that it [the Union] neither is nor ever will be abandoned, and that the support of it will be considered as a necessary and indispensable test of the attachment on the part of the Irish to their connexion with this country.’²

In spite of all the efforts of the Government Mr. (afterwards Lord) Grey was able to assert, without challenge or contradiction, in the British House of Commons, that, ‘though there were 707,000 who had signed petitions against the measure, the total number of those who declared themselves

¹ Ingram, p. 133 note.

² *Corn. Corr.* iii. 47.

in favour of it did not exceed 3,000, and many of these only prayed that the measure might be discussed.¹ The younger Grattan—including, we suppose, extra-parliamentary declarations—places the number of signatures to the Unionist addresses and petitions at 7,000; but this is probably too low.²

Dr. Ingram takes much pains in his sixth chapter to prove, what no one ever doubted, that the Catholic hierarchy and aristocracy supported the Union. When he looks for evidence that the ordinary laity followed them he has to be thankful for very small mercies. The Catholic hierarchy and aristocracy, down, one may say, to the last decade, have been traditionally subservient to the English Government in all political matters. The laity swept them aside when the Catholic committee was re-organized in 1791; and some seventy prelates and peers seceded from it. At the very time we are considering, four arch-bishops and six bishops endorsed with their names a proposal to the effect that the British Government should have a right of veto in the election of Catholic bishops in Ireland.³ It was understood that emancipation would be granted, with a State provision for the clergy, subject to this condition. When in 1808 the emancipation question came before the British Parliament, and the existence of this agreement became known, a storm of indignation broke out among the Catholic laity at the proposal to place their Church under the control of the English Government. The very bishops who had signed the agreement were compelled to denounce it, and because the aristocracy, as a body, persisted in supporting emancipation coupled with the veto, the conduct of the Catholic movement was once more, and for ever, taken out of their hands. Why there could be no such expression of public feeling at the part the bishops took on the Union question is clear enough to anyone who realizes the condition of Ireland at that time. The country, in Bismarck's terrible phrase, was *saignée à blanc* after the Rebellion of '98. It was actually under martial law while the Union was being discussed, and that law was administered

¹ Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.* xxxv. 60; and compare Lords Cornwallis and Castlereagh:—‘I have most earnestly recommended it to the friends of Government to exert themselves during the summer in their respective counties, and have urged them, *without risking popular meetings*, to obtain declarations similar to those of Cork and Galway favourable to the measure.’—Cornwallis to Portland, *Corn. Corr.* iii. 105. ‘The [anti-Unionist] petitions presented to Parliament have been more numerously signed than the addresses and declarations in favour of the measure, *which in general were studiously confined to a superior description of persons.*’—Castlereagh to King, April 12, 1800, *Corn. Corr.* iii. 224.

² *Grattan's Life*, v. 51.

³ Butler's *Historical Memoirs of the Catholics*, iv. 479, &c.

with a frantic ferocity which Lord Cornwallis strove in vain to check. 'The vilest informers,' he wrote, 'are hunted out from the prisons to attack, by the most barefaced perjury, the lives of all who are suspected of being, or of having been, disaffected, and, indeed, every Roman Catholic of influence is in great danger.'¹ How any Catholics at all could venture to raise their voices against a Government measure, their attitude on which was to be taken as a test of loyalty, is astonishing ; but they did so. Thus, on January 13, 1800, a large Catholic meeting was held in Dublin, Mr. Ambrose Moore in the chair, and a resolution was passed affirming the Irish legislature to be the only true and permanent foundation of Irish prosperity and of British connexion. An explanation was added :—

'That, having heretofore determined not to come forward any more in the distinct character of Catholics, but to consider our claims and cause not those of a sect, but as involved in the general fate of our country, that we now think it right, notwithstanding such determination, to publish the present resolutions in order to undeceive our fellow-subjects who may have been led to believe, by a false representation, that we are capable of giving any concurrence whatever to so foul and foolish a project.'²

Charles Coote, an enthusiastic Unionist, whose *History of the Union* was published in 1802, writes that 'the Ministers and their friends [in the interval between the session of 1799 and that of 1800] exerted all the arts of persuasion in favour of the scheme, and endeavoured to promote it by intrigue or enforce it by intimidation.'³ In another place he speaks of the measure as having been imposed 'on a reluctant people.'⁴ Mr. Edgeworth, father of the famous novelist, and himself a man of high ability, delivered on Feb. 5, 1800, a speech which Dr. Ingram justly styles 'remarkable.' In his hands it becomes most truly so ; for the series of inconsequences in which he professes to give its purport would lead a confiding reader to suspect that Mr. Edgeworth was qualifying for Swift's Hospital.⁵ The speaker's drift was that he was ardently desirous of a union, yet could not bring himself to vote for the present measure in consequence of the iniquitous means by which it was being forced upon the country. Lord Cornwallis seems at times to have persuaded himself, or to have been persuaded by those who manipulated public opinion for him, that the country could not 'in general be said to be adverse to the

¹ To Gen. Ross, November 16, 1799.—*Corn. Corr.* iii. p. 145.

² *Irish Pamphlets*, 86, vi., National Library of Ireland.

³ *History of the Union*, p. 289.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 508.

⁵ Ingram, p. 168.

Union.'¹ But in the early part of 1800 he had observed that 'the Roman Catholics are joining the standard of opposition,'² and he elsewhere declares unreservedly that the Union would be 'impracticable' but for the vices and oppressions of the existing government.³ On the other hand, Dr. Ingram has no admissions of this kind to adduce on the part of the Opposition. He makes as much as he can of the complaint of a certain anti-Unionist, that 'the people had deserted them,'⁴ but his authority, Lord Cornwallis, describes the speaker as one of the 'violent' members of the Opposition—that is, one of those who, like O'Donel and others, declared for instant insurrection if the measure passed. The word 'desertion,' in the mouth of such a speaker, obviously cannot bear Dr. Ingram's interpretation.

But Dr. Ingram has himself furnished us with evidence of the feeling of the nation entirely contradictory of his theory. He argues⁵ that one of the reasons which made the Union desirable was 'the hostility of the Catholic community,' and quotes Wolfe Tone to the effect that 'in Ireland the name of England and her power' were 'universally odious.' Now Mr. Gladstone is (superficially at least) in error where he argues, in his reply to Dr. Ingram, that because the 'mass of the people' (according to Cornwallis) were engaged in treasonable conspiracy they must therefore have been anti-Unionists.⁶ The corrupt and tyrannous nominee Parliament which represented neither Irish aristocracy, nor property, nor Protestantism, nor any one broad Irish interest, was detested by the United Irishmen; and after vainly trying to reform it they set all their hopes on Separation. Living in daily expectation of a French invasion, most of them cared little about the abolition of their mock Legislature. But they certainly cannot be claimed as friends of the Union, nor is it for this purpose that Dr. Ingram notices them. It would have been unsafe, he considers, for England to leave a people animated by sentiments such as theirs in possession of any kind of national independence. Perhaps it would; but on which argument does he mean to challenge our verdict—that the Union was right because the Irish people cordially approved it, or expedient because they loathed the name of England? For it is not admissible in the court of

¹ *Corn. Corr.*, iii. 235, May 18, 1800.

² *Ibid.* p. 175.

³ Such as the Tithe Laws (*ibid.* iii. 56), which, however, were not amended for nearly forty years after the Union.

⁴ Ingram, p. 108; *Corn. Corr.* iii. 250.

⁵ Ingram, pp. 49, 50 *n.*

⁶ *Nineteenth Century*, October 1887, p. 455; *Corn. Corr.* iii. p. 81.

history to plead: 'We deny that we assaulted the deceased; and if we did, we maintain that we did it in self-defence.'

No; the Union was carried perhaps with the purest motives, but certainly by the basest means, nor could it then have been carried by any others. Had Pitt spoken truth in the fine Virgilian quotation which he applied to the measure—

'nec Teucris Italos parere jubebo,
Nec nova [*sic*] regna peto; paribus se legibus ambæ
Invictæ gentes æterna in fœdera mittant'—

with how different a gaze might England at this day look upon her past and her future! But a shameful and calamitous reality lay hid behind those stately lines. Ireland was not *invicta*, she was conquered. But *that* is nothing. She was conquered by weapons that have left a malignant poison in the deathless memory of her race. Yet amity between the two peoples is essential to the wellbeing of each, and in time it cannot fail to knit them in closer bonds than those forged by Pitt and Castlereagh. One condition of the growth of this amity is that honourable acknowledgment of the wrongs she has worked in the past which has not been hitherto wanting on the part of England, nor unrecognized on that of Ireland. And one influence that must blast and kill that precious growth would be the shameless denial of any reason for repentance or reparation which this deplorable *History of the Union* is written to justify and encourage.

As to the form which reparation should take, but two alternatives seem to us to exist. The history of the last eighty-seven years has made it clear that Ireland, on a different plane of civilization, and with different racial characteristics, was incapable, whether she desired it or not, of true incorporation with Great Britain. And she is incapable still. A distinct and single-hearted Government, a Government unmoved by the intrigues and fluctuations of English parties—that was her need then, and it is her need now. Whether this end is to be attained by the concession of a National Legislature, or through the disfranchisement of Ireland and the personal rule of some natural king of men, some modern Perrot or Cromwell, this is a question which there is instant need that England should fairly face while deliberate choice is yet within her power.

NOTE.—Since the foregoing pages were in type, Dr. Ingram's reply to Mr. Gladstone has appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* for December 1887. That reply has quite the same

unhistorical character as the original work. The reader has only to study its treatment of *e.g.* the destruction of evidence mentioned by Ross, or the character of the Unionist petitions, or the refusal of escheatorships by Lord Cornwallis, and compare Dr. Ingram's statements with the references which we have appended to our account of these transactions, in order to convince himself that either Dr. Ingram's study of his authorities has been of a most superficial character, or else that he has made inexcusable use of the resource of *suppressio veri*.

IN MEMORIAM

A. J. B. BERESFORD-HOPE.

'WHEREVER Anglican Churchmen are to be found, there will be mourning for the death of Mr. Beresford-Hope.'

These words, with which the *Times* newspaper, in a leading article of October 21, 1887, heralded the announcement of Mr. Beresford-Hope's lamented death at Bedgebury Park on the previous day, might fitly be placed as an epitaph on his grave. They would at least be free from the faintest suspicion of exaggeration—not to say mendacity—with which epitaphs are too often, and not always unjustly, taxed. For surely all 'Anglican Churchmen' are bound to mourn the loss of one who through a long and blameless career marked his sense of the privilege involved in belonging to the Church of England, as a branch of the Holy Catholic Church, by acts of munificence which in the present century are probably without precedent or parallel, and by the still nobler homage of a consistent, 'sober, honest, and religious' life. St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and All Saints', Margaret Street, are memorials of his work and worth which will last throughout all generations.¹

It would be foreign to our purpose and incompatible with our

¹ In connexion with All Saints', Margaret Street, the honoured name of Tritton, so dear to all Churchmen, must be coupled with that of Mr. Beresford-Hope, as must also that of Mr. Benjamin Lancaster. It must not be forgotten that in these and all his other numerous efforts at church building and church restoration—for architecture was the passion of his life—Mr. Beresford-Hope was guided by the cardinal principle, which he shared with his dear friend Benjamin Webb, that public worship was primarily intended, not for the convenience of worshippers, but for the greater glory and honour of the Worshipped—*ad maiorem Dei gloriam*—and that, accordingly, nothing short of the very best and most perfect of its kind, whether in architecture, in music, or in the surroundings generally of the sanctuary, was worthy of being offered to Almighty God. It is to be regretted that this principle of 'paying the Lord the honour due unto His Name' has not in these days of 'shortened services,' a larger number of adherents.

space to attempt on the present occasion so much as even a sketch of the life of our departed friend. That life is so bound up with the development of the Church of England, that his biography would assume the proportions of a history. Of such a biography and of such a history, his friends had hoped he might himself have been the author. To one of them he wrote last summer: 'Shall I ever live to complete that history of the Church Revival in its various aspects, including Ecclesiology, which has since my calamity [the death of Lady Mildred] been my day-dream to accomplish?' Some way had been made in the undertaking, but 'completion'—no doubt for wise purposes—was denied to him. Is there any chance of that completion being made by other, though, of course, less competent, hands?

With Mr. Beresford Hope, we fear, has become extinct a type of layman which was the exclusive possession of the Church of England. Broad with all the breadth of a wide culture, and of warm and generous sympathies, identified with all great Church movements of the time, but losing his identity in none, a Churchman first, and a Conservative afterwards, serving the cause with singleness of purpose, without hope of advancement, or desire for reward, shrinking from no trouble, shirking no duty, shunning no obloquy, so long as it might be the more in his power to promote the welfare of the Church and the glory of God, Mr. Beresford-Hope concealed beneath a debonair, not to say jocular, exterior, a depth of feeling, and an earnestness of purpose, and a seriousness of conviction, and a loyalty of devotion to the Bride of Christ, compared with which the spasmodic feverishness and 'faddism' of a fussy, foolish Ritualist is 'as moonlight unto sunlight, and as water unto wine.'

And if from this wider area—'wherever Anglican Churchmen are to be found'—we pass on, as pass we must, to the inner circle of his more immediate friends and fellow-workers and colleagues, we may well exclaim, '*Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus tam cari capitis?*' In the founding of this *Review* Mr. Beresford-Hope took a leading part. In view of the revived energy of the Anglican Communion in all parts of the world, he felt, as all the co-proprietors felt, the importance of starting a high-class periodical which might set forth the results of real study and reflection on the highest of all subjects, so as to be worthily representative of the teaching and position of the English Church. While he scrupulously abstained from any interference which he thought might not improperly be resented, his wise counsels were ever at the command of those who sought them, and were all the more readily followed because they were never obtruded. The loss of these wise counsels will be sorely missed. But he 'being dead yet speaketh,' and we trust that those who may hereafter have the responsibility of conducting a *Review* which was launched under his auspices may never relax that loyal attachment to the Church of England and to that Church's Book of Common Prayer, on behalf of which Mr. Beresford-Hope was ever ready to spend and to be spent, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left, neither yielding to the blandishments of Rome, nor allured by the cheap popularity of a creedless and undogmatic Christianity.

SHORT NOTICES.

Christ or Ecclesiastes: Sermons preached in St. Paul's Cathedral.

By the Rev. H. S. HOLLAND, M.A., Canon and Precentor of St. Paul's. (London: Rivingtons, 1888.)

IN April of last year we noticed Canon Holland's volume of sermons entitled *Creed and Character*. Those who have read that book, and therefore, assuredly, have recurred to it with increasing appreciation of its richness and suggestiveness, will gladly welcome a new instalment, though a much smaller one, of the author's preaching committed to printed form. We do not know whether any persons still imagine that this preaching is too 'exuberantly rhetorical,' or too fully charged with religious passion and emotion, to be solidly helpful in the troubles that come with thought. If so, they will do well to read the volume before us. Its title is, perhaps, a little too *frappant*, but suggests an idea which the preface states, and the last of the five sermons especially draws out, that Christian faith is the true remedy for a joyless 'pessimism,' such as would dwell on 'vanity' without looking on to 'hopes.' Now we do not intend to give any specimens of Mr. Holland's eloquence; whatever he writes must needs glow; he speaks as one who has vision; *that* goes without saying, and these pages—less than a hundred and fifty—abundantly verify it: there is pathos, brilliance, power at every turn. We prefer to show, however briefly, the value of his present contribution to Apology by tracing out the line of thought pursued from the opening of the second sermon to the close of the book. Physical science is introduced to us, objecting to 'miracle' as involving a break, a shock, an exception. But she is reminded that her criteria cannot be of universal application; they must needs avoid some 'regions of nature, omit' some 'sections of man's being;' and, since man is a whole and nature is a whole, methods which isolate parts of either must 'at some point terminate with a shock,' which is no 'interference' with, or suspension of, nature, but the fitting Divine treatment of a great spiritual crisis. But is it not the mere wondering of ignorance which looks for such crises, or 'enjoys the miraculous' as so treating them? No, it is our sense of profound spiritual need in the presence of Eternal Goodness. Here is a point of cardinal importance, that 'intellectual perplexities, in the matter of faith, lie very close to our moral and spiritual experience . . . it is in view of us, of our moral situation, that God acts; to measure His methods, we must weigh our own needs; to understand Him, we must understand ourselves' (p. 56). But if science grants that the belief in miracle has thus a more respectable origin than mere 'curiosity' or 'ignorance,' she still suggests that it grows out of an 'infirmity,' and fosters a lower conception of God than that which is supplied by her 'unalterable sequences.' The reply is, that uniformity of order is most absolute where there is least of real life; the higher we mount in the scale, the

more do we find of growth, movement, change—most of all in the highest or human area. The charge of ‘anthropomorphism’ is, of course, ready; so is the answer—given with an energy which reminds one of a magnificent passage in Dr. Mozley’s essay on Blanco White—that, since man is the crown of God’s earthly creation, ‘we are intended to make him the interpretation of God . . . we are, in this sense, rightly anthropomorphic’ (p. 76). And this world of human life ‘is a world that invites miracle; it is familiar with surprises, convulsions, reversals; . . . it need not recoil’ from a Divine intervention responsive to its struggles, adapted to its necessities. But then comes in ‘Scientific History:’ she studies, tabulates, interprets the multiform changes in human movement; she protests against the intrusion of a supposed supernatural force, yet more, against the expectation of ‘a Divine consummation’ in some mysterious Hereafter. She takes up the parable of the secularist, and bids us be content with the ‘intelligible task’ of earthly life, and recognize in that life a sufficient roundness of completion. But ‘we Christians challenge every syllable of that retort; in our ears, it is a mere tissue of idle words’ (p. 98). Human life is *not* intelligible, not harmonious, not integral, not satisfactory in any sense, unless we view it as preparatory to a Hereafter. It is a stage of education, a period of pilgrimage, an ante-room: thus regarded we can ‘rationalize’ it—thus, and not otherwise. Apart from this belief, the progress of civilization brings perplexity, for it heightens the ‘contrast’ between possibilities and capacities: ‘ever it increases the task, without lengthening the time in which to accomplish it.’ Instead of ‘abolishing the argument for immortality,’ it does but ‘intensify its appeal.’ But if we look for the life of the world to come, we gain cheerfulness, when new changes seem to ‘antiquate’ us—‘hope, in face of base and bad conditions,’ for all who here have made even a beginning in the right direction—and, ‘what is near akin to this last, joy in the face of failure,’ since failure is seen to be part of ‘our schooling’ and ‘of our spiritual growth.’ This belief will enable men to do their work in this world with a ‘hope, zeal, tenderness, and love,’ that are simply impossible for secularism. The first sermon in this volume is on that second theological virtue, which Dean Church has called ‘the energy and effort of faith;’ and the whole of it might be called an expansion of St. Paul’s great dictum, that ‘Hope maketh not ashamed, *because* of the effusion of God’s love.’

A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Edited by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D., Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Vols. II. and III. (Buffalo: The Christian Literature Company, 1887.)

LAST year, in reviewing some recent works on St. Augustine, we noticed the appearance of the first volume of Dr. Schaff’s great patristic series. The second and third are now before us; both of them, like their predecessor, devoted to the works of St. Augustine. The second volume contains the ‘De Civitate Dei’ and the four books ‘De Doctrina Christiana.’ The third includes fifteen treatises

classed under the two heads of Doctrinal and Moral. The Doctrinal are headed by the great treatise on the Trinity, followed by the 'Enchiridion,' the 'De Catechizandis Rudibus,' the 'De Fide et Symbolo,' &c. The Moral give us with others the four essays upon continence, marriage, virginity, and widowhood. The translations of these works are those which have already appeared in the Oxford *Library of the Fathers*, and in Clark's series of the works of St. Augustine, revised, and in some cases supplied with additional notes. Of the more important translations the 'De Civitate' appears to be that which has undergone the least alteration, and the 'De Trinitate' the most. The latter rendering was made by a friend of our lamented fellow-churchman, Rev. A. W. Haddan, who revised the work, and made himself responsible for it. But Dr. Shedd, who has had charge of the present edition, appears to us to be a very competent scholar, and his notes, which are chiefly of a metaphysical character, add to the value of the book. In one case, however, we notice an assumption that the Reformation conception of justification is an advance upon the patristic: a disputable judgment. Dr. Schaff might in our opinion have better omitted the last paragraph of his preface to vol. iii., in which he appears to be alarmed lest the publication of St. Augustine's ascetic views should render his Protestant subscribers suspicious of a covert doubt cast upon the universal necessity of getting married. The more entirely the Fathers are left to speak for themselves, without either reconciliations or apologies offered from a modern standpoint, the better, in our opinion, it will be, and the more likely will the series be to meet with support beyond the Protestant circle. We give this hint with a real desire for the success of this admirable and spirited undertaking, and we must say that we have not found the slightest reason to suspect the translations of any doctrinal bias whatever. The books are wonderful value for their cost. Their form has been most happily chosen, the print clear, the paper good, and the binding sightly. The volumes, though each contains as much matter as two or three of Clark's series, are not too weighty to be read in the hand. The publishers have concluded arrangements with Messrs. Clark and the proprietors of the Oxford series by which the books can be sold in this country. For the present, communications must be made direct to the publishers at 35 Bond Street, New York, but they hope within a year to open an office in London or Edinburgh.

Gnosticism and Agnosticism, and other Sermons. By GEORGE SALMON, D.D., Chancellor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1887.)

THE series of Professor Salmon's sermons abide upon our shelves close to those of Dr. Newman, with which they range, and we earnestly hope he may live and preach till his volumes equal in number those of the older divine. There are qualities, to be sure, in which the great Oxonian is far ahead of the Irishman. But the latter has the singular advantage among the theologians of our time of a first-rate scientific

eminence. We do not know that the present volume excels its predecessors, but it is exceedingly interesting. We think that we prefer, on account of their expository value, as well as their spiritual importance, those entitled 'Union with Christ,' and 'The Keynote of the Epistle to the Hebrews,' and we are sure that we like least that upon 'Ill Success in Searching after Righteousness,' which was preached at Great St. Mary's, Cambridge. The eponymous sermon has a very effective conclusion, in which it is shown that 'Agnosticism is the highest point of Gnosticism. For who can venture to say what cannot be known but one who thoroughly knows all that can be known?' But we doubt the fairness of connecting the poor Schoolmen with the Gnostics. They assumed too soon to be sure that they had data for systematizing their knowledge. But knowledge either human or divine can be systematized if it be really knowledge. And there seems no reason to accuse them of having pretended to know what is impossible to be known by man. The volume is worthy of Dr. Salmon's reputation.

Christ and Christianity. Vol. I. *The Light of the Ages* (Asia, Africa, Europe). By the Rev. H. R. HAWEIS, M.A., Incumbent of St. James's, Marylebone. (London: Charles Burnet and Co., 1887.)

WE have already given our opinion of the part of this work which deals with Christianity. We are glad to be able to say that the heathen section appears to us much better done. Mr. Haweis knows how to make his work bright and interesting. To be sure, it is impossible that anything very deep could be said upon the religions of India, Persia, China, Egypt, Greece, Rome, Scandinavia, and Palestine, at the rate of twenty-seven widely-printed pages to each. But the idea will be conveyed to many people who if they did not get their religious information easily would not take it at all, that religion has been a supreme object of human thought and search all the world over and in every age. And that, we need not say, is a fact which sincere Christians ought to be very ready to recognize. For though they differ from the rest of mankind upon the form of true religion, they agree with them on the principle that we must have a religion. And while they disagree with all religions except their own, the difference of the Agnostic is from all religions without exception. He is a dissenter from the general agreement of mankind. Mr. Haweis, when he estimates the cost of converting a Jew at an average of 30,000*l.*, has apparently never heard of the work of Mr. Rosenthal at St. Paul's, Haggerston, where many Israelites have sacrificed all earthly prospects and faced sore persecution for Christ's sake.

Wellington College Sermons. By E. C. WICKHAM, M.A. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1887.)

THE master of Wellington College presents us with a volume of good sermons to boys, dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury as the father and founder of the spiritual life of the school. The doctrinal

VOL. XXV.—NO. L.

K K

teaching of the boys we clearly perceive is left to other occasions. These sermons are, each of them, meant to impress some one great moral and spiritual principle. They are of course very short, and we prefer those in which there are few divisions or none, but the whole is uttered as it were in one breath, such as the beautiful sermon on Purity of Heart, in which the love of an affectionate father of his boys pours itself out in earnest entreaty, as if he felt that the whole future of many a young life might depend upon the event of his pleading.

Martin Luther, his Life and Work. By PETER BAYNE, LL.D. Two vols. (London, Paris, and New York: Cassell and Co., 1887.)

DR. BAYNE assumes that Luther has a specific relation to what he calls 'Anglo-Saxondom'—in which he includes the United States of America, Canada, and Australia. He tells us that 'The resemblance between the Saxons and the British'—by which term he means the English and Scotch—'has not escaped the sure eye of Prince Bismarck.' He would have done well to give the exact words of the German Chancellor, which were never intended to serve as a foundation for Dr. Bayne's odd assumption that the English, Scotch, Californians, Canadians, and Australians have 'a still clearer right to claim to be one in blood with Luther' than the Germans have to 'be of the kindred of Shakespeare.' Does he think that the Saxons are less German than the 'Anglo-Saxons'? All this talk, and much more equally rhapsodical and haphazard, is taken to be a justification of Dr. Bayne's own claims to write the latest—and the worst—of the many lives of Luther. As a matter of historical fact, English Protestantism—and still more Scottish and American Protestantism—owes infinitely less to Luther than to Zwingli and the Swiss, whom Luther hated much more bitterly than he hated the Papists, and of whose salvation he doubted. Dr. Bayne is no son of Luther, but a son of Zwingli and Calvin.

Dr. Bayne ventures once only to differ from Luther, and to represent him as in the wrong. The solitary error of the infallible reformer—the 'Pope by Divine right' as Dr. Bayne enthusiastically calls him—was his disagreement with 'the lucid Zwingli' and the Swiss on the real presence in the Eucharist. Everywhere else Luther must be upheld as in the right at all hazards. In his apology for the secret dispensation to Philip of Hesse to commit bigamy, Dr. Bayne exceeds in light-hearted and defiant presumption all previous biographers of Luther. They all have had the decency and piety to lament it, and to confess its terrible wrongfulness. They have sought excuses for it in the system of dispensations already in use, and so freely conceded to princes: they have contended that Luther did not originate, but inherited, the superstition that for political or other reasons a greater degree of sexual licence might be conceded to a prince than to a common man. Prof. Köstlin, the latest and ablest of the modern German biographers of Luther, boldly condemns Luther's part in the wretched business; he shows that Luther himself afterwards rejected the arguments which he then used. The Swiss Hagenbach cites the

incident as a proof that the reformers did not understand, or did not oppose, 'all the moral abuses needing reformation.' Every well-read English theologian will be acquainted with the laboured treatment of this unpleasant episode by Archdeacon Hare. But Dr. Bayne has no misgivings. He glories in the ugly event. He allots a whole chapter to 'Philip of Hesse's Two Wives.' He seems to delight in Luther's grudging consent to the bigamy, and to regard it as one of the most glorious incidents in his career. The chapter might have been written by a Mormon 'apostle.' The subject, he tells us, 'interests the wise world more than theology,' though he adds no note to tell us whether we are to take his jaunty words sarcastically or seriously. 'Philip was one of the noblest men of his time': we are told of his 'native intrepidity,' and that he had 'the instinct of a high soul for the true and the right.' He is compared to David 'in his quick and impassioned response to generous impulses.' We are then informed that he was like David in other impulses; that he was, in fact, a man who sank readily into a beast; he indulged in 'vagrant profligacies.' If Dr. Bayne, who is constantly affecting a prophetic *afflatus*, instead of Nathan, had visited David after his sin, what would he have said to the adulterous King of Israel? Would he have told him, as he tells us of Philip of Hesse, that 'he was a sincerely religious man'? Philip's apologist thinks that his 'religion' was shown by the fact that, though 'he lived in unfaithfulness to his wife,' he 'was tormented by conscience.' Such an argument goes to prove that Judas was 'a sincerely religious man.' Philip's conscience could, or would, only be liberated from its torment, it seems, by allowing him to take a second wife. Dr. Bayne cruelly blackens Christina of Saxony, in order to whiten her adulterous husband. Luther—though Dr. Bayne omits to say it or does not know it—vainly tried to turn aside Philip from his lust for another wife, by reminding him that Christina was the mother of his 'fair young princes and princesses.' What of that? exclaims Philip's modern Scotch advocate, 'her person was repulsive to him, and she developed an afflictive propensity to the bottle. His own Christina, honest woman, cheered by the friendly bottle, scrupled not to signify in black and white, that she did not object to the arrangement.' This is bad enough, and one would like to hear Luther's opinion of Dr. Bayne, who seems even more eager to defend Philip himself than Philip's casuistical advisers. The utmost upon which 'the frank doctor,' Luther, could rely, was the concession of polygamy to Old Testament saints—a concession which Luther himself, in his later years, again and again asserted to be contrary to the Christian idea of marriage. But Dr. Bayne holds that the argument from the Old Testament may be powerfully supplemented or superseded by arguments from modern science. 'And here,' says he, 'if we dared do justice to Philip at all hazards'—Luther is for the time quite forgotten by his biographer in his zeal for Philip—'it would be incumbent on us to give patient audience to physiological science: but English refinement is too tyrannous in the delicacy of its sensibilities, to allow one to put physiology in the witness-box on his behalf. *Verbum sat.*'

Dr. Bayne, throughout his two bulky volumes, appears to be much

K K 2

more anxious to exhibit himself and his opinions of the modern world than to show us Luther and his view of his own age. The closing or constructive period of Luther's life is treated in a very thin, careless, and hasty manner. His biographer has scampered through the years 1534 to 1546 in twenty-five pages, apparently because they provide no occasion for popular rant. The ecclesiastical system of Lutheranism, which was built up during his later years, was the product of a series of historical accidents, and it has not a few instructive likenesses to the ecclesiastical system of Wesleyanism. Luther, like Wesley, committed the stupendous folly—to call it nothing else—of breaking with the hereditary tradition and custom of Christendom, by himself consecrating a bishop. After the consecration of Amsdorf, Luther addressed him as his own superior, his 'lord,' 'reverend father in Christ,' 'honoured superior in the Lord.' It is worth observing that Amsdorf was chosen to the new Lutheran episcopate for four reasons: because he was 'unmarried,' 'gifted,' a 'scholar,' and a 'nobleman.' This 'consecration' was one of the turning-points in the Lutheran reformation, it offended many Catholics who had been favourable to Luther, and had great weight upon the subsequent conduct of the emperor. Dr. Bayne has not made the slightest attempt to understand it, and is probably incapable of realizing what it meant in the estimate of Luther's contemporaries. Possibly he thinks that the consecration of Dr. Coke as a bishop was the noblest incident in Wesley's career. It is only just to Amsdorf to say that he was not a servile follower of his elevator to the new episcopate. He boldly declared himself against the bigamy of Philip of Hesse. Dr. Bayne's confused chatter about 'National Churches' generally, and about 'the New Saxon Church' in particular, is a medley of mere guess and nonsense. He makes the egregiously unhistorical assertion that 'Luther was the father of national churches. Persons who have never breathed the atmosphere of other ages' (such, for instance, as Bishop Stubbs, Mr. Freeman, or the late Mr. Brewer and Mr. Haddan) 'talk with glib assurance of the continuity, the historical unity of this or that modern church. These people start from a misconception. Until the Reformation there was no Church of Saxony'—Dr. Bayne seems to think that Saxony was a 'nation'—'no Church of France, no Church of England. During the mediæval time'—a charmingly vague phrase—'there was the Church *in* Saxony, not the Church of Saxony, the Church *in* England, not the Church of England.' Those persons who trace the Jesuits in the most improbable lurking-places, will fancy that some son of St. Ignatius got into Dr. Bayne's study, and wrote the above sentences. It is evident that Dr. Bayne has never made a personal scrutiny of a dozen ecclesiastical documents of 'the mediæval time.' He talks of Luther as 'a member of the Church of Rome,' he wonders why Luther 'stayed in the Church of Rome so long.' It is a pity he does not clearly show us by what act Luther came out of the Church of Rome. If he had been made a cardinal he would have called himself 'a member of the Church of Rome,' but Dr. Bayne is attributing modern and post-tridentine language to 'the mediæval time' when he makes a German monk call himself a member of the Church of Rome. Luther, both

before and after his break with the Papacy, believed that he had been planted into the one and only universal Church by the sacrament of baptism. He never taught that he was in one Church when he was a papist, but in another Church when he ceased to be a papist. He had no conception that he was making a new Church. His view seems to have been that the parishes in Saxony, as congregations of baptized persons, had never been anything else but parts of the true visible Church, even when they were under the Papacy. 'In the parish church,' said he, as early as 1520, 'you can have baptism, sacraments, the gospel, and the fellowship of your neighbours. Neither angel nor pope can provide you with so much as God has already provided for you in your parish church.' From this position he never departed. His difficulty was the maintenance of a right union of these parish churches with one another, and with the whole Catholic Church. His attempt to solve this by the erection of a pseudo-episcopate was disastrous and short-lived, and it ended in the concentration of ecclesiastical authority in the hands of the secular ruler as *summus episcopus*. If he had taken as firm a stand for the tradition of the whole Church as to the priesthood and episcopate as he did against the Sacramentarians for the Eucharist, and against the Anabaptists for Holy Baptism—in both which cases he appealed to the Christian tradition—Luther might have been indeed the reformer, instead of the disintegrator, of the German Church. He was personally in favour of retaining the elevation of the Host in the Eucharist, and even pleaded with the princes to uphold in their integrity some of the monastic communities, both male and female, as Mr. Kettlewell has pointed out in his interesting volumes on Thomas à Kempis. Modern German literature is rich in exhaustive monographs on each important episode of Luther's life; but Dr. Bayne appears to be utterly unacquainted with them.

Introduction to the Catholic Epistles. By P. J. GLOAG, D.D., Minister of Galashiels. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1887.)

THE subject-matter of this volume is the same as that of Alford's *Prolegomena* to the corresponding Canonical books, points of special interest or peculiar difficulty being discussed at considerable length in detached dissertations. The Epistles themselves are not printed in the volume, and there is no continuous commentary; so that the book is open to the charge of tending to increase the prevalence of the fault, already too general among our younger clergy, of knowing a certain amount *about* the Bible, but very little *of the Bible itself*. Yet if the Sacred Text be carefully studied *before, together with, and after* the use of such a volume as Dr. Gloag's, no one can reasonably doubt that great advantages may be derived from the four hundred pages of auxiliary information which the Minister of Galashiels has here put together. We know no other book in English, covering the same ground, that is so good; and we heartily commend it to students of this portion of the New Testament. Its gravest omission, in our opinion, is connected with the department of textual criticism. We desiderate, in an *Introduction to the Catholic Epistles*,

some account of the manuscripts which contain those Epistles, the state of the text, the versions, and the patristic quotations; but Dr. Gloag leaves this subject quite untouched, except so far as it affects the questions of authenticity and canonicity. When treating of authenticity, the author refers to the Syriac and Latin versions, but even there he does not take into consideration the Egyptian versions, which we would place in the same category: we hold that these three groups of versions are of approximately equal antiquity, and that they conspicuously excel all others in importance as well as age.

Dr. Gloag takes the Helvidian view of the meaning of the New Testament phrase 'Brethren of the Lord,' and astonishes us by saying that 'the preponderance of evidence is in favour of it' (p. 38), whereas his own account of the history of the three rival theories seems to us to point most clearly to a different conclusion. What 'evidence,' in the proper sense of the word, is there in support of an 'opinion' on this subject 'first advocated by Helvidius, a Roman Christian who lived towards the close of the fourth century'? (p. 38).

We are glad to see that right views of the State after Death are becoming more widely spread. It is hopeful when we find a non-Episcopalian write as Dr. Gloag does at p. 198:—

'In general, the Reformers seem to have overlooked the doctrine of an intermediate state, and to have regarded death as to all intents and purposes the same to every person as the judgment.'

The relation of the foot notes to the body of the book is occasionally somewhat puzzling. For instance, in his text (p. 175) the author says: 'Eschatological allusions are peculiar to Peter among the writers of the New Testament;' and appends a footnote as follows: 'Peter is the only sacred writer, if we exclude certain passages in the Apocalypse, and the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, who directly alludes to the intermediate state.' We ought to have premised that the author expressly includes the doctrine of the intermediate state within the scope of the term 'Eschatology.' Again (p. 367) his text says: 'Certainly the wickedness described in Jude's Epistle is more astounding than that mentioned in the First Epistle to the Corinthians;' whereas the footnote says: 'Not so if we interpret 1 Cor. xi. 21 literally, that the agapæ and the Lord's Supper were actually converted into scenes of drunkenness.'

The First Epistle of St. John. With Exposition and Homiletical Treatment. By the Rev. J. J. LIAS, M.A., Vicar of St. Edward's, Cambridge. (London: Nisbet, 1887.)

WE cannot speak too highly of this new volume of Nisbet's Theological Library, considered as a practical help to the conscientious preacher. It is full of sober piety guided by sound scholarship, and Mr. Lias seems to have acquired from his long study of St. John's writings something of that Apostle's marvellous power of using such language as is simple and intelligible to the plainest folk, while at the same time it expresses the deepest thoughts, and suggests reflections upon which the noblest intellects may worthily exercise their highest

powers. Many of our readers may have already profited by the contents of this volume, which originally appeared in detached papers in the *Homiletic Magazine*; but for the sake of such as have not enjoyed this privilege, we should like to say that the possession of even Canon Westcott's and Dr. Plummer's excellent works on St. John's Epistles would not render Mr. Lias's volume a superfluous luxury. Mr. Lias has written with the special object of assisting preachers, and has with rare self-restraint kept his object ever in view. In our opinion he has been eminently successful, and we should not be surprised if his book became as great a favourite with a large section of modern preachers as was 'Leighton on Peter' with their predecessors half a century ago.

In speaking of the Socinian theory, Mr. Lias very well says (p. 14, lines 7-4 from bottom):—

'So far as it is true, we gladly accept it. But the poet warns us that "a truth which is half a truth is the greatest lie of all." And Socinianism lands us in one of the most dangerous of half-truths.'

We do not happen to recognize Mr. Lias's poetical quotation here; but we can bring to his memory another which is equally good, and equally appropriate to a sermon against Socinianism. Singularly enough, the poet gives it as the summary of part of a parsonic address:—

'... a lie which is half a truth is ever the blackest of lies;
 ... a lie which is all a lie may be met and fought with outright;
 But a lie which is part a truth is a harder matter to fight.'

TENNYSON: *The Grandmother*, stanza viii.

In order to give our readers an idea of the style of this book, we conclude our notice with the following quotation.

'The explanations of some commentators seem to involve a contracted or mistaken notion, not only of the word *ἀφενος*, but of the English word "atone." As we have seen, men speak of the former as equivalent to forgiveness. But its more natural meaning is "expulsion." That the former idea is excluded we would not contend. But we contend for the inclusion of the latter. As the virus of deadly poison is expelled from the body by the antidote, so the poison of sin is expelled from man's composite being by the life of Christ. Sin is first forgiven, no doubt, but it is afterwards destroyed. Its power over the man is taken away, and he stands, not only justified, but purified, sanctified, victorious, by the indwelling of Jesus Christ. So, again, the expression "atoning blood" is not used at the present day in its Scriptural and strict English sense as equivalent to "reconciling blood," but involves in modern English ears the idea of reconciling through the endurance of vicarious punishment. That the sufferings and death of Christ were those of the one sacrifice for sin is not denied. But we lose sight of half the virtue of that bloodshed, if we merely regard it as offered for us. As the sixth chapter of St. John and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper most plainly teach, that blood circulates in the veins of every redeemed man. Thus it is not enough to regard it as simply pleading for the forgiveness of our sins. It "atones" by becoming the very life of our life, and its revivifying power effects the expulsion of sin from within us. Thus, then, Jesus came by water and blood. The one typified the removal of the curse

from mankind, the free access of all to a gracious and loving Father, no longer estranged from us by sin, the quickening and inspiring effects of the new relation between God and man in stirring us up vigorously to live the new life. The other is no type at all, but the plain literal foundation of the Christian religion. The life of Christ is our life. His blood mystically, yet really, flows in our veins, uniting us in the first instance to His humanity, and through it to the Divine nature itself' (2 Pet. i. 4; pp. 371-2, on 1 John v. 6).

Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students. Edited by DODS and WHYTE. *The Gospel of St. Luke*, Chapters I-XII. By T. M. LINDSAY, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1887.)

THIS appears to us quite an unnecessary and superfluous publication. It contains little or nothing original, and never improves what it borrows from others. It is a poor specimen of mere modern book-making. It sometimes repeats itself—e.g. a note of eight lines on iii. 23, concerning the prayers of Jesus, is repeated *verbatim* on vi. 12. It occasionally is demonstrably in error, as when it says on i. 39 (p. 49) that 'Luke has omitted between the 38th and 39th verses what Matthew tells us in i. 18, 19.' The words following this mistake are to us quite unintelligible:—'The white lily of the annunciation had been stained with the heart's blood of the Virgin Mother.'

Dr. Lindsay gives, as the derivation of the word 'Gospel,' '*God* or *good*; *spell*, discourse or tidings,' and we wonder what he means by it. Does he mean that the words 'God' and 'good' are equivalent, cognate, identical? If so, the best authorities on English etymology are against him. Does he mean that he is uncertain whether the first syllable of 'Gospel' is derived from 'God' or from 'good'? If so, he need not be ashamed to confess his ignorance, seeing that very many well-educated men share his uncertainty on this particular point. Or does he mean to imply, by putting 'God' before 'good,' that he is inclined to adopt the new view of the etymology of Gospel, but not altogether prepared to drop the time-honoured theory which alone he found in his familiar Farrar? In this case, we wish he had been more explicit; he might here, at least, have done his readers a little service.

The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. The First Book of the Kings. With Introduction and Notes by the Rev. J. R. LUMBY, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity. (Cambridge: University Press, 1886.)

THIS little volume has been long looked for, will be eagerly welcomed, and is calculated to give general satisfaction. It is exceedingly well done, and, like some others of the series, will become a recognized manual for advanced Biblical students as well as 'for schools and colleges.' 'Not only to readers of the English version, but also to such as are going through the Hebrew original or any of the ancient versions, Dr. Lumby's learned labours will afford substantial assistance. Until this book appeared there did not exist any

English commentary on the Books of Kings which worthily represented the present condition of Biblical science. Such a deficiency gives special value to the present volume, which is the first instalment of a work which will go far towards removing this stigma from English theological literature. The fact that Dr. Lumby makes frequent references to the Masoretic text and the Septuagint, giving occasionally the Greek and more rarely the Hebrew forms, need not cause any alarm to schoolmasters, even where Greek is not taught; all the notes are quite intelligible enough to those who merely read English. We are in a position to state that many teachers have long desired a satisfactory handbook for this portion of the Old Testament, and we congratulate them upon the fulfilment of their desire in the little text-book before us. The Introduction is a very model of clearness, and keeps closely to the point. In the summary of the contents of 1 Kings, pp. xviii-xxiv, the author adds to the brief analysis of each section one or two pithy suggestions for giving some religious instruction in connexion with the historical narrative. The notes are of course very condensed, and we sometimes wish a line or two more had been added. Thus, on x. 8 it might have been shown how suitable on the lips of the Queen of Sheba would have been the exclamation, 'Happy are these thy wives!' which is the reading of LXX, Syriac, and Arabic. Again, on xxii. 34, we are told that Josephus names 'the certain man who drew his bow at a venture,' calling him Aman; but we are not told that the Midrash Tehillim calls him Naaman or Naaman, thus probably guiding us to the true reading of Josephus, and to a satisfactory explanation of 2 Kings v. 1, where we read that by Naaman 'the Lord had given deliverance unto Syria.'

Studies in St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. By W. S. WOOD, M.A., Rector of Ufford, Northamptonshire. (London: Rivingtons, 1887.)

THIS neat little volume of 163 pages, small octavo, contains ten essays on the following themes:—1. The First of St. Paul's Epistles; 2. St. Paul's Complaisance; 3. Was Titus Circumcised? 4. Destruction and Reconstruction; 5. Law and Promise; 6. The Past and the Present; 7. Freedom in Christ; 8. The Adversaries of Truth; 9. The Two Burdens; and 10. Last Words in the Apostle's Handwriting.

Much learning is shown, as might be expected from a man who was a triple 'first,' besides getting a second in a fourth tripas and carrying off sundry University prizes: but we are afraid that Mr. Wood has too little respect for his seniors to allow him to judge quite fairly either their work or his own. Much of his work on Galatians takes the form of opposition to Bishop Lightfoot, and we instinctively mistrust a man who pronounces one of Lightfoot's notes to be 'neither logic nor sense' (p. 57, note). We are reminded of the reply of an old German Jew to a pupil who complained that Ewald's Hebrew Grammar seemed a complete muddle: 'Ah! my dear sir, don't you think it just possible that the muddle may be subjective?'

The Seven Sayings from the Cross. Addresses by WILLIAM BRIGHT, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. (London and Oxford : Parker and Co., 1887.)

As a poet, a scholar, and a divine, Dr. Bright's Good Friday Addresses stand altogether on a higher level than a large majority of those which are delivered from year to year on the most solemn of all days in the Christian calendar. Hysterical rhetoric, we may be sure, finds no place in his pages, which unfold to us the mystery of the Atonement, the love of the Crucified for sinners, the 'incommunicable suffering' which made the 'spiritual Cross harder to bear than the physical,' the keen sense of pain evinced in the cry 'I thirst,' the consciousness of 'victory' to which the *τετέλεσται* witnessed in the midst of seeming 'collapse,' the duty of 'saying every day "Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit,"' and of spending 'each day as those who are wont to say it and to mean it'—such are the topics on which Dr. Bright invites us to ponder with all seriousness, not looking upon sin as 'merely a defect or "moral misfortune,"' but looking 'at the Cross as the "measure of sin," as exhibiting the virulence of the moral disease which required so awful a remedy.' Not the least valuable part of this volume will be found in the Notes which give emphasis to the theological points involved in the Passion of our Lord, and references to the works of divines in which they are further illustrated or substantiated. We are not ourselves very greatly enamoured of what is known, we believe, as the Three Hours' Service—Dr. Bright, by the way, seems to intimate it ought to be six hours—but if all the addresses then delivered were as sound and as sober as those now before us we might be of a different way of thinking. Dr. Bright has the power of packing into a sentence or a note an amount of theology which would furnish material, when expanded, for a whole series of addresses for Good Friday or for the entire Holy Week. We strongly recommend this book as a mine of suggestions for the clergy this coming Lent.

Selections from the Sermons of Padre Agostino. Edited by CATHERINE MARY PHILLIMORE. (London : The Church Printing Company, 1888.)

GREAT was the sensation produced at Florence last Lent by a course of sermons preached in the Duomo by a Franciscan whose impassioned eloquence has won for him the title of the 'Modern Savonarola.' From the course of thirty-two sermons Miss C. M. Phillimore, at the instance of Viscountess Ossington, has selected fourteen for a translation which she dedicates to the Council and Members of the Church of England Working Men's Society, 'in token of respect for the past, and with every earnest wish for the future welfare of the Society.' The translation is made, not from any carefully edited and authorized publication, but from a series of what we may call broadsides, issued by an enterprising Florence newspaper (*L'Elettrico*), which employed two shorthand writers to take the sermons down from the lips of the preacher. These broadsides were hawked about the streets a few hours after the sermons had been delivered to an audience composed

of some seven or eight thousand persons (chiefly of the working classes), who had thronged the church hours before the time, in order to have a chance of being within earshot. Those who have flocked to St. Paul's when it is Dr. Liddon's turn to occupy the pulpit may form some conception of the affluence of listeners. The impressiveness of the scene was enhanced by the fact that the preacher had to be carried to the pulpit in a litter on account of his being too ill to walk. The sermons selected by Miss Phillimore are, in the main, addressed to those who are 'minished and brought low through oppression, through any plague or suffering,' and who are urged to look upward and onward for consolations which this world can neither give nor take away.

Italy has always been famous for pulpit oratory : great has always been 'the company of the preachers,' and these sermons of the Florentine Padre will add fresh lustre to the annals of Italian Homiletics. In some respects a greater than Savonarola is here, for Savonarola, as Miss Phillimore very justly remarks, 'was a politician as well as a priest,' and as such had 'an easier task to attract the people . . . than if he had confined himself to purely spiritual topics.'

We can understand Miss Phillimore's desire to reach a larger circle of readers by the exclusion of matter distinctly Roman ; but for our own part we should much prefer seeing the entire course in an English dress. The sermons she has selected are on the following subjects :—Sermons I. and II. (Introductory). III. God. IV. The Soul. V. The Spirituality of the Soul. VI. The Immortality of the Soul. VII. The Purpose of Life. VIII. The Claim of God upon our Lives. IX. Family Life. X. Pain. XI. Hope. XII. The Observance of Sunday. XIII. Liberty. XIV. The Working Classes.

The Bishops in the Tower. A Record of Stirring Events affecting the Church and Nonconformists from the Restoration to the Revolution.

By HERBERT MORTIMER LUCKOCK, D.D., Canon of Ely.
(London : Rivingtons, 1887.)

The Bishops in the Tower is the somewhat fanciful title of a set of lectures, written, like everything of Dr. Luckock's, pleasantly and clearly, which form a continuation of the author's *Studies in the History of the Prayer-Book*. As the former series closed with the last actual revision of the Prayer-Book, so these find an appropriate conclusion in the last attempted revision by the Royal Commission of William III. But beyond this there is not very much resemblance between the plans of the two books. The one was wisely confined to the single subject of the development of the reformed Liturgy ; the other is a general sketch of the Church history of the time, and only reverts in the last chapter to the history of the Prayer-Book. Thus, while the earlier lectures cover a period of more than a century, the later occupy as much space in dealing with less than thirty years.

The first two lectures in the book under review deal mainly with the relation of the Church to the Nonconformists in the early years of

the reign of Charles II., and Dr. Luckock's object is to show that it was not the clergy so much as the laity to whom Nonconformity owes the imposition of those disabilities which Churchmen of all parties concur now to deplore. The third, fifth, sixth, and seventh lectures show us the position of the Church of England in the struggle against Rome under the second Charles and James, culminating in the episode of the Seven Bishops which gives the title to the whole. Dr. Luckock makes a curious slip when—was he thinking of the Nonconformist historian?—he substitutes the name of Stoughton for that of Hough as the lawfully elected President of Magdalen. But perhaps the most interesting of all are the two lectures which are confined more closely to the internal history of the Church—Lecture IV., on the social status of the clergy, and Lecture VIII., on the Nonjurors. We shall say something on each of these.

Nothing in Lord Macaulay's works—and this is saying a good deal—has met with more strenuous or more well-deserved animadversion than his description of the state of the clergy in the justly celebrated third chapter of the *History of England*. First, the *Quarterly Reviewer*, the unfortunate Croker, of the failure of whose criticisms it was said that he had 'contemplated murder and committed suicide;' then Dr. Churchill Babington, whose dissection of the historian was complete at every point in the argument—we are delighted to learn (from Dr. Luckock) that it is hoped that he will consent to publish his interesting researches in a fuller form; and lastly, Dr. Luckock himself; all put the case convincingly on the other side. Macaulay defends himself somewhere in his Diary by the complacent statement that no one who has not steeped his mind in the transitory literature of the day is qualified to judge. But this is one illustration of a tendency in which some modern writers are too prone to indulge—the neglect of straightforward and obvious evidence in favour of the indirect and the inconclusive. If Macaulay were to be the historian, not of the Church of the seventeenth in the nineteenth, but of the Church of the nineteenth in the twenty-first century, we are confident that he would devote himself to theatrical pieces and popular novels, and having lighted on Mr. Trollope's *Barchester Towers* and Mr. Hawtrey's *Private Secretary*, would gravely conclude that all our bishops resembled Dr. Proudie, and all our clergy the Reverend Robert Spalding.

For arguments, Macaulay rests his case on the low social extraction of the clergy, their position as domestic chaplains, and the nature of their matrimonial connexions. 'During the century which followed the accession of Elizabeth, scarce a single person of noble descent took orders.' But the century from 1560 to 1660 is not that in question: the year in point is 1685, and, in fact, under the later Stuarts we find that, taking the five great Bishoprics, Nathanael Crewe, afterwards Lord Crewe, was Bishop of Durham from 1674 to 1721; Henry Compton, brother of the Earl of Compton, Bishop of London from 1675 to 1713; Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Bishop of Winchester from 1707 to 1721; and Sir William Dawes, Archbishop of York from 1714 to 1724. Then we are told that the position of a

chaplain 'tended to degrade the priestly character,' and Laud is introduced to prove it because he issued injunctions against the system. But beyond doubt Laud's object was to punish the Puritan gentry for the protection they afforded to Puritan chaplains; he was acting, not in the interests of clerical independence, but of episcopal control. Lastly, we are sent back to Queen Elizabeth again for the view that 'a waiting woman was generally considered as the most suitable helpmate for a parson.' But Macaulay must have known that long after the Reformation a prejudice against the marriage of the clergy was in certain quarters in active operation, and with no one more decidedly than with Elizabeth herself. It has even survived to our own day in the curious restriction that alone among married ladies the wives of bishops do not share the precedence of their husbands. To some extent it may have affected the social position of the parson's wife even in Charles II.'s reign; but if so, this would prove nothing for the position of the parson, and in any case evidence is requisite more nearly contemporaneous than injunctions already a century old.

Dr. Luckock's treatment of the *Protest of the Nonjurors* is very far superior to that of most historians who have preceded him. He calls attention to a new aspect of the question, for, in face of the serious danger to the Church of England in William's Presbyterian tendencies, it was, we believe, the defiant attitude of the Nonjurors which really defeated the plan of comprehension and the debasement of the Prayer-Book. Opinions, indeed, may differ upon the former, but we do not suppose there are two views about the merits of a liturgy in which the collect 'Lighten our darkness' emerged from the crucible of revision at the hands of Patrick, Burnet and Stillingfleet in the following form (p. 209):—

'Almighty God, who hast hitherto preserved us safely this day, by Thy great mercy defend us from all perils and dangers of this night. Pardon whatsoever we have done amiss, and settle our holy purposes to do better for the time to come: that laying ourselves down to sleep with these godly resolutions in our hearts, they may awaken with us in the morning, and we may daily grow more watchful in all our ways; for the love of Thy only Son our Saviour Jesus Christ.'

The one charge of which Dr. Luckock thinks the Nonjurors cannot be acquitted is that of creating a schism by the consecration of bishops. Yet we doubt whether this is not really better capable of defence than their original action. After all that can be said for it under the circumstances, the refusal of allegiance was primarily the outcome of a theory of political government and of the nature of political oaths which no sane man would in these days think of defending. But, once granted the refusal, it seems to us that the action of the dominant party left only one course open to the Nonjurors. Six bishops (by the way, Trelawney is wrongly given for White on p. 202) were deprived by Act of Parliament without anything that bore even the faintest resemblance to an ecclesiastical judgment. We are not, indeed, by any means so certain as Dr. Luckock that good Bishop Turner was not after all implicated in a Jacobite plot, but that cannot affect

the conclusion that no Churchman of principle, juror or nonjuror, could possibly recognize the depositions. When, then, the continuance of the separation was justified by its adherents with appeal to the case of the 'invalidly deprived Fathers,' as they loved to call them, there is much to be said for their view, and Dr. Luckock omits to mention that Hickes and Wagstaffe were only consecrated as suffragans. At the same time the offer of Queen Anne to reinstate Ken at Wells ought undoubtedly to have been welcomed as a confession and a reparation on the part of the Government, and the occasion taken to heal the schism.

Work like Dr. Luckock's is a standing defence of the cathedral system as it ought to be and can be, and we only wish that every bishop and every chapter would follow the example of Ely by multiplying lectures on some of the subjects in which Churchmen feel, or should feel, an intelligent interest. A lecture needs only to be attractive in style and instructive in matter and it is its own justification, for many will listen who would not read. In *The Bishops in the Tower* we have, of course, specimens above the average, and not only admirable lectures, but also a very readable, even if not very profound, book.

Fragmentary Records of Jesus of Nazareth, from the Letters of a Contemporary. By FREDERICK R. WYNNE. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1887.)

THIS is a very pleasantly written little book. The author begins by sketching the phases of thought which many people at the present day go through in search for a creed. Dissatisfaction at science, a yearning after some spiritual life, but an absence of definite belief and a vague feeling that religion may not be true. He then builds up for such a person an historical basis for accepting Christianity. He takes the four universally accepted letters of St. Paul (1 and 2 Cor., Gal., and Rom.), and analyses their contents. He collects the testimony they give to the life and works of Christ, the belief of the early Christians, the organization of the Christian Church. He shows how the life recorded created an epoch in human thought, and that the testimony of these letters is corroborated by various other authentic and early documents. The work ends with 'the attitude of inquiry changed into one of happy confidence.'

There is nothing very original in the line of argument; we have not discovered any novel thoughts or acute criticism. But the work is attractive in style, free from mistakes, and exactly fitted for a large class of persons at the present day. It has the further advantage of not presupposing any acquaintance in its readers with theology or criticism—two things of which the religious amateur has a great horror.

The two main defects are, firstly, that in analysing the teaching of St. Paul, especially concerning the Person of Christ, the writer contents himself with vague generalities, and does not attempt to arrive at the exact tenets of the Four Epistles; and secondly, that the book is written like a sermon, and not in the judicial style that

befits an apologetic work. We mean that the critical points of the argument are assisted by appeals, not merely to reason, but also to emotions. We are not certain, however, that a certain amount of flabbiness will not make the book more attractive to the majority of readers.

The Gospel and Philosophy. Six Lent Lectures. By MORGAN DIX, S.T.D., D.C.L., Rector of Trinity Church, New York. (London: Wells Gardner, Darton and Co., 1887.)

THE author of these lectures has two objects. The first is to assert that Christianity is a dogmatic, sacerdotal and sacramental system. This he does with considerable vigour and ability. We believe that he is right, and that so far his position is thoroughly sound. But as he advances further, we find it less easy to agree with him. For his further object is to assert that all evil comes from reason, and to represent reason as the antithesis of faith. Hence he is the determined foe of all philosophy, and contrasts the comfortable position of the believer with the wavering position of the sceptic, in a manner which would seem to many offensive. We believe that such teaching is both erroneous and dangerous. For it lends some support to the charge of 'irrationalism' brought against the Truth, and, as he himself is obliged in one place to admit, reason must ever be the basis of faith. The truer idea of faith is that it is the ally of reason against sense, and the truer view of philosophy is that it is the preparation for Christianity. Reason clogged by the senses becomes degraded; philosophy materialized becomes unspiritual; but both these are unhealthy developments of what is good, not normal conditions.

Help on the Way. By the Rev. JOHN S. SHEILDS, D.D., Vicar of Coolock, Ireland. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1886.)

THIS book consists of a number of unconnected sermons which the author has published as a series of chapters without texts. They are written from a cultivated evangelical point of view, are simple and straightforward in tone, pleasant in style, and will be useful to those of the author's way of thinking, whose difficulties arise only from misunderstanding a passage of Scripture, and whose doubts can always be quieted by a judicious quotation of a text from the Bible.

Bar-Jonah, the Son of the Resurrection. By the Rev. ARTHUR BEARD. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1887.)

'ONE new idea makes all our knowledge new,' is the motto of this work; and the new idea that the writer has discovered is that Bar-Jonah means the 'Son of Resurrection.' He has discovered it by the application of the laws of 'continuity' and 'integration.'

'Simon saith to Jesus: "Thou art the *Son of the living God.*" Jesus saith to Simon: "Thou art the *son of Jonah*"—the Son of Resurrection. We know the meaning of "the sign of Jonah." It has just been given to the Sadducees as a token of warning of Resurrection: it is now given to Simon as a token of promise of the same' (p. 18).

This conclusion is supported by the discovery that the correct reading in John i. 42 is John, not Jonah.

We may add that the style of the author is as bad as his exegetical skill and linguistic knowledge, and that he intends to proceed with the integration of the 'Spirits in Prison,' 'The Two Trusts,' 'The Two Crosses,' &c. We can only express a hope that his future writings will not be dedicated by permission to the Bishop of London.

The Doom of Sacrilege and the Results of Church Spoliation. By JAMES WAYLAND JOYCE. (London: J. Masters and Co., 1886.)

THE object of this book is the defence of the Church of England against Disestablishment. The writer (whose recent death all English Churchmen will deplore) begins with an introduction in which he sums up with considerable force and vigour the current arguments on the subject: so far we agree with him and can commend the ability with which he writes. The remainder of the volume consists of a collection of instances, extending through English history, of the 'Doom of Sacrilege,' *i.e.* the misfortunes which have attended those who have pillaged or violated the property of the Church. The instances are taken from Sir Henry Spelman's books and other well known works, and are, we believe, thoroughly trustworthy, and to a reader with sufficient sympathy and sufficient credulity the book will appear absolutely conclusive. But this is just one of those cases where the maxim of Bacon ought to be applied, 'Major est vis instantiæ negativæ.' It is quite true that many persons who have committed sacrilege have died by violent means or without offspring; but how many who have done so have lived to an old age and died in their beds? Have not other persons died by violent means in the middle ages? Have not the most pious of families had no offspring? William the Conqueror is selected as an example of the doom of sacrilege. Edward the Confessor was certainly a devoted son of the Church, but which led the most prosperous life? which has enjoyed the greatest fame after death? which had the largest family? No son of Edward ever sat on the throne. We do not wish to defend the spoliation of Henry VIII., but we cannot hide from ourselves the fact that when the disturbances which attended the changes he made were over, this country enjoyed a prosperity which it had never known before, under a Queen who, curiously enough, has been selected as a type of the misfortune which attends the families of the sacrilegious—the reason, we believe, being that she had no children; a result which is usually ascribed to the fact that she never married.

We have no space to consider more of the instances given, but we must remind Mr. Joyce that his method of proof (that of collecting only the 'positive' instances) makes it possible to prove the reality of omens, the effectiveness of holy images, the power of heathen idols, astrology, and any other superstition you will. If helped by rhetorical power or vigorous language the proof is still more conclusive; and of these gifts Mr. Joyce is not destitute.

In saying this we do not for a moment wish to deny that there is a moral government of the world which is more powerful in the end than the proverbial prosperity of the wicked. But we do not believe it is possible to separate sacrilege from other crimes; and we do not

think that the cause of the Church is likely to be helped by a form of argument which begs the main question at issue, viz. whether Dis-establishment would be sacrilege, or might be for the benefit of the Church and country.

Sundays at Balmoral: Sermons preached before the Queen in Scotland.

By the late Very Rev. JOHN TULLOCH, D.D., LL.D., &c.
(London: James Nisbet and Co., 1887.)

THIS volume of sermons of the late Principal Tulloch, which has been edited by his son, is an admirable memorial of him. They are characterized by all the clearness and attractiveness of style, by the literary skill, and the knowledge of his hearers, which made him a popular Court preacher. They are characterized, too, by great moral earnestness and spiritual fervour. They are also as vapid in doctrine as might be expected from the divine who preached them, and the place where they were preached. We may illustrate this last characteristic by one quotation: 'The true Church is evangelical in fervour, historical in doctrine and ritual, and wise and broad and critical in sympathy.' An admirable definition, but unfortunately one which will never assist anyone who has difficulties which refuse to be lulled to sleep by specious platitudes. For Christian teachers 'who settle the nature of God and the fate of their fellow-creatures according to their own dogmas'—which we may presume would include many who teach dogmas which they look on as part of their sacred tradition—he utters the contemptuous prayer of the Pharisee, 'God pity them.'

But it is more important to point out, for the benefit of those who may be orthodox, and are certainly dull, the points on which the success of sermons like these depends. In the first place the preacher uses a language his hearers understand, and not one inherited from the past; and secondly, he takes his start from ideas which his hearers can share. In all men there is a vague longing after the higher life, a sense of human instability and mortality, a desire for practical religion. And many sermons would attract their congregation far more if the preacher was to start with these vague ideas which are floating about in the popular mind. He need not stop there.

The History of St. Cuthbert. By CHARLES, ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW. Third edition. (London: Burns and Oates, 1887.)

EVER since the publication of the first edition of Monsignor Eyre's *St. Cuthbert*, in 1849, this and Dr. Raine's quarto have ranked together as the two principal works on the life and subsequent history of the great northern Saint. The merits and the blemishes of both are well known to many; we are now concerned only with the work of the Roman prelate. The new edition is not, and does not profess to be, much more than a reprint of the first and second, which have been long out of print, but even as such it is a valuable work, written in a reverent and, on the whole, in a scholarlike manner. The author discusses successively the life, decease, and miracles, the wanderings of the body during 124 years, the state of it from A.D. 687 to 1827, and the different monuments erected in honour of the Saint. He has drawn his information as far as possible from original sources,

VOL. XXV.—NO. L.

L I.

including, of course, the Life by the anonymous monk and that by Bede, both written within a generation of Cuthbert's death. Now and then, however, he strains a point, no doubt unconsciously, in support of later Roman usages. For instance, in the first edition, p. 20 (third edition, p. 22), he speaks, as if quoting Bede and the Lindisfarne monk, of 'a boy whom he took with him to serve his Mass, and assist while he administered the sacraments.' The boy may possibly have occasionally been employed in some such way, but we are not aware that either of the original authorities anywhere says anything of the kind. In what he says about the 'St Cuthbert window' in York Minster (first edition, p. 272, second edition, p. 287), the author simply follows Browne in saying that about thirty of the subjects can yet be made out. It is unfortunate that he should not have seen an elaborate account of the window (*Yorkshire Archæol. Journal*, iv. 249-376) in which more than sixty of the subjects are identified, and the glass carefully described. In the same article may be found much more complete and correct copies of the couplets in Carlisle Cathedral than those which are here printed from Jefferson's *Carlisle* in the third edition as in the first, with (among other blunders) the extraordinary substitution of 'Myda . .' for 'Aidans' in the couplet

'Her saw he aydans savi vp go
To hevyn blys w^t angels two.'

Nevertheless, Archbishop Eyre's history is a book which should be in the hands of all interested in St. Cuthbert, and although it is a pity he has not been able to revise the new edition more carefully, he has done well to bring it out, and the twelfth centenary of the death of St. Cuthbert has seemed to offer a fitting opportunity.

Historical Scenes in Durham Cathedral. By J. L. Low, M.A.
(Durham: Andrews and Co., 1887.)

No one was better qualified to describe these scenes than the author of the *Diocesan History of Durham* (S.P.C.K.), and he has done his work extremely well. In the unpretending little volume now before us he describes *con amore*, and from the original sources of information, many a stirring episode in the history of St. Cuthbert's minster, from the fire in Aldhune's Church, the predecessor of the present cathedral, to the consecration of the first Bishop of Newcastle. He also gives a great deal of information about the monastic buildings, services, and life generally, which cannot fail to be of interest to many, even to such as have no special interest in Durham. And notwithstanding all we are told about the dissolution of the monastic establishment, the new foundation, and the unhappy period of Puritan ascendancy, we rise from the perusal of Mr. Low's little book with a strong sense of that continuity of the Church of England which was so long lost sight of, but is now becoming better understood as more of the history of our Church is made generally accessible.

BRIEF NOTES OF NEW BOOKS, NEW EDITIONS, PERIODICALS, &c.
MESSRS. CLAY AND SONS have issued from the Cambridge University Press two very beautiful editions of the *Book of Common Prayer* (Cambridge University Press, London: C. J. Clay and Sons) in pearl

32mo and foolscap 8vo respectively. The first, or smaller of these two editions, is an exquisite specimen of what the University Press can effect in combining at once smallness, blackness, and clearness of type. The book is embellished with border lines and initials in red, and is to be had in various bindings. In the larger edition, which is also richly ornamented with woodcuts of initials and of headpieces, &c., the ink seems to us rather pale. How long will printers go on perpetuating the error of one of their predecessors by prefixing *Deus laudum* to Psalm cix.?

The appearance of a fourth edition of *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, by Alfred Edersheim, M.A. Oxon., D.D., Ph.D. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1887), bears out the encomiums which we passed on this remarkable work when it first appeared, only four years ago. We are glad to find in the Preface intimation of a design to embody 'further results of reading and study' in prosecution of the work here completed. We are sorry that Dr. Edersheim has not seen cause to modify his lax view—if he will allow us to call it so—respecting the 'brothers' of our Lord. In the little volume of *Addresses*, &c., noticed above, p. 506, Dr. Bright lets drop the pregnant remark that the words from the Cross, 'Woman, behold thy son,' ought themselves to be sufficient to dispose of the Helvidian theory. Dr. Edersheim has evidently felt the difficulty, but to our mind he disposes of it very lamely (vol. ii. p. 602 *n.*). We have further to congratulate Dr. Edersheim on the completion, by the publication of the seventh volume, of his valuable and laborious work, *The Bible History* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1887), commenced more than ten years ago. The object of the undertaking was to make a fresh study of Old Testament History (from the Creation to Zedekiah) 'from the original text, with such help as was to be derived from the best criticism and from cognate sciences.' In this last volume in particular the results of Assyriological studies have been incorporated. Dr. Edersheim is not one of those who consider, as too many do, that Old Testament history is of comparatively small importance to the Christian. 'Without it the New Testament would want its historical basis, and the historical Christ offer what would seem an absolutely unintelligible problem.' In presence of the current views of Kuenen and Wellhausen as to the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch legislation, it is refreshing to read from the pen of a Hebrew scholar who is more than their match:—'The present writer has not seen any reason for departing from the old lines of the Church's faith, but rather everything to confirm our adherence to them' (Pref. p. 5). We warmly recommend these volumes to the classes whom the writer had primarily in view, viz., 'those who teach and those who learn, whether in the school or in the family.' We regret to find that the Index to the entire work, at the end of this seventh volume, does not extend to the 'Notes,' which are both numerous and of the highest value.

The two latest numbers of the *English Historical Review*, Nos. 7 and 8, July and October 1887 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1887), amply sustain the reputation of that learned and scholarly

publication, to which we heartily wish 'a happy New Year, and many of them,' as the phrase goes at this season. The names of Bryce, Gardiner, Freeman, and of that highly accomplished traveller, scholar, and archæologist, Mr. Theodore Bent, are a sufficient guarantee for the quality of the 'Articles.' Among the 'Notes and Documents' we single out, as of special interest, 'Spanheim's Account of the English Court,' recently discovered at Berlin and hitherto unedited. While of the 'Reviews of Books' it may be sufficient to mention that one is by Mr. Freeman and two by Lord Acton, who, as usual with him, shows that he knows infinitely more of the subject than the authors of the books reviewed. These two reviews, on Creighton's *Papacy* and on two biographies of Napoleon I., deserve and will repay careful study.

The January number of the *London Diocesan Magazine* (London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden and Welsh, 1888) exceeds in interest any that has previously appeared. The gem of the number is a paper by that learned liturgiologist, Mr. Wickham Legg, F.S.A., 'On some Ancient Liturgical Customs now falling into Disuse,' with five beautiful illustrations from ancient service-books. Most cordially do we endorse the words (p. 261), 'It is a scandal to see some boy . . . serving the most sacred mysteries of the Christian religion, while men in Holy Orders loll in the choir, or are *too lazy to come into church except just in time to distribute the Holy Communion to the faithful who are present.*' Or take the following: 'One of the greatest liturgical misfortunes that have befallen the Church of England since the days of Queen Elizabeth *has been the passing of the Act which allows shortened services.*' We might go on to speak of Mr. Legg's most righteous indignation at the practice adopted in some quarters of sitting at the Psalms! We sincerely hope that Mr. Legg may write more such papers, and that they may find their way into the *London Diocesan Magazine* for the instruction of silly, half-educated curates, who fasten upon some contemptible foreign piece of 'ritual' (so called!) without a single good reason for its adoption.

In a handsome royal octavo volume Mr. Joseph Foster (a name well known to genealogists) has published the Matriculation Register of the University of Oxford, which he has alphabetically arranged, revised, and annotated. It is entitled, *Alumni Oxonienses: the Members of the University of Oxford, 1715-1886; their Parentage, Birthplace, and Year of Birth, with a Record of their Degrees* (London: Joseph Foster, 21 Boundary Road, N.W., 1887). The first volume only is now before us. Mr. Foster does not say why he begins so late as 1715, seeing that the Matriculation Registers commence as far back as 1564.

Those who have coveted the possession of Dr. Geikie's *Life and Words of Christ* and of Mr. Hodder's *Life of Lord Shaftesbury* will be glad to know that they have recently been reissued in a cheaper and more compact form. 1. *The Life and Words of Christ*, by Cunningham Geikie, D.D. (London: Cassell and Co, 1887). 2. *Life and Works of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G.*, by Edwin Hodder (same publishers).

INDEX TO VOL. XXV.

ACT

ACTA Pontificum Romanorum inedita, ed. Dr. Pflugk-Hartung, 219
 Agostino, Padre, *Selections from the Sermons of* (ed. Miss Phillimore), 506

BAYNE, Dr. P., *Martin Luther, his Life and Work*, 498
 Beard, Rev. A., *Bar-Jonah, the Son of the Resurrection*, 511
 Beresford-Hope, A. J. B., *In Memoriam*, 492
 Bright, Rev. Canon, *The Seven Sayings from the Cross*, 506

CARR, Rev. A., *The Church and the Roman Empire*, 217
 Chase, Mr. F. H., *Chrysostom: a Study in the History of Biblical Interpretation*, 223

Christian Philosophers, the first (Dr. Bigg's *Bampton Lectures*), 318 sqq.; relations of the world and the Church at the period treated of, 319; general estimate of the lectures, 320; Dr. Bigg's treatment of the Alexandrine Presbyterate, 321; free will and grace, 322; the heresies ascribed to Origen and Clement, 323; Christian Platonism, *ib.*; Philo's conception of God, 324; the meanings of πνεῦμα and πούς, 325; whence the Logos of St. John is derived, 326; the 'Platonic Trinity', 327; metaphysical conceptions of God, 328; difficulties of an *à priori* deduction of the

CUL

Trinitarian idea, 329; near approaches to Pantheism, 330; strong Platonic prejudice against matter, 331; Alexandrine doctrines of freedom and grace, 332; Origen's view of grace, 333; St. Augustine's view compared with the Alexandrine, 333 sq.; the sacramental theory of the Alexandrines, 335; Origen's view of Allegorism, 336; what the Alexandrine thinkers can teach us, 337
 Codex Amiatinus, the, when and where written, 435 sqq.; the life of Abbat Ceolfrid, 436 sq.; foundation of Wearmouth Abbey, 438; Ceolfrid's visits to Rome, 439; is appointed to the charge of St. Peter's, Jarrow, *ib.*; the monastery desolated by pestilence, 440; the Venerable Bede there as a child, *ib.*; 'Pandects' in the Jarrow library, 441; meaning of the word, *ib.*; description of the Codex Amiatinus, *ib.*; the inscription on its first leaf, 442; the attempts made to interpret it, 442 sq.; the solution found in the anonymous *Life of Ceolfrid*, 443; correct reading of the inscription, 444; the MS. was the 'Pandect' intended by Abbat Ceolfrid as a gift to St. Peter, 445; relationship between it and the three Latin Bibles described by Cassiodorus, 445 sq.; Dr. Hort's account of the MS., 447
 Cook, Rev. J., *Vital Orthodoxy*, 231
 Culture of the Horrible, the (criticism of Mr. Haggard's stories),

DAL

389 *sqq.* : the craving for intellectual indolence, 389; popularity of Mr. Haggard's novels, 390; his singularly limited stock in trade, 391; lack of self-restraint, 392; invariable stage properties, *ib.*; *The Witch's Head*, 393; it illustrates Mr. Haggard's love of the horrible, 394 *sq.*; his imaginative powers shown in other stories, 396; tendency to exaggeration, 397; examples thereof, 398; excellencies neutralized by lack of simplicity, 399; incongruities and absurdities, 400; his books are saturated with horrors, 401; profanity, 402; loathsome details in *She*, 402 *sqq.*; savage enormities in other tales, 405; the exceptional character of Umslopogaas, 406; specimens of Mr. Haggard's humour and taste, 407 *sq.*; the better qualities shown in *Jess*, 408 *sq.*; Mr. Haggard's method of dealing with the most serious questions, 410 *sq.*

DALE, Dr. R. W., *The Epistle to the Ephesians: its Doctrine and Ethics*, 228

Deacons and secular employments, 286 *sqq.*; the idea of the 'revival' of the diaconate first started by Dr. Arnold, 286; the case of receiving deacon's orders without intending to proceed to the presbyterate, 287; the story of the 'Arnoldian' scheme, 288 *sqq.*; in the Upper House of Convocation (1884), 289; in recent Diocesan Conferences, 290; Mr. Sydney Gedge's bill, and his motion in the House of Laymen, 291; Report of Convocation Committee, 292; opinions of various bishops, 293; Mr. Twells's resolution in the Lower House, 294; results that would follow if Mr. Gedge's bill were carried, 295; why St. Paul worked at his trade, 296; the alleged 'impossibility of providing endowments' for the 'required' increase in the ministry, 297; the position of deacons in the early

DIV

Church: testimony of St. Ignatius, 298 *sq.*; their numbers in different places, 300; Dr. Arnold's view, that 'the deacon is half a layman,' refuted, 301; the canons of the 'Fourth Council of Carthage,' 302; the meaning of the term 'clerici,' and of the laws exacting the 'traders' tax' from them, 303 *sq.*; 'secular cares' were forbidden to bishops, presbyters, and deacons by the 'Apostolic' canons, 305; testimony of St. Cyprian, *ib.*; the third canon of Chalcedon, 306; testimonies adduced by Bingham, 306 *sq.*; 'in every precedent the trade was supplementary to the orders,' 308; the proposed scheme just reverses this, 309; what Dr. Arnold meant by 'bursting Antichrist asunder,' 310; to make the diaconate 'lay-clerical' would tend to degrade the presbyterate also, 311; undesirable effects, too, upon ordinary candidates for orders, 312; opinion of the late Lord Hatherley, 313; the habits proper to secular callings are not apt for generating the clerical spirit, 314 *sq.*; local inconveniences from 'professional deacons,' 316; the work suggested to be done by these is within the competency of laymen, 317

Desjardins, M. A., *Les Sentiments Moraux au Seizième Siècle*, 236

Divina Commedia, the, Mr. Haselfoot's and Dean Plumptre's translations of, 412 *sqq.*; the influence of the recognition of perfection, 413; the 'success' that is accorded to translations of poetic masterpieces, 414; is a perfect translation a possibility? 415; poetic creation and recreation, 416; the 'form' of a poem, 417; its translated form, 418; Dean Plumptre's translation: its feeble diffusiveness, 419; glaring mistakes of meaning, 420 *sq.*; interpolations and omissions, 422; ludicrous lines, *ib.*; striking coincidences with Mr. Haselfoot's translation, 423; characteristics

DIX

of the latter, 424; unsuccessful renderings, 425; skilful meeting of difficulties, 426; the question of rhymes, 427; spurious rhymes of Dean Plumptre, 427 *n.*; line endings, 428; Mr. Haselfoot's reproduction of the *power* of Dante, 429; comparison of renderings by both translators, 429 *sqq.*; specimens of Mr. Haselfoot's excellences, 433; Dean Plumptre's 'working hypotheses,' 434

Dix, Rev. Dr., *The Gospel and Philosophy*, 511

Documentary discoveries on Church history, Fifty years of, 182 *sqq.*; Dr. Lechler's tract on the subject, 184; the Clementine Homilies, 185; the writer's use of St. John's Gospel acknowledged, 186; the marginal comments on the Acts of the Aquileian Council, 187; new materials for the life of Ulfilas, *ib.*; accidental discoveries of books supposed to be lost, 188; Hippolytus's *Refutation of all Heresies*, and the Gnostic speculations of the second century, 189 *sq.*; Syrian MSS. from the Nitrian Desert, 191; the Letters of Ignatius, 192; a dialogue ascribed to Bardesanes of Edessa, 193; 'Festal Letters' of Athanasius, 194; the *Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus*, *ib.*; the *Syriaca vetus*, 195; Tischendorf's Sinaitic MS., 196; two new authorities for Clementine Epistles, 197; a *Diatessaron* by Ephrem Syrus, 198 *sq.*; a work by Macarius Magnes, 200; a Syriac translation of Eusebius's *Church History*, 201; the *Didaché*, *ib.*; the Fayûm collection of MSS., 202

Dogmatic theology, the Rev. R. Owen's treatise on, 448 *sqq.*; definition of a *dogma*, 449; its meaning in Plato, in the LXX, and in the New Testament, 450; dogmas in philosophy, 451; theology starts from admitted principles, 453; definition of a theological dogma, *ib.*; influence in theology of a

GOE

keen sense of personal sinfulness, 454; lack of Anglican treatises on dogmatic theology, 455; merits and defects in Mr. Owen's book, 456; his use of the Fathers, 457; the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, 458; the existence of evil, 459; the 'Filioque' clause, 460; treatment of St. Augustine, 461; theological literature on predestination, 462; the assertion that Anglicanism is unhistorical, 463

ENGLISH ART, Fifty years of, 161 *sqq.*; the Manchester Jubilee Exhibition, 161; notice of works on English art by Mr. Armstrong, Mr. Hodgson, and M. Chesneau, 162 *sq.*; the decline of oil-painting, 164; flourishing condition of water-colour, 165; Turner and David Cox, *ib.*; the secret of Landseer's success, 166; Holman Hunt and Millais in 1855, 167; the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, *ib.*; the object of the movement, 168; its permanent influence upon English art, 169; Dante Rossetti's work, 170; Holman Hunt's works on the life of our Lord, 171; Sir J. Millais's works, 172; Madox Brown, *ib.*; Burne Jones, 173; Watts, 174; Frederick Walker and G. Mason, 175; Sir F. Leighton, 176; Alma Tadéma, 177; distinguished landscape-painters, 178; portrait-painting, *ib.*; splendid capabilities wasted by the nation, 179; uneducated state of public taste, 180; the need of spreading 'right ideas' on art, 181 *sq.*

Eyre, Archbishop, *The History of St. Cuthbert*, 513

FERRAZ, M., *Spiritualisme et Libéralisme*, 242

GLOAG, Rev. Dr., *Introduction to the Catholic Epistles*, 501
Goethe and Carlyle, Correspondence between (ed. C. E. Norton), 245

HAU

- H**AURÉAU, M. B., *Les Œuvres de Hugues de Saint-Victor : Essai critique*, 239
 Haweis, Rev. H. R., *Christ and Christianity*, vol. i., 497
 Holland, Rev. Canon, *Christ or Ecclesiastes*, 494

INDEPENDENT Minister, *The Autobiography of an*, 249

Ingram's *History of the Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland*, 464 *sqq.*; the eighteen years of nominal independence, 464; Mr. Lecky's opinion on the methods by which the Union was carried, 465; political purpose of Dr. Ingram's book, 466; his wrong views about the Irish Penal Code, 467; real objects of the early movements towards union, 468; the Commercial Resolutions of 1785, 469; Dr. Ingram's statements and the real facts, 470 *sqq.*; Fox's feelings towards Ireland, 472; misrepresentation of a statement of Grattan's, 473; refutation of Dr. Ingram's thesis that the Act was carried 'without any taint of corruption,' 474 *sqq.*; 'political jobbing' acknowledged by Cornwallis, 475; Castlereagh's dealings in place and pensions, 476 *sq.*; the charges made in Parliament, 478; the Government defence, 479; destruction of crinating papers by those concerned, 480; 'compensation' or bribery, 481; the borough proprietors, 482; bribery charged against the Opposition, 483 *sqq.*; was the Act carried 'with the hearty consent and concurrence' of the Irish people? 486 *sqq.*; forged signatures to petitions, 487; the Catholic hierarchy supported the Union, 488; intrigue and intimidation, 489; the United Irishmen, 490; if with the purest motives, certainly by the basest means was the Union carried, 491

Ireland, Religion in: past and pre-

LAY

sent, 138 *sqq.*; Professor Stokes's *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, 139; the style of these lectures, 140; the missionary history of St. Patrick, 142; the ancient Irish Church was essentially monastic, 143; districts were worked from a centre at which many clergy lived, 144; Irish esteem for asceticism, 145; contrast of the Celt and the Saxon, 146; Celtic persistence of type, 147; Celtic monasticism strengthened the national persistence, 148; ancient resistance to Roman habits and claims, 149; the Church of Patrick and Columba was neither Roman nor Protestant, 150; the ministry of women in the early Irish Church, *ib.*; records of its Eucharistic services, 151; external interference with Celtic political self-formation, 153; condition of Ireland on the eve of the Reformation, 154; relations with the Pope and with England, 155; the causes of the Erastianism that tinged the Reformation, 156; reasons of the success of the movement in England, 157; of its failure in Ireland, *ib.*; complete want of sympathy with the Celtic race, 158; gains that would have followed upon proper concessions, 159; Dr. Ball's account of the period subsequent to disestablishment, 160

JANSSEN, M. J., *L'Allemagne et la Réforme*, 244
 Joyce, Rev. J. W., *The Doom of Sacrilege*, 512

KIRKUS, Rev. W., *Religion, a Revelation and a Rule of Life*, 251

LA France Protestante, vol. vi., 242

Lay Baptism, 1 *sqq.*; the authority to baptize was explicitly given to the Apostles, 2; the objection

LIA

- from the strictness of the obligation of baptism. 3; the baptism by St. Philip, and (of St. Paul) by Ananias, 4; limitations of the office in early Councils, 5; heretical baptism, 6; the argument of St. Cyprian thereon, 7; Firmilian and St. Basil, 8; the story of young Athanasius baptizing in play, 9; the baptism by some heretics allowed by Eastern Councils, 10; the question of *lay* baptism was not before these Councils, 11; the question in the West in the fourth century, 12; the views of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, 13; prevalence of the laxer view in the West, 14; St. Thomas Aquinas on irregular baptism, 15; lay baptism in England in the seventh century and after, 16; in post-Reformation times, 17; the question of private baptism in 1575, 18; the Hampton Court Conference (1604), 19; Laurence's pamphlet controversy (1710), 20; the controversy in Convocation (1712), 21; the discussion revived in the present century, 21 *sq.*; the question now an open one, 22; practical bearing of the inquiry, 23 *sqq.*; dissenters' baptism, 25; correlation of baptism and confirmation, 26; the Prayer-Book conditional formula for baptism, 27
- Lias, Rev. J. J., *The First Epistle of St. John*, 502
- Lindsay, Dr., *The Gospel of St. Luke*, 504
- Low, Mr. J. L., *Historical Scenes in Durham Cathedral*, 514
- Luckock, Rev. Canon, *The Bishops in the Tower*, 507
- Lumby, Rev. Dr., *The First Book of the Kings*, 504

- MONTET, Dr. E., *Histoire Littéraire des Vaudois du Piémont*, 239
- Moule, Rev. H. C. G., *The Epistle to the Ephesians*, 230

NATIONAL Synod, the, 119 *sqq.*; of three difficulties

PAG

- which confronted the revival of Convocation, two have been removed, 119; consideration of the third—closer union of the two Convocations, 120; what was the 'sacred Synod of this nation'? *ib.*; historical sketch of the present provincial organization, 121 *sqq.*; no formal representation of the parochial clergy before the twelfth century, 123; first use of the word 'Convocation,' 124; Edward I.'s attempt to make the Church a department of the State, 125; one mark of the Parliamentary policy left on Convocation, 126; how the united action of the two Convocations was secured of old, 127; the Legatine Synod, 128; action of Henry VIII., *ib.*; the 'Synod of London' (Queen Elizabeth) a Provincial Synod, 129; course pursued at Revision of the Liturgy in 1661, 130; Synodal prayer used thereat, 130 *n.*; summary of historically demonstrated positions, 131; present need of united action, 132; discussions of the question in the Lower House of York, 133 *sq.*; a humiliating position, 135; the proposition of the Archbishop of Canterbury, 136; that of the Archbishop of York, 137; the York Convocation and the Queen, *ib.*
- New Books, New Editions, etc., Brief Notes of, 254, 514
- Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, *A Select Library of* (ed. Dr. P. Schaff), 495
- Nilles, Rev. N., *Symbolæ ad illustrandam Historiam Ecclesiæ Orientalis in Terris Coronæ S. Stephani*, 238
- OLSEN, Rev. Dr., *Revelation, Universal and Special*, 251
- Ottley, Rev. E. B., *Rational Aspects of some Revealed Truths*, 213
- PAGET, Rev. Dr., *Faculties and Difficulties for Belief and Disbelief*, 208

PAP

Papal Infallibility and Galileo, 338 *sqq.*; criticism of the Rev. J. Murphy's rejoinder to Mr. Mivart, 339; Mr. Murphy's 'conditions' of Papal infallibility, 340; the assumed orthodoxy of Evolution, 341 *sq.*; Mr. Mivart's claim that this is parallel to Galileo's case, 342; Bellarmine's opinion of Copernicanism, 343 *sq.*; Mr. Murphy's argument from the 'fallible men' of the Congregation of the Index, 344; his distinctions between dogmatic definitions and *obiter dicta*, 346; his treatment of the Bull *Speculatorum*, 347; Mr. Murphy is no more obedient to ecclesiastical authority than Mr. Mivart is, 348; conclusions against infallibility drawn from the dispute, 349 *sqq.*; Rome has two standards of infallibility, 352; latest stages of the controversy, 353; Mr. Justice Stephen and Mr. Mivart, 354; Mr. Mivart's Roman Catholic supporters, 355; Bishop Hedley's intervention, 356; his strange interpretation of Galileo's case, 357 *sqq.*; of Bellarmine's letter, 359 *sqq.*; of Caramuel's hypothetical doubt, 361

Pascal, Blaise, *Œuvres complètes* de (ed. M. P. Faugère), vol. i., 240

Phillimore, Miss C. M., *Studies in Italian Literature*, and *The Warrior Medici*, *Giovanni delle Bande Nere*, 253

Puau, M. F., and A. Sabatier, *Études sur la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes*, 237

RENAISSANCE, the Italian, and the Roman Catholic Reaction (review of Mr. Symonds's work), 362 *sqq.*; state of Italy at the period, 363 *sq.*; recent Councils before Trent, 365; objects of that Council, 366; its immediate results, 367; Papal manœuvres during its course, 368; contrast with the policy of Hildebrand, 369; the Inquisition, 370; the Index, 371; the censorship

SAD

of books, 372; attitude of the Papacy towards printing, 373; the Jesuits, 374; an error of Mr. Symonds's corrected, 375 *n.*; the Jesuits at work, 376; their influence upon the morals of Italy, 377; Mr. Symonds's sketches of Giordano Bruno, Sarpi, and Tasso, 378; of Palestrina and Church music, 379 *sq.*; his criticism of the Caracci, 381; the opinion of Sir J. Reynolds, 382; the meaning of 'Renaissance,' 383; was it 'the new birth of freedom'? *ib.*; of poetry? 384; of art or of science? 385; the true cause of the flagrant errors of the Catholic reaction, 386 *sqq.*

Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament, is it lawful? (review of Mr. Kempe's essay), 77 *sqq.*; the Prayer-Book revisers of 1661, 77; Mr. Kempe's special pleading, 78; inconsistent arguments, 79; rubrics on Reservation were never in the book of 1661, 80; contradictory statements of Mr. Kempe, 81; lack of present care for what has been saved for the Prayer-Book, 82 *sq.*; the existing rubrics make against Reservation, 84; Mr. Kempe's use of Bishop Sparrow's *Rationale*, 85; of Bishop Gibson, 86; of the Latin Prayer-Book of 1560, *ib.*; the alleged present 'widely practised' custom of Reservation, 87; there are real difficulties in the way of restoring this ancient practice of the Church, 88; the visible consecration of the Eucharist is a supplement to the feeble faith of the present day, 89; religious work must be in accordance with the Church's authority, 90

Revue des Études Juives (April-June, 1887), 243

Rigg, Rev. J. H., *A Comparative View of Church Organization*, 232

SADLER, Rev. M. F., *The Acts of the Apostles, with Notes Critical and Practical*, 225

SAL

Salmon, Rev. Professor, *Gnosticism and Agnosticism*, 496

Sceptical Christianity (criticism of works by the Rev. H. R. Haweis), 28 *sqq.*; literary style of the writer, 29; specimens of his taste and scholarship, 30; his theory of the relation between St. Paul and the Twelve, 31; present-day combination of scepticism and Christianity, 32; trimmers, 33; various attempts to reconcile Science and Religion, 34; each has its own sphere and proper power, 35; Mr. Haweis's views on the date of the Gospels, 36; ancient value set on oral tradition, 37; Mr. Haweis's theory of the formation of the Gospels, 38; these embody writings which existed before them, 39; the Eucharistic narratives, 40; 'discrepancies, inaccuracies,' etc., 41; the human genealogy of Christ, 42; a 'post-natal' or a 'pre-natal' transfusion of God into human nature? 42 *sq.*; 'a Son,' or 'the Son,' of God? 43; Mr. Haweis's view of how God is revealed in Christ, 43 *sqq.*; of the doctrine of sacrifice, 46 *n.*; criticism of these, 46 *sq.*; his treatment of miracles, 48; of 'discrepancies' in the account of the Resurrection, 49; his work is a crude attempt to teach both naturalism and supernaturalism, 50

Schwab, M. M., *Le Talmud de Jérusalem traduit en Français pour la première fois*, vol. ix., 240

Sermons, 107 *sqq.*; great preachers recent and present, 107; sermons were idolized, now just tolerated, 108; practical suggestions to young clergymen, 109; general preparation, *ib.*; special preparation, 110; need of prayer, 111; adherence to the subject in a sermon, 112; avoidance of hard words and hard thoughts, 113; illustrations, *ib.*; style and manner, 115; simplicity, *ib.*; repulsiveness of affectation, 116; the question of written or extempore sermons, 117; length of sermons,

SER

ib.; prayer after preaching needful for the preacher, 118

Service of Man, the (criticism of Mr. Cotter Morison's strictures on Christianity), 257 *sqq.*; the book is merely negative, 257; why Comte failed, 258; Mr. Morison's estimate of the moral value of Christianity, 259; the positivist not qualified to judge this, 260; the service to man rendered by martyrs, 261; the essential meaning of 'morality,' 262; how religion is connected with morality, *ib.*; why man needs religion, 263; the sphere over which morality extends, 264; Mr. Morison's assumption of the failure of Christianity, 265; his views on the Christian conception of God, 266; on the reason why men hesitate to throw off Christianity, 267; on the consolations claimed to be afforded by the Christian religion, 268; he makes no attempt to show that positivism would afford greater, 269; to religion must not be attributed all that is done or felt in its name, 270; the teaching of morality was the design of Christianity, 271 *sq.*; by what sanctions would positivism maintain virtue? 273; the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins in its relation to morality, *ib.*; the duty of forgiveness is demanded by man's best moral nature, 274; the penitent thief, *ib.*; Zaccheus, 275; the charges against the morals of the ages of faith, *ib.*; the deceptive idea of society as an 'organism,' 276; Mr. Morison's objection to the cultivation of saintliness, 277; yet even saintliness he attributes simply to natural endowments, 278; but religion *must* be more than this, 279; his opinion that the method of science is superior to the self-sacrifices of pious workers, 280; on the cultivation of human nature, 281; grace and free will, 281 *sq.*; moral responsibility is to be got rid of, 282; bad men to be 'suppressed,' 283;

SHE

the true teaching of Christianity, 284; the positivist 'Service of Man' is a degrading servitude, 285

Sheilds, Rev. Dr., *Help on the Way*, 511

Shelley and the Shelley Society, 51 *sqq.*; increasing popularity of Shelley, 51; description of the Society's work, 52; and of its members, 53; estimate of Professor Dowden's *Life of Shelley*, 54; its scrupulous truthfulness, and its literary merits, 55; weak points, 56; sketch of Shelley's life, 57; his character as a boy, *ib.*; his marriage, 58; his female surroundings, 59; Mary Godwin, 60; Shelley's after-treatment of his wife, 59 *sq.*; his views on marriage, 62; his refusal to acknowledge any form of authority, 63; gradual progress of his character, *ib.*; comparison of his earlier with his later poetry, 64; his character one of strange contrasts, 65; attempt to form a just estimate of him, 66 *sqq.*; Miss Hitchener, 67; Emilia Viviani, 68; Shelley's inability to distinguish truth from falsehood, 69; deficiency in self-control, 70; his view of nature, 71; relations with Godwin and with Byron, 72; was Shelley an atheist? 73; his attitude towards Christianity, 74; character of his writings, 75; his theory of conduct condemned by his life, 76

TELFORD, Mr. J., *The Life of John Wesley*, 247

Thou, J. A. de, 90 *sqq.*; Continental and English scholars of the early seventeenth century, 91; the la-

WYN

bour of De Thou's great work, *ib.*; his birth and early years, 92; he witnesses the St. Bartholomew Massacre, 93; receives minor orders and a canonry, *ib.*; in the suite of Paul de Foix in Italy, 94; succeeds to his father's office, 95; the beginning and progress of his History, *ib.*; he incurs the wrath of Rome for his truthful plain-speaking, 96; the famous Preface to the work, 97; plea for tolerance, and for reforms in the Church, 98; attempts made to suppress the History, 99; De Thou and King James of England, 100; the historian's strictures on that king's mother, 101; reception of the History in Venice, 102; in Rome, *ib.*; put on the Index in company with Bishop Andrewes and Grotius, 103; De Thou's position after the death of Henry IV., 104; account of his last years, 105; characteristics of the History, 106

Tulloch, Very Rev. J., *Sundays at Balmoral*, 513

Twining Family, *Selections of Papers from the*, 248

WESTCOTT, Rev. Canon, *Social Aspects of Christianity*, 203

Wickham, Rev. E. C., *Wellington College Sermons*, 497

Woodford, Bishop, *Sermons on Subjects from the New Testament*, 215

Wood, Rev. W. S., *Studies in St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, 505

Wynne, Mr. F. R., *Fragmentary Records of Jesus of Nazareth*, 510

PRINTED BY

SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
LONDON